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The United States Constitution is "a covenant with death, and an agreement with hell."

☞ "What order of men under the most absolute of monarchies, or the most aristocratic of republics, was ever invested with such an odious and unjust privilege as that of the separate and exclusive representation of less than half a million owners of slaves, in the Hall of this House, in the chair of the Senate, and in the Presidential mansion? This investment of power in the owners of one species of property concentrated in the highest authorities of the nation, and disseminated through thirteen of the twenty-six States of the Union, constitutes a privileged order of men in the community, more adverse to the rights of all, and more pernicious to the interests of the whole, than any order of nobility ever known. To call government thus constituted a Democracy is to insult the understanding of mankind. . . . It is doubly tainted with the infection of riches and of slavery. There is no name in the language of national jurisprudence that can define it—no model in the records of ancient history, or in the political theories of Aristotle, with which it can be likened. It was introduced into the Constitution of the United States by an equivocation—a representation of property under the name of persons. Little did the members of the Convention from the Free States imagine or foresee what a sacrifice to Moloch was hidden under the mask of this concession."—JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.

Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind.

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Refuge of Oppression.

A SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN (!) APPEAL.

How large an amount of pious cant, shameless effrontery, and unscrupulous mendacity can be compressed in a brief appeal, may be ascertained by reading the following Circular from New Orleans:—

Rooms Young Men's Christian Association,
NEW ORLEANS, May 22, 1861.

To the Young Men's Christian Association of North America:

DEAR BROTHERS,—In these times of hostile excitement, we feel constrained by a sense of duty as Christians, to address you in the spirit of Him who said, "Blessed are the peace-makers; for they shall be called the children of God." We do not wish to inquire into the causes which have produced the present lamentable state of public affairs. We are willing to concede to you the same sincerity which actuates us. We wish to appeal to those principles and sentiments in your bosoms, upon which the religion of our Divine Savior is based, and to enlist your active, earnest exertions in the cause of peace. We wish you to feel with us, that there is a terrible responsibility now resting upon us all as Christians, in this trying time of our country—that we who profess to be the followers of the Prince of Peace, of Him who has said, "All they that take the sword shall perish with the sword," as members of the Young Men's Christian Associations of North America, must have a fearful account to render, if we do not zealously practise and enforce the principles we profess.

A war of brother against brother, of father against son, of father-in-law against son-in-law, is now upon us. Whoever or whatever may have caused it, we believe it to be an unnatural and unrighteous war, and that it is the solemn, imperious duty of every true Christian in the land to throw all the weight of his influence in favor of peace. We in the South are satisfied in our judgments, AND IN OUR HEARTS, that the political severance of the Southern from the Northern States is permanent, and SHOULD BE SATISFACTORY. We believe that reason, history and knowledge of human nature will suggest the folly and futility of a war to re-establish a political union between the severed sections. And we call upon you as Christian brothers to raise your voices, in your own section, for the establishment of peace and of Christian fellowship with us of the South. We implore you to believe that we are men and Christians, and that while we are firm and conscientious in our position, we sincerely desire peace and the restoration of friendly relations. We believe if our Christian Brothers of the North will firmly, and in the strength of God say, "There should be peace between the two confederacies," and will unite with us in prayers and efforts for that purpose, that much good will be done, and that God in his faithfulness and love will incline the hearts of men to peace. Has it not occurred to you, brethren, that the band of God MAY BE in this political division, that both governments may more effectually work out His designs in the regeneration of the world? While such a possibility may exist, let His people be careful not to war against His will. It is not pretended that the war is to maintain religious freedom or extend the kingdom of Christ. Then, God's people should beware how they wage or encourage it. In the name of Christ and his divine teachings, we protest against the war which the Government at Washington is waging against the territory and people of the Southern States; and, we call upon all the Young Men's Christian Associations, in the North, to unite with us in this solemn protest.

Fraternally,

R. K. HOWELL,
W. C. RAYMOND, } *Committee.*
H. T. BARTLETT,

R. G. LATTING, *Sec. 9th Dist.*

THE COUNTERMINE OF THE SOUTHERN SLAVEHOLDERS.

We are permitted (says the Buffalo *Courier*) to publish the following circular, received yesterday by Hon. Millard Fillmore, and bearing the postmark of some office in South Carolina. We bespeak a careful reading:—

"READ, PONDER AND DIGEST.

"It is thought, by many at the North, that we at the South are standing over a magazine of stupendous magnitude, that only wants the application of a match to spread ruin, disaster and death, throughout the whole length and breadth of the Confederacy. Northern papers of wide spread popularity, that may be supposed to reflect public sentiment, to some extent at least, are suggesting, in unmistakable terms, the propriety of applying the match. Men of the North, beware! You who would spare the shedding of oceans of blood, stay your ruthless hands, hold in check your envenomed tongues, restrain your satanic press. For, whenever the attempt is made to carry out that fiendish suggestion—a suggestion worthy the lowest, the meanest, the most sneaking, and at the same time blood-thirsty demon, that ever buffeted the billows of hell—in the manner indicated, the combustible materials of which that magazine is composed will be so saturated with blood that all the fires of hell itself could not ignite them. In other words, whenever the slaves in the Border Slave States are incited to escape from their owners by hundreds and thousands, for the purpose of having Sharpe's rifles and Colt's revolvers placed in their hands, and marched back to butcher white men, women and children; whenever the slaves in the Gulf States are incited to servile insurrections, and the prospect bids fair for their being converted into demons incarnate, then the slave owners in the South will be found ready to sacrifice every slave from whom danger may be apprehended, even though it involve the destruction, by a concerted and simultaneous movement, of every male slave over the age of fifteen years, or even younger than that, if the necessities of the case may seem to require it; and willing hands will be found ready to execute the bloody deed. Before Southern men will suffer themselves, their wives and little ones to be butchered, and their daughters worse than butchered, by fiends in human form, before they will suffer to any considerable extent the horrors of servile insurrections, the Gulf streams will be crimson with the gore and every Southern river choked with festering carcasses of slaves. Men of the North, you hold in your hands the lives of half a million of slaves; for as sure as there is a God in heaven, if this war continues, and they, through your instrumentality, become dangerous and unmanageable, *the last one of them will perish.* Attempt, if your dare, to convert a portion of our population into vipers, and before they get ready to strike their envenomed fangs into our vitals, their heads shall be crushed beneath our heels. Never will they be permitted to become instruments in your hands for our attempted subjugation."

Selections.

LETTER FROM HARRIET BEECHER STOWE.

To the Editors of the N. Y. Independent:

In our letter last week, we took up the cause of England, so far as her Christian good name was implicated, in the report of her sympathy with a Southern slaveholding *coup d'etat.* We pleaded ignorance for her—ignorance fostered by the long inaction and apparent imbecility of the free North. There is great cause to stretch both this plea and our patience when steamer after steamer brings in the news of one after another who have wheeled into the train of secession, or stand in an attitude of suspicion and rebuke toward the North. The London *Anti-Slavery Reporter* out with an article, showing small sympathy with the North: Lord Shaftesbury allowing his sympathies for the South to be awakened by her evident proclivities for monarchical institutions: Exeter Hall silent, or gone by the board, when they think they see the United Republic dismembered, and a slaveholding empire rising on its ruins!

Well, as for us, we do not *need* sympathy, and can very well afford to dispense with it; and the universal annoyance and soreness with which these demonstrations have been received are evidence, not of our sense of the *need* of England, but of the disappointment of that growing esteem and friendship which years of kindly intercourse have established.

Nations, *as such,* are unsentimental affairs, and exhibit the hard, unadorned, horny selfishness of human nature in all their official acts. But the *people* of a nation have a thousand unofficial channels of showing sympathies which outflow the cold hesitancies of national organization. Thus the *Government* was cool toward Kossuth, but the *people* were warm; the Government was cool toward Italy, but the people were warm,—and when a people *are* warm, they always find means of showing it.

The fact is, all the Christians of foreign nations who have stood aghast at the complicity of Northern Christians with slavery, fall into exactly the same position—that is to say, when any of their own pursuits or interests would be injured by opposition to slavery. The French Protestants were ready, with national vivacity, to tear their hair over the disgrace to a mutual Protestantism, occasioned by the silence of American religious bodies on the subject of slavery, and rested not till they had sent over a remonstrance, signed by all the Protestant pastors in France and Switzerland, to the pastors in America. Our pastors were conjured, with right martial French energy, to awake, and not to give place to such a sin and shame—no, not for an hour!—to cry aloud and spare not—to show to the house of Judah their sin, and so on.

At the heels of this trumpet came Dr. Monod to America, to solicit material aid for these very churches; and Dr. Monod immediately made the discovery that the policy of the Tract Society, in keeping silence on slavery, was eminently wise and Christian.

England has poured in remonstrance after remonstrance upon America in every way, shape, and form—always well-meaning, often wanting in tact of expression, but showing, as we Americans well believed, the stout heart of oak of old Clarkson and Wilberforce—and so, though it galled us, we said, "Faithful are the wounds of a friend."

But now the cotton crop is touched, and what are Exeter Hall and the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* about to do? What are they doing? We have heard reports—we hear every steamer—and as yet have heard no cheers along the lines for the free men of the North—and low mutterings and half-suppressed sympathies with the men who have driven down their flag-staff through the heart of the slave. THE PLATFORM THE SOUTHERN CONFEDERACY STAND ON IS THE NECK OF THE NEGRO—and seeing them standing there, England begins, earliest of nations, to raise the question of acknowledgment, and Exeter Hall looks on without a cheer for the free States!

We mean to verify our words when we say that the flag-staff of the Southern Confederacy IS PLANTED THROUGH THE HEART OF THE SLAVE. They have published their status to the world in language the most salient and unmistakable.

Let us quote the language of Vice President Stephens in February, 1861, in a labored attempt to show to mankind the character and motives of the Seceding Confederacy:—

"Though last, not least, the new Constitution has put at rest for ever all the agitating questions relating to our peculiar institutions—*African slavery* as it exists among us, the proper status of the negro in our form of civilization. *This was the immediate cause of the late rupture, and of the present revolution.* Jefferson, in his forecast, had anticipated this as the rock upon which the old Union would split. He was right. What was conjecture with him is now a realized fact. But, whether he fully comprehended the great truth upon which that rock stood, and stands, may be doubted. The prevailing ideas entertained by him, and most of the leading statesmen at the time of the formation of the old Constitution, were that the enslavement of the African race was in violation of the laws of nature; that it was wrong in principle, socially, morally, and politically. It was an evil they knew not well how to deal with; but the general opinion of the men of that day was, that, somehow or other, in the order of Providence, the institution would be evanescent, and pass away. * * * * *Those ideas, however, were fundamentally wrong. They rested upon the assumption of the equality of races. This was an error. It was a sandy foundation, and the idea of a government built upon it, when the storm came, and wind blew, it fell.*

"Our new Government is founded upon *exactly the opposite ideas; its foundations are laid, its corner-stone rests, on the general truth that the negro is* NOT *equal to the white man;* that slavery, subordination to the superior race, is his natural and normal condition. *This our new Government is the* FIRST *in the history of the world, based upon this* great physical, philosophical, and moral truth.

* * * * * * *

"The negro, by nature or the curse of Canaan, is fitted for the condition which he occupies in our system. The architect, in the construction of a building, lays the foundation with the proper material—the granite—then comes the brick or the marble. The substratum of our society is made of the material by nature best fitted for it, and by experience we know it is best, not only for the superior but the inferior race, that it should be so. It is, indeed, in conformity with the Creator. It is not for us to inquire into the wisdom of his ordinances, or to question them. * * * * "The great objects of humanity are best attained when conformed to his laws and decrees in the formation of governments, as well as in all things else. Our Confederacy is founded on principles in strict conformity with these laws. THIS STONE, WHICH WAS REJECTED BY THE BUILDERS, IS BECOME THE CHIEF STONE OF THE CORNER OF OUR NEW EDIFICE."

This language is plain enough. He who runs may read.

Here, then, is their new Jerusalem, with its negro granite foundation; and the right to hold slaves, that stone rejected of the North, is the chief corner-stone.

"It has been apprehended by some," continues Mr. Stephens, "that we shall have arrayed against us the whole civilized world." And, truly, considering the abolition meetings and anti-slavery protests poured in from England for the last fifty years, they had a right to suppose *one* nation, at least, would raise a simultaneous shout of horror and reprobation when this black flag of slavery was raised to masthead as a distinctively national banner.

Place two facts in juxtaposition, and let the world look at them:

The Confederate States the first political union built on negro slavery—England the first State to raise the question of recognition.

We have been waiting for the hot and heavy disclaimers of oppression and robbery wont to come from British hearts; for crowded meetings and earnest resolutions; for words of sympathy and cheer to Northern armies from synods and presbyteries, from churches, from ladies' societies, and all ranks and orders, equivalent to the protest and rebukes and exhortations, which, for years, have admonished our slothfulness in allowing slavery.

These protests and rebukes have formed a part of the very public sentiment which has brought on this crisis, and set in array this battle. It has spurred up our flagging zeal, and backed up our fainting energy, many a time, with the consciousness that all Anglo-Saxondom, with its great lion heart, was pressing on behind us, and cheering the fray. And now that the great battle is set, and the trumpet blowing, and we are sending our very heart's blood out of our homes and from our hearths to do battle against this slaveholding Babylon, where are the voices of our former friends in England? We will not *say* where—we only ask.

Are we to think that if this Slaveholding Confederacy *could* put us down, and bury us and the principles of human equality deep in a thousand graves, that England would meet them in a love-feast above our heads, and Pilate and Herod be made friends over a crucified humanity?

In all this contest relating to American slavery, hitherto it has been the part of English Christians to talk, and of American Christians to make sacrifices. Now the time has come which brings the question of sacrifice right through the British camp. How do they meet it?

Our merchants are losing their millions in this war—but steadily saying, "Go on, go on—we will spend our last cent;" and those who are losing most by the war are most forward to promote it. O England! England! What! could ye not watch with us one hour?

But be it so: though all the world deny us—though we stand alone, yet in God's strength we of the free States of the North will fight this battle through to the end. While there is a brick in our chimneys, a tile on our roofs, a drop of blood in our hearts, every man, woman, and child of us are of one mind to give it all to this cause—for it is the cause of God and liberty—the cause of human rights and human equality; and if any have no sympathy with it, so much the worse *for them.*

It is our firm belief that the prayers of many generations are hastening to a fulfillment, and that, with or without the help and sympathy of foreign nations, the year of Christ's redeemed has come, and that this war will emancipate the slave.

If English Christians would follow the triumphal procession when the bridegroom comes, let them trim their lamps, and put oil in them *now.*

CONSIDERATIONS FOR THE ENGLISH PRESS.

BY CHARLES L. BRACE.

I have been a careful reader of the English weekly press since the war with the Slaveholding Confederacy began. It represents the more matured and thoughtful conclusions of the British educated classes. With the single exception of the *Spectator,* I have scarcely found one journal that seemed to have an intelligent appreciation of our contest. One favorite view of the question is that this is a struggle between opposite parties in political economy; that the South represents the agricultural and free-trade interest, and the North the manufacturing and protective; that the former has been robbed of its legitimate profits for a number of years by the duties put by the General Government on imports consumed by it, and now unable to bear this oppression longer, it rises to demand Free Trade and an independent Government.

From Englishmen personally, it is one of the most common things to hear the words, "We were with you till you passed the Morrill Tariff."

Another ground of objection to our Northern position is, that we are making a terrible war merely for territory—for aggrandizement—to keep under our rule certain legal provinces and populations, who do not desire to be governed by us; and further, that these provinces are disgraced and weakened by a system which has always been the clog on the Union, and which we ought to be only too glad to be rid of. The English writers urge that this is not a war against slavery, otherwise they should be in its favor; but simply a war for our flag and for a vague idea of Nationality and Government, as to which they care nothing. Private letters from diplomatic sources assert that if this were an anti-slavery war, England and all Europe would be enthusiastic in behalf of it. The English press repeats, too, the Southern phrases, that in our theory "all government must depend on the consent of the governed," and that accordingly we can do nothing but accept the logical conclusion from our own premises, and permit the Southern Independence;—all this urged with an evident chuckle, as if they were glad to see Democracy thus taken on the hip!

De Tocqueville somewhere remarks that he has often wondered what faculty it is in the human mind which always leads the English to believe any position their interest forces them to take as profoundly and morally right. At the present moment, the tone of pity and pious horror and righteous self-complacency employed by the English press toward this country, is something truly edifying; while their sudden and entire blindness to the merits of the case is altogether unexplainable. As we hear such views as those just described, we ask ourselves, "What has the English thinking-mind been doing the last few years, in the consideration of our great problem? Is this all that an educated people can offer in intelligent judgment of a grand question of humanity? Is this all that is known of our Government, of slavery, of the struggle against it? Have we got to go over every step in the progress of American political life and American reform the last fifty years?" Then, again, remember the eloquent words of denunciation which have rung even over the Atlantic, from the ancestral Island, for so many years, at our great public sin; recalling how, while its guilt lay heavy upon us, the English mind chose to consider the nation as one; and now, when our whole people are rising and offering blood and wealth as if they were water, to lessen and restrain this evil, we are told to keep quiet, that the evil belongs to the South, and with them should remain—what can we conclude, as to English sincerity and English opposition to slavery?

Let us recall briefly to our English readers what this war really is. And in the first place, let us have done, once and forever, with the talk about its being a war of rival tariffs.

Protection and Free Trade have nothing to do with it. The Protective System originated with the South. Every tariff has passed by Southern votes. There has been no session in which the South and the (so-called) Free-Trade Democracy of the North could not have controlled the legislation of Congress. More than two-thirds of the Free States are agricultural and commercial, and of course fully as much inclined to low tariffs as the South.

Probably one-half of the Republican party believe that the passage of the Morrill Tariff, at that particular juncture, was a stupendous blunder; though this fact does not diminish our appreciation of that morality whose sympathies for a struggle in behalf of Human Rights rise and fall with the scale of duties on iron ware and woolen goods.

How did this war originate, and what could have prevented it? Six months ago, the people of the Free States need only have said to the slaveholders, "Your slaves are property, in the eye of the Constitution, and you can take them where you wish!" and this whole fearful struggle might have been saved. The Border States were ready to accept this compromise; North Carolina and Arkansas would have probably allowed it; and the few feeble Gulf States, divided among themselves, would have soon yielded and taken—which was all they could desire—unlimited liberty over a whole continent, and through generations yet unborn, to extend human slavery.

Here was the crisis. Here, our English friends must remember, was the question to be determined. On one side was offered, slavery made national and extended over all that now belongs, or should hereafter belong, to the United States; and on the other, the legal restriction of slavery and the sustaining the will of the people, as manifested in the election of an administration opposed to slavery. Every one saw that the choice was between universal slavery and the awful chance of civil war and rebellion. And to the glory evermore of our Anglo-American race, be it said, we deliberately and quietly chose the latter. Henceforward, there was but one course possible: the putting down the rebellion, sustaining the Government, and holding slavery in with the iron hand. The apparent weakness and vacillation of the Administration was due partly to the consciousness of strength, and partly to the deep conviction at the North that the South would yet return to its allegiance.

To the question put so often by Englishmen, "Why not let them go?" an American finds it difficult to answer with proper patience.

We certainly believe in "government resting on the consent of the governed," but it is not a necessary corollary that discontent dissolves the Government. The governed, under our Constitution, must change their rule in a legal, constitutional, assigned mode. Our Charter has provided the method of alteration for a dissatisfied minority.

To "let the South go," is utterly impossible; not because we need their cotton, or their territory, or their population, or their civilization, but simply because then we should have to "let everything go."

New York might "go" from New England; Pennsylvania separate from Wisconsin; Staten Island from New York City, and Five Points secede from the Metropolitan Police District. In other words, it is simply *anarchy.* Besides, separation is civil war dragged along for generations: war for frontiers, war for territories, for the Mississippi, for the Potomac, for the Tortugas, for Key West, for the Gulf; war for and against slavery. All that now urges to arms, and tenfold more, would be spurring on these two confederacies to incessant hostilities. Still more, slavery would go forth with its piratical flag over all the islands and the new provinces of the Southern hemisphere.

A republic would then rear its arrogant head, confessedly based on human slavery, and whose great design would be to extend over new fields and through unknown centuries the infinite wrongs and cruelties and degradation of American chattelhood.

Is not war, English friends! civil war, fratricidal war, better than this?

We must, of course, admit that there are difficulties of a most formidable nature, as to the final settlement of this question with the South—such as relate to the peculiar form of our Government and the dangers from military successes and standing armies. Without discussing these, we can only say here that they are less, by far, than the dangers and difficulties from any peaceable secession—and of these, we are the best judges.—*N. Y. Independent.*

SLAVERY HAS DONE IT.

Let us not for one moment lose sight of this fact. We go into this war not merely to sustain the government and defend the Constitution. There is a moral principle involved. *How came* that government in danger? *What has brought* this wicked war, with all its evils and horrors, upon us? Whence comes the *necessity* for this uprising of the people? To these questions, there can be but one answer. SLAVERY HAS DONE IT. That accursed system, which has already cost us so much, has at length culminated in this present ruin and confusion. That system must be put down. The danger must never be suffered to occur again. The evil must be eradicated, cost what it may. We are for no half-way measures. So long as the slave system kept itself within the limits of the Constitution, we were bound to let it alone, and to respect its legal rights; but when, overleaping those limits, it bids defiance to all law, and lays its vile hands on the sacred altar of liberty and the sacred flag of the country, and would overturn the Constitution itself, thenceforth slavery has no longer any constitutional rights. It is by its own act an outlaw. It can never come back again into the temple, and claim a place by right among the worshippers of truth and liberty. It has ostracised itself, and that forever.

Let us not be told, then, that the matter of slavery does not enter into the present controversy—that it is merely a war to uphold the government, and put down secession. It is not so. So far from this, slavery is the very heart and head of this whole struggle. The conflict is between freedom on the one hand, maintaining its rights, and slavery on the other, usurping and demanding that to which it has no right. It is a war of principle as well as of self-preservation; and that is but a miserable and short-sighted policy which looks merely at the danger, and overlooks the cause; which seeks merely to put out the fire, and lets the incendiary go at large, to repeat the experiment at his leisure. We must do both—put out the fire, and put out the incendiary too. We meet the danger effectually only by eradicating the disease.—*Erie True American.*

☞ This is hitting the nail on the head. "Slavery has done it," and must therefore be abolished.

WHAT SHALL BE DONE WITH THE SLAVES EMANCIPATED BY WAR?

The popular instinct, which goes right to the truth of the matter, says, "Slavery made the war; let it take the consequences of war." We expect that nothing more just than that could be proclaimed from Sinai itself. But politicians in office have but little faith either in the popular instinct or in eternal justice. Why should men, who are conscious of their own weakness, have faith in the popular instinct which elevated them to office? Therefore, the question with them is, how to avoid these great, self-evident truths. To this want of faith is added another demoralizing element, in the common political idea that the more that truth and justice are violated, the better our constitutional obligations are fulfilled; and that the sacrifice of the great popular instinct of truth is a patriotic sacrifice to the country.

Heaven help a country where to crush out the instincts of right, and to sacrifice manhood, is set up as patriotism;—that is, nothing but Heaven could save such a country, but it would not be worth saving. How much better would such a people be than those who set up the most hideous reptiles and all manner of beastliness as objects of worship?

Is the Government which we are supporting a legitimate, constitutional and just Government? Then to rebel against it is the greatest crime known to humanity. It is guilt for all the horrors of the war. It is the sum of all iniquity, for it includes all possible crimes. The rebels have forfeited all right to life, liberty and property, and only hold either at the mercy of the Government, after complete submission. This is the natural and universal law of all ages and Governments. They who take up the sword must perish by the sword.

Are we to carry on this war as if it was for a just government against rebellion? Are we justified in using the most efficient means to crush rebellion? Have we even belligerent rights? Or is it only another and a desperate effort to fulfill what, in the slavishness in which the people of the North have wallowed until it has become second nature, is called "our obligations to the South"? We ask this, because so far our attitude in this war seems to indicate this motive. Our citizens are robbed of their dues, property and ships, themselves abused with more than savage ferocity, and hundreds of them murdered—hundreds of millions of Northern investments swept out of existence by Southern rascality, our industry destroyed, the very existence of the government threatened by the rebellion; yet our brave volunteers, who have tendered their lives to save their country, and to show that they have a country worthy of the lives of its citizens, are informed at the outset of the campaign that their first duty is to catch fugitive slaves for rebel masters, and suppress black insurrections for white insurgents. Three great Generals, in command of three great corps of the grand army of the North, have successively proclaimed this degradation to the nation. And fugitives in the very Capital, flying from masters who had plotted its destruction, to the soldiers of the government for protection, have been stopped by their bayonets, and delivered up to masters who would gladly have assassinated every one of our men with steel or poison.

Is it only an enlarged slave hunt that the North is called to carry on with such generous, patriotic sacrifices? Disgusted with the degrading work which he had assumed, a Democratic General took the responsibility of holding the fugitive slaves of rebels as contraband of war. His report of this course brought a diplomatic, non-committal reply, instructing the General to keep an account of the labor of the fugitives; as if the government would have it understood that it might be held accountable for the fugitive slaves that sought refuge in its camps. And whom would it imply that it might be held responsible to? To their rebel masters, of course; who else would have any claim upon the government for them?

Now we are told, from day to day, that the Cabinet is in consultation over this question, and has failed, so far, to come to any conclusion. In the meantime, our troops are met at every point by formidable fortifications, thrown up by these very slaves who are held in service solely by the impression which has been spread among them by the fugitives who have been returned by our army, that flight to it will result in return to torture, and to be sold South. From behind these fortifications, mounted by the same labor, with abundance of great guns, robbed from the government, the insurgents slaughter our soldiers, who are thus made to furnish the enemy with the most effective and deadly means of attacking them.

In every way by which the army can enter Virginia, it is met by these murderous fortifications, provided by the labor over which our troops virtually stand as overseers and slave-drivers. Has our great army entered Virginia for nothing but to furnish aid and comfort to its deadly foes? Has the government any more right to commit treason by furnishing aid and comfort to the enemy, than any of its subjects? How can it take any measures to punish treason, when it sets an example of the most effective and dangerous treason? Under the present strategic campaign, every slave is a more valuable soldier to the insurgents than a white soldier of the average Southern stock. Their muscle and endurance throw up the fortifications which add ten-fold to the power of their troops. Their labor performs all the heavy work of mounting the great guns, and of forage and transportation, which is so severe on soldiers when added to their other duties.

What right has the government thus to strengthen the rebellion? Are these blacks property? Then it is subject to the fate of all property used for military purposes in time of war. Even if not used for military purposes, it is subject to the fate of other property. Is it any more sacred than the ships, steamboats and goods of Northern citizens, which the rebels have seized and confiscated, wherever they could lay hands on them? If property, the slaves must be treated as the property of rebels, the most valuable for military purposes. If men, they are the most formidable allies and soldiers of the rebels, and our government would be justified in using all possible means to detach them from the rebel service. When they escape to our army, they are fugitives from the enemy, and no nation can deliver up such without the guilt of treachery.

When they reach our camps, they are men. The government can know them in no other capacity. The government cannot become a slaveholder. It can only know them as men, with all the rights of men, and with the additional claim of having joined the government in a war against rebellion. By what right can we deliver them up, if disposed to do so treacherous an act? By the Fugitive Slave Law? That the seceders have abolished. What seceded or neutral State can claim anything under Federal obligations? They pretend that their soil is violated by the exercise of any Federal authority upon it. Why should the government force the Fugitive Slave Law on an unwilling and hostile people?

The extent of treason and rebellion is exactly defined by slavery. Where there are few or no slaves in the South, a majority of the people are loyal. No slave insurrections are possible in such districts. So it is not for the loyal people of the South that our army has assumed the office of patrol to suppress negro insurrections.

No negro insurrection is possible, except in the great slaveholding districts; and these are the very hotbeds of rebellion. It is for these that the armies of the North have assumed the office of slave overseer, to keep the negroes in the ranks of the enemy, or drive them to their agricultural labor, to support their masters in carrying on the war. In the nature of the case, it can only be for the traitors that we have assumed the duties of slave-driver and slave-catcher—a business regarded as degraded by the slaveholders themselves, but which our brave volunteers, who have offered life, fortune and honor in the service of their country, are called upon to carry on for the very men who are fighting against them with all the resorts of the assassin.

The rebels boasted from the outbreak of the rebellion, that they could carry on the war without exhaustion, for their slaves would do the agricultural labor while the whites did the fighting. It is hardly probable that they expected the government to assist them in carrying this out; but our Northern men who have left their fields and shops to defend the government, or who have been cut off from labor by the war, are informed that their first duty is to keep the slaves of the rebels at work, while their masters are carrying on the war. No war can be carried on successfully which [illegible] position so demoralizing to the troops. [illegible] rebellion can ever be suppressed which the government first sets up as more sacred than itself; nor ought a rebellion to be conquered by a government which recognizes it as sacred.

If our government intends to carry on the war, it is high time for it to assume belligerent rights. So far, it has been done as if the Jeff. Davis insurrection had the divine right of government, and we were the rebels. They plunder our citizens, lynch and murder them, and we hasten to turn the other cheek by offering to keep the negro property in subjection. They forbid our men-of-war to enter Pensacola harbor, and the men-of-war meekly take post outside, and for months witness the passage in and out of vessels laden with supplies for the rebel troops. Their privateers steal out of their ports, and capture our merchant vessels, while our ships-of-war have at length become so bold as to turn back vessels laden with supplies for Bragg's troops, and forbid them to enter. At the last accounts, an United States officer tried hard to induce a rebel captain, who had been stopped with a cargo of lumber, to sell it at an exorbitant price to the government, for the troops on Santa Rosas Island; but be refused, and was turned back with his cargo.

A guerrilla war is waged on our outposts in Virginia, and our sentinels stolen upon in the darkness and shot down. Sometimes the assassin is taken. Then he becomes a prisoner of war, and in due time is exchanged, or dis[illegible] the oath of allegiance, to go on shooting [illegible].

By the principle of war, every individual of the hostile people is at war, and is responsible in life and property. Modern warfare has, to some extent, ameliorated this by sparing private property, and the persons of those not actually combatant. But this is conceded only on the ground that the hostile inhabitants are peaceable, and do not molest the troops. If they do, they are liable to every penalty of war, both in person and property, and war does not admit of nice discriminations.

The guerrilla assassination of our troops everywhere in Virginia would justify, according to the most humane rules of war, the severest retaliation upon the inhabitants and their property. But the more they shoot our pickets, the more we strive to show our regard for the sanctity of their persons and property; and the severest penalties are inflicted on the soldiers of the government who have exercised a soldier's right to plunder armed enemies.

The result of this course is seen in Virginia and everywhere in the infected districts. Rebellion is the safest business now carried on in the country. Its consequences are a farce—a mere joke—an oath. What can be a richer joke to a Southern rebel than an oath of allegiance? Our army holds no more ground than its bayonets cover. Pickets of the rebels everywhere surround it with impunity, cutting it off from intelligence, building batteries under its very guns, setting ambushes, and amusing themselves by picking off our sentinels. If they are taken, it ends as a joke.

Our President proclaims that rebel privateers will be treated as pirates, and we growl at England because she does not proclaim the same. But a rebel privateer is taken, and her crew, instead of being suspended at once to the yard-arm, are brought to New York to take advantage of the law's delay, and the glorious right of trial by jury, with the chance of aid from some judicial traitor, by one of whom the Administration has already been cowed.

From the Atlantic to the Mississippi, supplies are continually transported from the North to the rebel army, and the government resorts to no efficient measures to prevent; but, on the other hand, is quoted by conditional rebels as indorsing a neutrality which is protecting and supplying the rebel army, and doing more to aid it and destroy the government, than could be done by its active hostility.

The war has never yet been recognized as an existing fact, by our side. We have endured every act of war as if it was a right which belonged to the rebels. It may be that nothing but some serious disaster to our cause will establish just distinctions, and force us to the exercise of belligerent rights. But if we have not a right to crush this rebellion as a crime, and to hang the ringleaders as traitors, we have no right to resort to force at all. If they have the right to make war upon the government, and are nothing but prisoners of war when taken, then their independent rights are conceded, and we have no right to carry on the war on our part. The present treatment does nothing but strengthen and extend the rebellion. Until our forces treat the rebellion as treason, and resort to every belligerent right to cripple its power and crush it into submission by every penalty of war, we shall make no progress against it.—*Cincinnati Gazette.*

WASHINGTON, June 11th. Three slaves were taken into one of the camps yesterday. A Mr. Webb, of Virginia, claimed to be their owner, and demanded them. The Colonel refused, deeming them contraband. They were sent over to General Sandford's quarters, upon his order, where Webb again presented himself, and General Sandford sent for a wagon at his own expense, into which the three negroes were placed, and sent back to Virginia, to the entire satisfaction of their secession master. This act on General Sandford's part has given rise to much comment to-day, and he gets very little credit in any quarter, save among the rebel slave-owners over the river.

SLAVERY UNDER THE WAR POWER.

Professor Theophilus Parsons sends to the Boston *Daily Advertiser*, by request of the editors of that paper, an abstract of what he recently said to the Law School at Cambridge on the subject of Martial Law. We give below that portion of it which relates to the slavery question.

Many of you have asked of me what would be the law or the legal rights which an army, advancing by order of the President into a State in organized rebellion, would carry with it, as to the slaves. I will endeavor to answer this question.

In the first place, that army must have the rights, and all the rights, of war. Because, if a State puts itself into that position with reference to the United States, the Government of the United States must necessarily accept that position while carrying on the conflict, although the General Government prosecute the war with no desire of subjugation, but only for the purpose of bringing that State back to its original position.

There are four ways in which that army might deal with slaves. One is, to seize and use them in its military labors. That they might do this seems to me as certain as that they might seize horses or oxen to draw their wagons, or shovels to dig their trenches. How far compensation should be made must depend upon circumstances. It is a common opinion, that modern civilization has so far mitigated war, that it is no longer one of the laws of war, that an invading army may seize, use, or destroy private property. This is a mistake, according to all authorities on the law of nations. It is undoubtedly true, however, that the modern usages and proprieties of war—and there are such things—would justify the exercise of this right only on the ground of military necessity.

The second way is to receive and harbor all runaway slaves. And the third is but a step further in the same direction, although it may seem to be a wide step; it is to liberate them, not, as it were, passively, but by proclamation, or other active measures. As matter of law, I have not the least doubt of the right of an invading army to do this. It would, regarded as a mere question of law, stand on the footing of a destruction of private property in an enemy's country. And like that, it would be an unquestionable right; but, if the usages of war were to govern it, it would be a right to be exercised only as a military necessity, and for the purpose of weakening the enemy, and lessening his means of attack or resistance. And the existence of this necessity must be determined by the commanding officer, or by the supreme authority at home, in view of all the circumstances of the case. Should there be a war between two Slave States, say Georgia and South Carolina, and Georgia should invade South Carolina, I have no doubt that the invading forces might and would claim and possess a right to exercise these means of weakening their enemy, if they thought proper.

The fourth way of dealing with slaves would be to put weapons into their hands, and incite them to armed insurrection. If any such right as this can ever exist, it can only spring from the extremest necessity, and from a condition of things which it would be difficult and painful to imagine. With my understanding of what an armed servile insurrection must be, I may illustrate my view of the law thus: An army which invested a city that was supplied with water by a stream flowing into it, [illegible] military right to cut off the stream, and [illegible] the city to submission. But it would have no right, military or other, to poison the waters. There seems to me, as matter of law, a good test for this. The commander of an invading army might certainly, as a military necessity, liberate the slaves, and make any use of them which he could make of his own soldiers; but nothing more.

Questions of a moral nature, and others of expediency, gather around this topic of the treatment of slaves by an invading force. I have avoided all reference to them, not because I am insensible to their existence or their force. But it is my business here to speak to you, as well as I can, of *the law*, and I believe I can speak of it more accurately, if I speak only of the law.

THE SLAVES TO BE MURDERED.

The occupation of Virginia soil by our troops is throwing the secession journals in a paroxysm of rage. In their blind fury, they are conjuring up spectres of the most horrid description. The general reader will have been prepared for the utterance of very considerable amount of falsehood and bombast, sundry rare specimens of which have already appeared in the columns of this paper. But the Mobile *Register* of last Saturday out-Herods Herod in this respect. After announcing the invasion of Virginia, that journal observes:—

"S[illegible] part of their programme, but [illegible] amount of practical good to [illegible] therefrom—consequently, it is contended that it would be a far better course of policy for the Abolitionists to murder the slaves, and thus exterminate slavery. A more monstrous proposition could not emanate from the most incarnate fiend among the damned. But, infamous as it is, it finds an advocate in the Abolition press. The slaves are to be indiscriminately slaughtered, and when the last one is butchered, then it is thought the institution will cease to exist. The soul recoils in horror at the idea of an unscrupulous war upon the innocent and defenceless slave. The Syrian massacre of the Christians and all the crimes of its bloody participants pale before the proposed atrocities of the Black Republicans. Their masters, however, in this as all other instances, will be their protectors and saviors. With this much of their published programme, we must not be surprised at any act or threat as the campaign advances."

It is unnecessary to say that no Northern journal, "Black Republican" or any thing else, has ever recommended any thing of the sort. We let it pass. The extract given above shows the rebel leaders begin to realize clearly the danger of a slave insurrection. A previous paragraph had cracked the whip over the planters' heads, telling them that the "object of the foeman, in addition to that of subjugation, embraces confiscation of property, and the entire annihilation of the institutions of the South." This was very good to begin with, so far as the slaveholder might be concerned. But it was evident that, unlike the fable of the frog, what was sport for him might not be death to the negroes. So, to keep the latter in the traces, they are threatened with extermination. The Abolitionists mean to murder them all!—*New York Commercial Advertiser.*

OUR BAD EXAMPLE.

The New York *Independent*, of last week, contains a letter from Rev. Dr. Cheever, (who still remains abroad, doing good service,) on the opinions in Great Britain concerning the war, in which he says:—

It is impossible to measure the prejudice produced here against the cause of the North by the people reading that Massachusetts regiments are offered to put down slave insurrections, that poor fugitive slaves are thrust back into the hell of slavery by Northern commanders, that the Governor of Rhode Island had returned escaping slaves to their owner from a Rhode Island regiment, that colored persons are not permitted to enlist, that the Governor of Pennsylvania had forbidden colored troops to go from Pennsylvania into Virginia, for fear of a servile war, and that all purpose of liberating the slaves is constantly denied. It is these pro-slavery indications on the part of the North that do more than anything else to make the people here believe that the war is not at any rate a war against slavery, and therefore they are as ready to sympathize with the South as with the North, if neither party mean to obey God, and set at liberty those that are bound. There are other evil influences. I met recently a colored minister of the Gospel from the United States, who showed me his passport or protection, for passport he could not obtain; the only document he could get from the American Government in February, 1861, being a sheet of paper, setting forth that he was a native of America, but no citizenship certified, nor any protection guaranteed as a citizen of the United States. If the United States would retain the sympathy of Great Britain, or of any country in Europe, such injustice as this must be brought to an end. Let the Republican Administration in our country show that they hate slavery, and they will have the good-will and fervent sympathy of the people everywhere. If the Government of the United States would have the sympathy of the people of Great Britain, (a thing which is every way most desirable,) let them make it plain that this conflict against the South is a conflict in behalf of the oppressed, a conflict truly for freedom, the cause of justice and mercy to the oppressed, and therefore the cause of God.

The Liberator.

No Union with Slaveholders!

BOSTON, FRIDAY, JULY 5, 1861.

A FINAL SETTLEMENT.

Extract from a Letter to a Representative in Congress.

Among the matters marked, in my attentive reading of the speech, delivered in February last, which you had the kindness to send me, were these two ideas.

You think that the action of Congress and of the people should be directed to "restore the ancient fraternal feeling" between North and South, and to "*settle forever* these questions which disturb our peace."

As to the "fraternal feeling" of which you speak, I now send you (in three pamphlets*) a compilation of very convincing evidence, consisting of words and deeds of Southern men, that that feeling (as far as *these* people are concerned) is dead, without hope of resurrection.

In saying that the matters copied in these pamphlets from Southern papers are the words and deeds of Southern men, I have greatly understated my case. They are the words and deeds of the *dominant party* of Southern men; of the people who despotically rule the South, and whose rule is submitted to without remonstrance by the remainder, small or great, of the Southern population. No doubt the class of people exists, at the South, to whom Mr. Helper addressed his admirable book. No doubt hearty and genuine "Republicans" exist there. But since those worthy people dare not appear for what they are—since they dared not vote, last November, for Lincoln, the man of their choice—and since they dare not buy, nor keep in their houses, nor give away, a copy of Helper's book, for fear of immediate Lynching by the dominant party—we must leave them out of the present question. You cannot hold open negotiation with people who sneak in holes and corners, and when they come into the light put on a secession cockade to save their lives. The only South there is now, to hold open intercourse with, is the Rebellious South. And these men (and women too) hate the North with *perfect* hatred. In regard to any portion of the South which has a voice and a visible existence, we may as well dismiss the fiction of "fraternal feeling." Yet these are the people we have now to deal with. And, as you most justly say, we ought so to deal with them as to "*settle forever* these questions which disturb our peace." How shall this immensely important work be done?

Can it be done in any other way than by accomplishing the utter annihilation of slavery, as far as the United States are concerned? Have not all our national troubles sprung from this source? Is there not, indeed, an "irrepressible" conflict between freedom and slavery? Is it not *necessarily* true that he who holds a slave is himself *held*—limited—cumbered—restrained, by that very act, of a portion of his own natural liberty? And that he who is allied with the slaveholder, for the purpose (among others) of holding the slave securely, is himself also, to that extent, cumbered, limited, deprived of a portion of his liberty?

We may as well recognize and acknowledge the truth, that our fathers committed a sin and a folly in trying to incorporate slavery with their freedom; and that it is alike our duty and our interest to repair their error without further delay. We have neglected several eminently good opportunities to do this; not to speak of the fact that the constantly increasing evils of slavery were calling upon us every year to abate that horrible nuisance without a moment's delay; but now, when slavery is threatening the very existence of the Government, and compelling the raising of immense armies for the protection of the Capital, is it not suicidal folly to think longer of concession to this Minotaur? Can we, as reasonable beings, think of, plan for, bend our whole energies to the accomplishment of, anything less than its entire destruction?

Individually, (such is my sense of the enormous and increasing evil, as well as wickedness, involved in the toleration of slaveholding,) I should rejoice to let *every* slave State go, immediately and finally, from this Union, joyfully giving up, for the advantage of their absence, the stolen property which they might carry off. But the United States Government cannot do this. By Abraham Lincoln's election as President, he has been put in charge of the property of the nation, and when it is plundered, he must seize the robbers and recover the property. Neither can he negotiate with rebels who are also robbers. He must first make them lay down their arms and give up their plunder. But it is the business of Congress, wisely regarding the past, the present, and the future, to provide remedies for present evils and securities for future welfare. And, for both these purposes, it seems to me absolutely indispensable that they should take measures to free the United States from slavery. While one particle of this monstrosity remains in actual existence within our boundaries, while one word actually conniving at it remains in our Constitution or our laws, we are constantly exposed to a repetition of all the present evils. A new rebellion would spring up after the overthrow of the present one. We must strike at the root; we must eradicate and extirpate it. This is our "one thing needful"; and, for this thing, *now*, now, NOW is "the accepted time."

In your speech in February last, you spoke of the government of this country as "a *system* of government which unites the utmost capacity of national power and renown, and the most perfect protection of social order, with the highest degree of individual liberty." I hope the events of the succeeding months have taught you that which your own observation and reflection ought, even then, to have made plain to you, namely, that our nation has *never* displayed, either "the most perfect protection of social order," or "the highest degree of individual liberty"; and, moreover, that a *system* of government including something so inherently vicious as to have nourished discord up to open rebellion, and something so base as to have kept the finger of scorn pointed at us through the last quarter of a century by every civilized nation, cannot possibly represent "the utmost capacity of national power and renown." *Our* system has proved itself weak, and vicious, and shameful; and it has manifestly become such through the intermixture of slavery. It is time to begin the experiment of a popular government founded upon freedom; a government *of* the people, *by* the people, and *for* the people, doing the duty of the strong by protecting the weak. If this Congress shall fail to enter vigorously upon this work, if it shall commence no provision for the utter and speedy eradication of slavery from those States which are to call themselves ultimately "United," it will not only have lost one of the noblest and most auspicious of opportunities, but will have violated a manifest duty, and incurred an ineradicable disgrace. That no such guilt and disgrace may rest upon *your* head is the earnest wish and prayer of your friend, C. K. W.

* "The New 'Reign of Terror' in the Slaveholding States for 1859–60."

"A Fresh Catalogue of Southern outrages upon Northern Citizens."

"The Spirit of the South towards Northern Freemen and Soldiers."

☞ We publish two more communications from our Illinois correspondent, B. G. WRIGHT, relative to the right of Southern secession. Our answer again is, that he fails to show any analogy between that secession and the right of rebellion as laid down in the Declaration of Independence; or between it and the ground of Disunionism as advocated by the Abolitionists. We are surprised that he fails to make a discrimination where the contrast is as great as that between light and darkness; and, failing to do this, he is bringing upon himself unnecessary popular odium. We will make a fresh effort to clear up the mist in a future number.

THE PRESENT CRISIS.

A DISCOURSE,

Delivered at the Music Hall, Boston, Sunday, June 30,

BY E. H. HEYWOOD.

Phonographic Report by JAS. M. W. YERRINTON.

It is our good fortune to live in a stirring period, and one exceedingly interesting to look into. Any moment, being the conflux of two eternities, is very worthful, but times like the present seem peculiarly so; perhaps because we touch life at more points, shake ourselves clear, somewhat, from the meshes of society, the cobwebs of politics and ecclesiastics, in which most of us are sucked dry, and bloodless, and range abroad a little. I like such times. All things go on their own merits again. The Spirit of Progress, moving upon the face of society, its foundations are broken up, and those who have clung must swim or sink—either is good for them. Fat officials are unhitched from their bread and butter. Constitutions, codes, creeds, unions, all are solemnly interrogated whether they have any thing inherent or lifeful. If not, down they must go; for, through them, or over them, the world must get forward. At such a period, you look for the Constitution where it is—in the glass—not to huckstering statesmen, playing hide-and-seek among law books. You look for the Church, not at Beecher's, for the Supreme Court, not at the Capital, but under the jauntiest hat you meet on Washington street. One seeks help for himself and in himself. Outside authority doffs its hat to inside authority.

Such moments are the inspired periods of the race—the only ones that history thinks it worth while to remember. The problem of life is to do something, to think and kick; to pass from the material to the ideal; from what is partial, relative, temporary, to the universal, the absolute, the eternal. The organic forms of society—politics, commerce, the schools and the church—are methods of transit; attempts to bridge the chasm. Your social evil—war, slavery, intemperance, woman's wrongs, or the like—is the slough of despond, in which the race sticks by the way. Inspiration, poetry, philosophy, the dreams of lovers, the intuitions of women and children, are prophecies of that perfectness of which we are capable.

——"Through the ages, one increasing purpose runs,
And the thoughts of men are widened with the process of the suns."

Just now, this upward movement is energetic, volcanic; it is the historic feature of the present period Human nature is insurgent. Titans toss and Ætnas tumble here and there. It is the dawning millennium of "mud-sills." War results. Graduates from "bloody instructions," the people clutch the weapons next their hands, wherewith to strike down the oppressor. They have not yet learned to trust the soul and the truth; they have not yet faith to rise into celestial orbits, into those great circle truths which enfold all nations and all ages, as the sky the earth. Men say, "Your idea is right; the human soul is adequate to its functions; the reign of Reason and Love is the ideal of democratic, Christian civilization; but the world is not ready for it yet." That is, it was rash in Copernicus, on discovering the true theory of astronomy, to transfer the centre of observation at once to the sun; he should have stopped a few centuries on the way at Mars. The divine martyrdom of Calvary, the love doctrine of Jesus, was a mistake. He should have enlisted a regiment of Zouaves in Jerusalem, and marched against Pilate and Nero. Your model Christians preach Jesus, and practise Joshua; and in this terrific sweep of unionism, that takes the sturdiest reformers off their feet, I must put most of the "infidels" and "fanatics" into the same category.

Christendom has not yet begun to fathom the ethics of the Cross in respect of humanity. The word "War" sticks like a barbed hook in the throat of every discourse from this desk.

They tell us that the war principle is horrid; its only moral light flashes from the sword; it "repeals all the commandments," casts away all the anchors of religion, to drift darkly before the most irresponsible and vindictive of the human passions. *I believe it*; nor am I able to separate the sin from the sinner, the evil from its causes. Viewed from the plane of absolute truth, in the last analysis, (I weigh my words, and mean every letter,) the life-taking doctrine, (the life-giving doctrine is its antipodes,) the war principle, is a horrid immorality;—fashionable, constitutional, orthodox murder. A virtuous war is as impossible as a truthful lie, for the right to life is the basis of all other rights. Where there is no life, there can be no liberty, no law, no humanity, no religion. This theory, however, does not (as Dr. Solger, a few weeks ago, from this desk, ably, though erroneously, argued) make mere animal life ultimate; it makes the human soul ultimate. Instead of marching against Jerusalem and Rome with murderous weapons, it goes to Calvary, and wins the world.

I do not use these words "Cross" and "Calvary," because they are catch-words of conservatism, just now, in Christendom; but because they stand for the highest inspirations of the human soul, yet incarnated upon earth. Their essence is quite as unpopular now as in the days of Jesus; and no man is worthy to take the name of the beloved Nazarene into his lips, who has not a Sinai and Calvary of his own.

I know it is great cause for distrusting one's own opinion, to differ from our Demosthenes; but I cannot agree with Mr. Phillips when he says, that such a contest as this can be settled only by arms. As I revere his peerless intellect and unrivalled eloquence, his Spartan heroism and divine integrity, I most gravely dissent from that fatal concession. It denies the adequacy of the human reason to apprehend and obey the truth; severs Democracy, not only, but Protestantism, from its only living root; degrades that sublime moral struggle in which this greatest of living orators has borne a pre-eminent and immortal part, which alone has educated the North into the moral purpose of unifying this Republic in favor of freedom, instead of in favor of slavery, and which yet, under God, is to ride this whirlwind and direct this storm to universal emancipation. I know the cloud is heavy upon us, black with ruin; but the "heaven-tipped virtue" of Abolitionism would have cast all its bolts harmless into the earth, if the nation had but obeyed its higher instincts. By the faith of the Nazarene, by the universal consciousness of the race, I never will subscribe to that theory of depravity which despairs of human redemption. The music of the spheres is echoed in the shell under the leaden sea; the sky loves to be mirrored in the most democratic puddle of the streets; so, underneath this burden of social evil, there is always a moral response, which, if trusted, will become the diapason of universal melody.

It is very convenient to say, We are all right, and the South is all wrong. It is not so. The North is responsible for this state of things in the country, as well as the South. It is because we have supported the system of slavery, that it has risen to such gigantic proportions that now it strives to drag down the pillars of heaven. You cannot thus baptize yourselves into an imaginary faith in an imaginary God of Battles. Oh, no! The Christian God was always an abolitionist, always the "Prince of Peace."

The only theory, then, that can explain, or in any reasonable manner justify, this war, is the retribution theory. Retribution upon the North for seventy years complicity with slavery; retribution upon the South for attempting to build a State on immorality, infidelity and atheism. But I do not propose to discuss the abstract question of peace this morning. Men have not the vision or self-poise to weigh its tremendous issues amid the smoke of battle and the roar of cannon. I fear, indeed, that, were I to apply the absolute method to this discussion, which makes this pulpit the Plymouth Rock of a new civilization,—were I to hew to the line, even *you* would not relish all the chips that might fly in your faces. There are thunderbolts in the quiver of truth for war as well as for slavery; *but they will keep*. "Time makes more converts than reason." When Non-Resistance is respectable as well as true, it will be clear as sunlight, and everybody will have always believed in it. My confidence in its present efficiency and ultimate triumph daily gains root and strength; and I know of no higher, braver, more beneficent or practical service to truth and humanity, than now and forever to fight under the celestial flag. But yet, in Irish phrase, I am for a peaceable fight; for every man obeying his highest impulses of duty, and using the best weapons to which his hands are consecrated. Let us have no hypocrites. My issue is not with the leaf, with the twig, but with the root. Not so much with Niagara in the rapids, as at the source. If it is your religious duty to leap from a precipice, and try to stop half way down, I will risk the law of gravitation. You will not break that, but that may break you.

I do not forget, however, that this age believes religiously in bullets; that every existing government and church is founded on force—the sword its ultimate appeal. Then let those agencies be consecrated to the highest moral purpose of which they are capable. If it is a man's religious duty to vote under this government, it is his religious duty now to second his ballot with bullets. These rebel slaveholders are traitors to human nature, as well as to the Union; strike at the liberty of the race, as well as at the heart of the Republic; and Mr. Lincoln, as President, is bound to give them "Hail Columbia." (Applause.) For, honestly President, (it seems odd to have an honest President once, does it not?) religiously believing in the necessity of such a government as this, he is bound to stand by his oath, the honor of his party, and the integrity of the government, or resign and go up to Garrison's position; and if, to do this, he were obliged to send every slaveholder in the land to that safest of all prisons, the grave, the public sentiment of the age would support him. (Applause.) This secession is utterly without excuse, and for the basest of purposes—high treason to justice and liberty, and a damnable insult to the heroes of '76. (Applause.) South Carolina never had a government. The "sovereign State" which is making so much ado, is only piracy in white kids and patent-leather, plus the bloodhound for a constable. Her first government will have the consent of black faces, not of black hearts only. This federal government is not a gingerbread compact, to be toppled by a whim; it is the consolidated popular heart; it is a confederacy of the people, by the people, for the people, and dissolvable only by common consent. Granting your premises, voters, I would assent to every word of Webster in the Hayne debate; for that argument yet remains the Gibraltar of union.

A word upon the peace method. The American Peace Society does not represent it. They are inspired by a noble impulse, but are not anchored in any definite idea or purpose. They "see men as trees walking." They believe in peace, except when there is war. They have not learned of St. James yet, that purity, by repentance and reformation, is the only path to peace. Hence they endorse the establishment, with all popular crimes and respectable iniquity, smother volcanoes, and call *that* peace. I would not utter a word of discouraging criticism upon humane and generous efforts; but those gentlemen must have the compass of principle, and faith to launch, if they would reach the desired haven. The only possible peace method, in a contest like this, is illustrated in this thirty years' war of abolitionism, as conducted by its eternally belligerent pioneer—the very Achilles of moral fighters. The peace method is not an acquiescent, hat-in-hand, begging policy, but a moral revolt, whose earthquake tread shakes the planet,—a denunciation of oppressors and all their accomplices—"whose every word draws blood." Slavery is not peace. Samuel Hoar, kicked out of Charleston, is not peace. Your court-house in chains is not peace. Sumner bleeding in the Senate is not peace. John Brown "justly hung" is not peace. Jeff. Davis, President of rebels in rags and rebels in ruffles, commander-in-chief of all the pirates, who did *not* take Washington, is not peace. (Applause.) Oh, no, Mr. Burritt! This nation has sown the wind, and it must reap the whirlwind. It has sown fire and gunpowder, and it must reap explosion. Peace will come either by love or blood, by light or lightning. It will come only by the removal of the *cause* of war. It will come by Northern freemen pouring out their blood in glad atonement for seventy years of injustice to the slave. It will come by confederate armies swept like autumn leaves before the sublime wrath of the North. It will come by Davis, Wigfall, Toombs, Rhett and Wise dropping to hell from the same halter whence John Brown rose to heaven. (Loud applause.) It will come by Garrison "ascending to the right hand of God, with four million broken fetters in his hand," as proof that America had a conscience. Our great pioneer will live to see his anti-slavery purpose accomplished. The world will not come up with his peace principle for some ages yet. But "let the galled jade wince, *his* withers are unwrung." He has launched and lived his idea; he has solved the riddle, and, like Kepler, he can "afford to wait centuries for a reader, since God has waited six thousand years for an observer."

This war—it is only a cutaneous eruption of the hidden disease of our body politic. We have had peace in the shell, but war in the egg. *Causa latet, vis est notissima*—The cause is latent, the effect notorious enough. For seventy years, this nation has been organized war upon the black man,—a conspiracy against his rights. When John Adams came home to his wife from the Constitutional Convention, the irrepressible justice of woman's heart exclaimed, "You have asserted your own rights, but you have enslaved the blacks." When Jeff. Davis spoke in Faneuil Hall, and waltzed with the beauty of New England, he was as really a pirate as now, for every thread of his garments was the stolen earnings of the slave. (Applause.) The fault of New England, the fault of the North, is, that they did not know that slavery was piracy just as much when it robbed the black as now, when it robs the white. Hence the negro, for six generations, has been the victim of our civilization. In the temple of Neptune, the tablets of those who were drowned were not hung up. At present, the North, who have been accomplices of the slaveholder against the slave, are in a death-grapple with him, and of course the slave, with his friends, is jubilant. "When rogues fall out, honest men come to their own." This is the reason why this hall shook with enthusiasm when, two months ago, our great orator blew that martial blast with which the empire still rings from side to side. This is why I hope that this roll of federal drums, crossing the continent with the morning light, will yet end in the grand chorus of the negro's redemption. (Applause.)

War, however, has already outgeneralled politics. I do not forget the drastic energy with which moral agitation, through or over politics, (mainly over,) has wrought for this cause. Eighty years ago, the anti-slavery enterprise was Clarkson, a college student riding home from Cambridge on horseback. It has now revolutionized the globe, by the omnipotence of the religious sentiment alone; against the Church, against the government, against the money power, against the popular prejudice. In this country, it has come up through great tribulation. Thirty years ago, the slave system was entrenched in all the strongholds that command the public mind—the pulpit, the press, the Senate, the seats of learning. Oh, how many years this enterprise went up and down among these steepled tombs, asking aid for the slave, "its head filled with dew, its locks wet with the drops of the night"! It knocked at the door of Bowdoin street church, and the electric brain and bugle lips which God lent the elder Beecher answered—"Too many irons in the fire already: came to Boston to put down Unitarianism." It knocked at the Old South, and the pulpit, still sacred with the foot-prints of Warren, answered, "Away, infidel philanthropy!" It knocked at the church upon the Green, and one who claims to speak in the faith of the sainted Channing, replied, "I would deliver my own mother to the fangs of the slave-hound." But we can afford to forget it all, and, treading reverently back, cover this shameless deformity; for the Old South, again true to its earlier heroism, now sways under the eloquence of Manning; tyrants from ocean to ocean cower before the hurtling bolts of Plymouth church; while the greatest of Unitarians, with whom, as that of Rome with Tully, "this eloquent air still breathes and burns," the modern Luther, within sight of the flying legions of Austria, ascends from the banks of the Arno, and Parker is immortal with freedom in Europe and America. (Loud applause.)

In 1836, Governor Everett would have made a meeting like this a penal offence. Now it would take a prison of all out-doors to hold us. The last argument against life-insurance is, that all the North have become Abolitionists, and Abolitionists never die. Governor Everett's successor ascends to the capital over the prostrate forms of Cushings and kidnappers, and first wins a national reputation by the brave sentiment, "John Brown was right." In '37, anti-slavery fell under the deadly aim of pro-slavery hate at Alton. Now, Lovejoy rises in a redeemed West, and sends to the capital the noblest and truest President since Washington. (Applause.)

Neither do I forget the indirect agency of politics in a reform like this. It was at the vision of the rail-splitter—"Birnam wood to Dunsinane"—approaching the capital, that South Carolina leapt from the federal battlements into the flaming lake of disunion. It was brave Free-Soilers in Massachusetts that gave us the Personal Liberty Bill. It was John A. Andrew, using Caleb Cushing for a block, who chopped off the head of Judge Loring. (Applause.)

Grant all this indirect service, still, politics, as such, has been an utter failure in this cause. You commenced with Washington, as President, six hundred thousand slaves, and the national domain dedicated to freedom; you fell to Buchanan, the Dred Scott decision, four million of slaves, and, as Mr. Seward concedes, the federal eagle going forth every where bearing chains, and not the olive branch, in his talons. The Republican party fought its way to the capital on the Free Soil doctrine. Its first act, on arriving there, was to organize the territories without the guarantee of freedom, so that Mr. Wilmot entered one door of Congress just in season to see his proviso flying from the other. If Mr. Lincoln had been allowed to carry on this government, he would now be returning fugitives, putting down insurrections, and hanging John Browns. He promised to do it, and he is a man of his word.

Now let war try its hand. Since last November, we have lived a century. The man who was the South-side candidate for Governor of this State, Gen. Butler, is now chief conductor on the under-ground railroad. (Applause.) Massachusetts soldiers in Fortress Monroe hymn the praises of "old John Brown." The American Anti-Slavery Society, temporarily reclining upon its shield, witnesses the grand spectacle of 250,000 freemen in one embattled emancipation Society, marching Southward. It is "all up" with the Bell-Everetts; for every body is a "Wide-awake" now (applause); while booming cannon bring to the surface of our sea the dead carcasses of Halletts, Winthrops, Cushings, Everetts, mission boards, tract societies, and doctors of divinity, to protest that they "still live," and out-Garrison Garrison in execrating slaveholders. Surely, it is a blessed gain to see this rotten politics, and a church "dead in trespasses and sins," hurled against the bastile of the South. Before mitre, give us nitre; before St. Peter, saltpetre. They said the Abolitionists did not pray, were not devotional. Well, they have been helping the Lord answer the prayers of the church, and have they not done admirably?

But do not let these hallelujahs take you off your feet. We are not yet out of the woods. The Government still clings to the shade of the old Union. The *Tribune*, the most courageous and powerful of our partisan press, the Napoleon of this gigantic struggle, still adheres to its policy of forgetting the negro, and daily assures posterity that we shall not be guilty of a disinterested motive in this matter. Mr. Seward, hat in hand, "with bated breath and whispered humbleness," begs Miss Secession to return to more tender federal embraces. Strange to say, the hope of freedom is yet in slavery—in the madness of the South. The maxim of the ancients yet holds true—"Evil is good in the making"; and South Carolina continues to be the most efficient agent the Anti-Slavery Society ever employed. Still, "there is a divinity that shapes our ends, rough hew them how we will." A higher prescience presides at this checker-board. This thirty years' struggle marshals the nation now, first into those who think slavery an evil to be girdled with non-extension—represented by the Republican party, and the framers of the government; secondly, those who think slavery a benefit, the corner-stone and capital of republican liberty—fathered by Mr. Calhoun, the Aristotle of slave philosophy, the Richelieu of the South, whose dead hand clutched those cotton stars from the federal firmament; thirdly, those who think slavery a sin and a crime, to be immediately put away,—represented by the slaves, and all whose hearts are bound with them. Three parties—the tolerationists, the extensionists, and the extinctionists. The first vanishing into the second and third, now necessitates the final classification of slavery every where, or slavery no where. Fortunately, the government, with all the rallying words of conservatism, "Union," "Constitution," "the supremacy of the laws," ranging on the side of the latter—the extinctionists,—now fronts the enemies of the Republic. Of these, there are two classes. First, the slaves; naturally, chronic rebels against all constitutional and unconstitutional servitude—in the Roman maxim, "As many slaves, so many enemies"; secondly, the slaveholders, now in defiant revolt. The government can subdue these only by emancipating the former from their chains, and the latter from their insolence and tyranny, or, by the adoption of the prophetic '42 doctrine of John Quincy Adams, settle this question by the war power under the Constitution, in removing the cause of the disturbance, slavery.

Mark one thing! At this point, by all constitutional law, not less than by the justice of nature and history, to the government, there are no slaves to-day in the insurgent States. They have trodden the Constitution under foot, with its pro-slavery compromises; and if the administration proceeds to receive them on the basis of the old Union, it will not only be bargaining with rebels and pirates, but with newly constituted slaveholders. Now, holding the government by virtue of the non-extension doctrine, how will you, Republicans, account to the conscience of the North, if you receive this new batch of slave States into the Union? If you are not degenerate sons, you will seize this opportunity, and let the same spirit—property or no property—that dumped the British tea in yonder harbor, now bury slavery so deep that no trump of resurrection shall ever reach it. (Applause.)

If, however, this war should terminate now, these results are irreversible: First, the Slave Power is broken. Jeff. Davis can never go from the Rogues' Gallery in New York to his seat in the Senate, whether his head secedes from his shoulders or not. Second, slavery stands revealed. Thirty years ago, from that garret in Congress street, Garrison labelled it PIRACY; the North now responds, "Amen." Third, the North is emancipated from "complimentary flunkeyism." No more slavehound Masons on Bunker Hill! (Applause.) No more pirates in Faneuil Hall! (Applause.) No more Anthony Burns carried down State street through federal bayonets! (Applause.) No more John Browns "justly hung"! (Applause.) Why, Dr. Spring now will be able to repeat the Lord's Prayer without choking, and Dr. Dewey will return to his first love of his mother. There will result, also, a deeper and wider sympathy with the bondmen, a chronic, deadly hatred of slavery everywhere, and a fixed determination with all parties to rebuild the republic on the only enduring basis of "No Union with Slaveholders." Certainly, that is gain enough for one six months.

Yet the most hopeful aspect of this cause now is in its unmanageableness. It has gone beyond the control of sects and parties. Once flouted as an abstraction, it is now an earthquake under the capital. As in the French Revolution, the magnates of Church and State, failing utterly to fathom the issue, now stand appalled before its gigantic and darkening proportions. But "man's extremity is God's opportunity." "An ounce of mother is worth a pound of clergy," says the English maxim. Men fail, mankind triumph. Nature now tries her hand. These statesmen, theologians, scholars, in silk stockings and velvet slips, strut their hour, till some farmer, printer, cobbler, or rail-splitter comes up, and, by the very wind of his stroke, sweeps the board. Behold your cause now carried from mission-boards and Supreme Courts up to the eternal moral sense of the people. Abolitionists were "disorganizers," "fanatics"; but the hour is at hand, its dawn already whitens dome and spire and hill-top, when the dullest conservative will see that his own rights are bound indissolubly with those claimed for the slave; that the black babe born into chains in the Carolinas, last night, imperils the safety of every Beacon street cradle; when the *Courier* will go down on its knees in gratitude to the *Liberator*, and Caleb Cushing and Richard S. Fay, "clothed in their right minds," will joyfully sit at the feet of Wendell Phillips. (Applause.)

The only party that can succeed in this matter is the one that plants itself on human nature, and stands for liberty to the black man. As in the Persian poet, a single sigh may overturn the world; as in the philosophy of the New Testament, God always incarnates himself in the "little ones" and the despised, to redeem the age, we have trampled on the negro, and he has ruled us. The proscribed rules the proscribing class. It is the negro who has sundered churches and tract societies, raised and ruined parties, made and unmade Presidents, worked and wrecked the government. He marshals these opposing armies, cabinets, confederacies. Why, Garrison, after all, is only the negro's Secretary of State, and Phillips is his orator laureate. The reason Everett and Winthrop have dropped out of sight is because the negro has forgotten them. Every successful politician lives, moves, and has his being in the negro. Amidst your pride of statesmanship, of oratory, of letters, amidst your Websters, Clays, Everetts, Sewards, the negro has stood and ruled, because he alone stood for justice and liberty. The black shine of his countenance alone reflected the smile of Heaven. "Pharaoh sits upon the throne, but Joseph is governor over all of Egypt." (Applause.)

This Union has not succeeded, because it has undertaken to countervail justice; and I warn you not to expect Mr. Lincoln to succeed, unless he changes his policy. It is an effort to unite Paradise and Perdition. You know Satan tried that, and, according to Milton, the last we heard of him he seceded, neck and heels, over the battlements of Heaven down to South Carolina. (Applause.) Well, he is trying it once more, and I don't think he will succeed, even if he has Mr. Seward to help him.

This Union has dwarfed and demoralized all your ablest men. Seward upon the prairies was a Titan; under the low roof of the Senate, he was Tom Thumb. One large-hearted Pillsbury, planting moral earthquakes all over the West, is worth acres of politicians, whose goal is political distinction at the capital. If you want to take the crooks out of an awkward man, let him walk under a high ceiling. Treat politicians in the same way.

Take Mr. Seward. You remember his speech in January. We expected great things. It was a great man, on a great occasion. Treason springing its mines at his very feet; one-half the States bristling with rebellion; the "columns of the Republic falling in every direction"; thirty millions of people waiting for his word. It was the occasion of a century. What did we see? We looked for the renowned champion of the "higher law"; we looked for the man at whose word, in the Nebraska fight, the Republican party leapt from a million of Northern hearts; we looked for the Lord High Admiral of all the fleets of Liberty, in the "irrepressible conflict"? when, lo! a hod-carrier, bringing in a new load of the untempered mortar of compromise, wherewith to plaster the opening seams of this "glorious Union"! For what did he propose to betray the honor of his party and the rights of the North? For the Union? That was already broken. It was for thirty pieces of the Union. Do you think he intended to return fugitive slaves, to put down insurrections, to hang John Browns? I will not believe it. I do not think he is base enough. He would sink the continent first. But there are his promises. Say not I am harsh. In Junius' phrase, "I have not called his lordship a liar, only proved him one."

Take another case—the man who incarnates the heart of the Republican party; with a moral purpose moveless as the Alps; with a soul white as an angel's wing,—Charles Sumner. (Applause.) He proved, by an argument impregnable as Gibraltar, that slavery is five-fold barbarism; and then admitted, in a subsequent speech, that the Slave Oligarchy is recognized by the Constitution, and that it can remain in the Government as long as it chooses. So he stood there in the Senate with Garrison in one hand, and South Carolina in the other, trying to make them love each other. He might as well attempt to wed Patmos to Babylon, Gabriel to Jezebel. It was the experiment of a bachelor, who does not understand political match-making. (Laughter.) It is no joke. The satire of the picture is in its truth. I do not stoop to ridicule. I would not use it upon the purest man that ever represented New England in Congress, upon the heaviest brain of the Empire State. You essay an impossibility; for, assuredly, where the intellect of Webster, the eloquence of Clay, the statesmanship of Seward, the scholarship of Everett, and the conscience of Sumner could not succeed, the gods themselves must fail. (Applause.) If you mean those plaudits, quit compromise, and either ascend to the heaven-lit plane of Garrison, and allow slavery, whelmed under its own falling ruins, to drop to the pit, or, religiously believing in the popular method, carry Bunker Hill to the Gulf of Mexico. (Applause.)

There are many other things that crowd to the lips of an occasion like this, to get themselves spoken, but yonder hand nears the zenith. We will only adjourn, however. Many of you will assemble at Framingham on Thursday. Others, with Harvard College, the *Courier*, and Mayor Wightman—all now zealous agents of the Anti-Slavery Society, will continue the meeting here. Meanwhile, and ever more, you will possess your souls in patience. This is not anarchy; it is not retrogression. Never was Liberty so loveable, self-fixed and defiant. Never was Slavery so hated and desperate. Upon this opening of the sixth seal, upon this apocalypse of our history, breaks the millennial glory of impartial liberty, yea, of reason and the affections, which even now greets me with jocund foot upon the misty tops of distant centuries, when justice shall be one with gravitation, love with light, and truth with God. (Loud applause.)

☞ The *Atlas and Bee*, of Monday, contains the following complimentary notice of Mr. Heywood's eloquent address at Music Hall, as reported above:—

ADDRESS ON "THE PRESENT CRISIS." E. H. Heywood, a young man of marked talent as an orator, addressed the Twenty-Eighth Congregational Society yesterday forenoon, at Music Hall, on "The Present Crisis." It was a keen, effective and original production, and called forth repeated demonstrations of applause. Mr. Heywood speaks without notes, and is very fluent.

☞ The special session of Congress convened at Washington yesterday. It will probably do up its work in the course of a fortnight. It will doubtless evoke some latent treason, in the shape of "peaceful" pro-slavery overtures and compromises,—a thousand times more to be dreaded and detested than the most flagrant acts of the Southern traitors in arms. Let all such manifestations be jealously watched, and those who shall give them any countenance be held up to stern public reprobation. Foremost in this work of treason, under the guise of "peace," is the New York *Journal of Commerce*.

SOUTHERN SECESSION AND NORTHERN DISUNION.

DEAR SIR—With your permission, I will make a few extracts from "Disunion Abolitionists," and then add a few comments.

Mr. Phillips, in a speech before the Massachusetts Legislature in 1859, said :—

"In the first place, gentlemen, I shall step behind the U. S. Constitution. I remember that you,—Massachusetts,—were a sovereignty before the United States existed. Massachusetts is not to me a mere bob to the kite of the Constitution of 1789. Massachusetts is no private corporation, under the great national organization. I claim more for you than that. You were a government in 1630; of that living thread I take hold. God planted you a civil society. Our fathers came here to set up a government. They did so; and you exist as its representatives. We do not address you,—the Legislature of Massachusetts,—as a *subordinate* Committee of the U. S. Government. We address you as the civil society of Massachusetts, planted by the children of the Mayflower and the Arabella, and existing here to-day a civil government. As such, as a civil government, we remind you of your obligation before God to execute justice between man and man. No matter that one man *calls* another man his property, and, pointing to a parchment, claims your aid in holding him as a brute; we remind you of your own words, 'All men are born free,' and that the sovereignty which claims *submission* [*allegiance*, see Mass. Constitution] owes *protection*. You tell us in reply to that claim, 'We have fettered our broad sovereignty by agreeing to the Constitution of the United States.' We deny your right. You tell us, 'The unlimited sovereignty of the Old Colony, bound to execute justice between man and man, we have put away by the so-called slave clause.' We deny your capacity to do it. We assert that you sit here as the legislators of a sovereign State. If any body, either by you or before you, has agreed to limit that sovereignty by an unholy compact, it is not binding, and you have no right to regard it. Civil government, it is stated in the preamble to our Constitution, is a voluntary association, a social compact. So *it is*; but compacts, when they become civil governments, have a peculiar character.

This girdle of earth which you call Massachusetts can have but one such association in it. There may be a thousand banks in Massachusetts; they may make their own by-laws, and establish their own fundamental principles; but civil government is necessarily exclusive—there can be but one within a certain space of land. * * * I appeal to you, therefore, as the civil society which our fathers planted, which has never yet ceased to exist, which the labors and trials of half a dozen generations perfected in this Commonwealth; I claim of you, as legislators, by virtue of that civilization, that you set your foot upon the unholy compact, which is not binding upon the conscience, and cannot rightfully fetter the action of any thing that undertakes to exist as a *sovereign State* under God's government."

This is a most triumphant vindication of the sovereignty of Massachusetts, and, taken in connection with her constitutional oath binding her citizens to "bear true faith and allegiance to the State," is an unanswerable argument in proof of her sovereignty, the basis upon which the whole controversy about the right of "secession" rests. Unless the terms, "sovereign" and "sovereignty" have some technical meaning not given by our best lexicographers, there can, by no possibility, be any human tribunal above an independent sovereign member of this confederacy, and, consequently, there can be no earthly tribunal rightfully endowed with the power to call in question her sovereign will, as exhibited in her political acts.

In the *Liberator* of September 21, 1860, reviewing the "Address of the Free Constitutionalists," you say—"It may be convenient, and it is certainly very easy, to ignore all the historical *facts* pertaining to the formation and adoption of the Constitution—such as the various hostile interests of freedom and slavery to be appeased, and, as far as possible, reconciled, so as to bind the North and South (each composed of independent State sovereignties) in one Union." Here is an unqualified assertion of the sovereignty of the States of this confederacy, as one of the "facts" which Mr. Spooner finds it "very easy to ignore," if not so easy to refute. In fact, nearly every writer in the *Liberator*, so far as my memory serves me, speaks of the States as sovereign communities.

This question of the Union being "composed of independent State sovereignties" having been conceded, will you do me the favor to reply to a few important questions?

If Massachusetts is "an *independent State* sovereignty," to which, as her Constitution asserts, her citizens "*owe allegiance*," can these same citizens "owe allegiance" to any other human authority whatever?

Judge Blackstone says: "And this maxim of the law proceeded upon a general principle, that every man owes natural allegiance where he is born, and *cannot owe two such allegiances, or serve two masters at once*."

Again, if you, Mr. Phillips and Judge Blackstone are correct, as to sovereignty and allegiance, can a citizen of Virginia, by obeying her ordinance of secession, commit treason against the federal government? These questions are important to every man who aims honestly to perform his duty as a good citizen.

In the same review you say: "For if the absurdity were admitted to be a possible event, that a party might succeed and take the reins of national sovereignty," &c. &c. Here you take the ground of Gen. Hamilton, namely, a "divided sovereignty," or, rather, two sovereignties, each claiming the allegiance of the same citizens. If these two sovereignties come into collision, as in the seceded States, how is the citizen to know which to obey? If this old Hamiltonian theory does not exhibit a "confusion of mind" in its advocates, I shall never know where to look for "confusion."

In the same review, you fall back upon the Jeffersonian theory of "independent State sovereignty," by asserting that "The pro-slavery compromises of the Constitution will continue to be recognized as hitherto, until the time shall come when this 'covenant with death shall be annulled,' and this 'agreement with hell' shall terminate in a *Northern secession*."

But there are other proofs of "secession." The following is from a "series of resolutions," headed "In plain English," and discussed at the A. S. Conventions held at Buffalo, Auburn, Utica, &c.

"Resolved, That it is the solemn and imperious duty of the Senators and Representatives of the non-slave States and Territories to return, at once, to their respective constituencies, and take immediate measures for the formation of a new Northern Republic."

No one can mistake this language.

In 1859, the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society asserted the right of "secession," or withdrawal, as follows :—

"And, therefore, they [the people of Massachusetts] can and ought, in common with the people of every other free State, to *withdraw* from a government which, by both practice and intention, is a grand conspiracy against justice, and a bulwark of the slave system."

At the same meeting, H. C. Wright offered the following :—

"Resolved, That if the government of Massachusetts cannot and will not protect its citizens from kidnappers, that government has ceased to answer the end for which it was created; and it is the right and duty of the people to alter or abolish it."

These extracts prove, beyond the power of controversy, that these "Disunion Abolitionists," mean what they might, used the strongest language in favor of "secession."

The government of Massachusetts is made up of two organic laws,—the Federal and the State Constitutions; and of two sets of agents,—the Federal and the State officers. This government, H. C. Wright truly asserts, "the people of Massachusetts have a right to abolish," and, consequently, they have the right to secede from their co-States.

But if I am mistaken, and the "Disunion Abolitionists" only meant to get the free States out of the Union, by going down on their knees, and begging the "national sovereignty" "to let them slide," then the whole scheme, from beginning to end, has been an arrant humbug—a miserable "farce," infinitely more ridiculous than that with which you charge the "Radical Abolitionists" for voting for Gerrit Smith.

In the second number of your review of friend Jones's editorial, you take the ground that the Union was made "perpetual"; and you evidently agree with your quotation from Webster, that "Secession, as a revolutionary right, is intelligible," and that, "as a right to be proclaimed in the midst of civil commotion, and asserted at the head of armies, it can be understood." Now, if this doctrine of "Absolutism" be true, will you give your readers the programme of your "Northern Secession," and show them how you expected to get the free States "peaceably" out of a "perpetual" Union, and "at the head of armies," as this is the only way to make secession "intelligible"?

It really seems to me that the savage determination of the Federal Government—your "national sovereignty"—to wipe out your "independent State sovereignties," and to hang for treason the leaders of secession, has opened the eyes of the mass of "Disunion Abolitionists," and induced them, from some motive, to ignore the secession policy which I have proved them heretofore to advocate.

Yours, for humanity, B. G. WRIGHT.

Rural, Ill., May 26, 1861.

THE RARE CRISIS.

"Now *is the accepted time*; NOW *is the day of salvation*."

Never, since the discovery of America, and we might retrospect farther than that, and say, never since the exodus of the Israelites from Egypt, has the world seen, and if this be neglected, it will not soon see another such an opportunity as the present juncture affords for the extermination of the hideous incubus which so troubles the repose of this continent. So close union of parties and sects, in their views on the absorbing topic of the day, their readiness and eagerness to volunteer for the promotion of the enterprise, the immense army of willing young men already harnessed in the field for action, the inexhaustible resources to maintain them, the great corps *de reserve* prepared to advance if needed, the supply of arms, ammunition, food, and clothing, the adamantine fortress of courage lodged in the soldier's breast, with an impregnable wall of approbation among the serried masses at home, the co-operating Administration, with an experienced general at its command, and a certainty of much loyalty even at the South,—all conspire to raise a pyramid of coincidences rarely, if ever, witnessed by the human mind. In connection herewith also, at the very crisis itself, yesterday commenced the session of our Congress, specially called for the extraordinary occasion, to give its counsel and aid, to reflect the popular wish through the representatives, and to crown the enterprise of liberty with its sanction. The strong arm of flesh, iron, and gold, guided by an energetic will and a cool judgment, and nerved with a determination to shake off the stagnating incubus in the gigantic struggle, unless palsied by some compromising treachery within our own citadel, will decide the day in favor of freedom and human rights,—the freedom of speech, thought, and action.

Now seems to be the time to do the work, and not to await the meshes of foreign interference, the discouragement of the soldiery, the diminution of resources, the discord of opinion in the home ranks as well as in the camp and among the officers there; now, while we are unanimous, and zealous, and anxious. Let us not wait till we become lukewarm, and lose our interest, become weary of the tedious monotony of delay and suspense. Our men are in the field, others are ready with uneasy swords, muskets, and cannon to join, money we have in abundance, the enemy are close at hand plotting our overthrow and hoping for foreign interposition, our legislators are in the Capitol, and the American army is within and around the metropolis for its protection. Let the work then begin, proceed, be pushed forward thoroughly and unflinchingly till the fangs of the black incubus have been dislodged forever from the heart of the Columbian Republic.

As we are at present, one thing is quite certain, that we have not only a republican form of government, but a republican government. It is not, however, quite so certain, if we yield an iota, either in diplomacy or in arms. to the foe, under what form of government we shall be, in a very short time hence. Let the dictator prevail, and how far shall we be from a military despotism? Some may smile; but, did they not once smile at the idea of disunion? A virtual despotism, under a false name, is more uncomfortable than an iron-bound, professed one. The former would be full of traps and pit-falls; the latter would have the eternal and inflexible *caveat* stamped upon its brow. Let us then strive to keep what we have, and even improve upon its former condition, that it may be an asylum for other people, a safety-valve for foreign nations, as well as our own home, a true land of the free, and a home of the brave. Let us secure for posterity a homogeneous republic. Let us not wait till our armies are withdrawn, and our appropriations have impoverished us, till the popular spirits flag, and new national issues arise to distract us, to engender reaction; if so, we must do it all over with treble toil, trouble, and expense, even if we can ever do it again as we now have things. Let us do it well; we have means, disposition, ability, occasion, and public harmony with us. Let us settle the question now and forever; strike valiantly home for the right, for the Union, for liberty, and for the world.

Strike for your hearthstones and your altars,
Strike for the banner of the free,
Strike traitors now deserving halters,
Strike for the cause of liberty. ☞

TROY, N. Y., July 1, 1861.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE LIBERATOR:

Dear Sir,—A plain man, who has followed the mind of Theodore Parker closely and far enough to be himself one of the most thoughtful men in our midst, said to me, this morning, "Where is Wendell Phillips? I am not satisfied that he should be in this country. What can he do here now? and what could he *not* do, both for America and himself, if he were in England, just at the present time? It is very important that the British masses, who are right now, regarding us, should be *kept* right. Who could have such influence upon them as the 'greatest orator that speaks our language,' and 'the first of America gentlemen'? and one, as well, who would have the advantage of present popularity among them? He should rusticate *there*, this summer."

To me, these remarks seemed wise. I am too ardent, and, I trust, too appreciative an admirer of the great, good man in question, to conceive that I can proclaim to him the smallest part of his own mission; and I have too much faith in the anti-slavery thinkers of our country, to feel the least confidence that I can suggest to them anything that their reflections and conclusions have not anticipated. Yet I venture—from youthful ardor, perhaps—to submit to you the remarks of my friend. E. C.

☞ We heartily "second the motion."—*Ed. Lib.*

LEWIS'S NORMAL INSTITUTE FOR PHYSICAL TRAINING. We desire to express our warmest commendation of this new enterprise, in regard to which all necessary particulars may be found in the Circular we have placed on our last page. As its inauguration has just taken place, and the course is limited to nine weeks, no time is to be lost by those who desire to possess the knowledge to be derived from it, in order that they may also be qualified to others. The field of usefulness presented is a broad one, and the opportunity to cultivate it an excellent one.

The following are the names of the President and Directors:—

C. C. Felton, LL. D., President; His Excellency John A. Andrew, Rev. E. N. Kirk, Hon. George S. Boutwell, Hon. Luther V. Bell, H. I. Bowditch, M. D., S. G. Howe, M. D., Rev. S. K. Lothrop, Rev. James Freeman Clarke, Rev. Edward E. Hale, Rev. Warren Burton, N. T. Allen, Esq., George N. Bigelow, Esq., A. G. Boyden, Esq., Prof. A. Crosby, John R. Manley, Esq., Rev. A. A Miner, Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, Rev. George M. Randall, Rev. E. O. Haven, Edward Jarvis, M. D., Hon. Alanson Hawley, Hon. Samuel E. Sewall, T. C. Severance, Esq., Secretary, J. C. Burrage, Esq., A. A. Burrage, Esq., Otis Clapp, Esq., Dio Lewis, M. D., Treasurer.

THE WAR AND ITS PHASES.

Some one has said, "Ask the stupidest Englishman a question on politics, and you are sure of getting a sensible answer"; and I had come to regard it as a settled fact.

The English press has seemed to me the Sir Oracle of politics, whose speech no slaveholding dog, or dog with cotton in his mouth, could interrupt, with any credit to himself or satisfaction to his friends. But I have lived to hear the wisest oracle of them all uttering the stupidest things in regard to our national affairs, even half threatening us with a refusal to recognize our nationality, while the dog aforesaid becomes the noble mastiff, guarding his master's fireside from privateers or private robbers of all kinds, and waking the echoes of Albion with his deep bay.

We have marvelled at the breadth and solidity of that throne,—on which a good fair woman sits as on a rock whose base the mightiest of waters wash without disturbing,—and, at the same time, looked with a shudder at the terrible volcano sleeping under our own Government. But we have lived to see that throne yield a hair's breadth to the pressure of *cotton*, while our own dear but guilty country seems about to vindicate her honor through the last, saddest alternative, and prove herself great enough to meet the *last issue* of the contest, which *must be Liberty*.

So much is slavery at war with all the instincts of humanity, that the least pulse-beat disturbs it. It is not a living, mortal foe, but a *monster—a loathing corpse*, falling away at the least motion of living and healthy blood. Nothing but complete national torpor or speedy death can now save it. On the door of that great charnel, the American prison-house of slavery, our whole American people had thrown themselves, a heavy weight, to keep down the grim shapes that ever and anon peeped forth, and to shut in the stench which made a whole nation sick. We feared they would never rise, held there as they were by self-interest, even by the semblance of nationality itself.

But an hour came when the keepers said, "Here shall be *your* grave also! Upon your prostrate forms we will hurl a mountain that will crush you, and you shall never rise again!" Not till then did the people "rise as one man." Then the door flew open, and those shapes of dread, moving and gibbering, came forth, and the light of day was shamed by a sight from which there was no hiding. But I will not pursue the figure. It is revolting, though true.

Have you never been almost superstitiously impressed with the view of that inexorable fate which seems to drive the South onward to repel every overture of peace from the North—to repay every act of conciliation with the darkest treachery, the most inhuman hatred? It is the great conflict between good and evil, ever going on, through storm and sunshine; the great law—"No compromise with sin"—working its own fulfillment, spite of all our selfish devices; vice hating and punishing with uttermost torture its selfish abettor.

You and many others would have saved our people from the bloody baptism of war, (or without it,) but they "would not"; no, they would not. The insolent voice is hardly silenced that threatened anti-slavery people with every penalty of the law, for refusing to join in the unnatural hunt of men, ere we behold the spectacle of slaves sheltered in our national forts, and the same voice sternly refuses to give them up. It is time they all begin with quite other promises.

Our General McClellan offers to aid in "suppressing insurrections," but the crafty Southron, taught distrust by his own guile, drowns the sweet words with brutal taunt and threat, and proceeds to teach him another lesson, which he must practise in self-defence. The Cincinnati *Commercial* says, bitterly, "We protected your detestable system; we threw over it the Northern ægis, and shielded it from the detestation of the world; now go your way, and see what will become of it." And the South, with a madness inconceivable to any but the Anti-Slavery seer, refuses to acknowledge Northern friendship, and to accept Northern help; refuses to *believe* in the monstrosity; and they are right.

No, *superstition* is not the word for the emotions excited by the mighty spectacle now before us. We see the ploughshare of *our Father* striking into the hard soil, breaking through all impediments laid by the selfish passions of men, and shall we not acknowledge His presence and overshadowing care?

It has been with indescribable feelings of thanksgiving and hope, that I have watched the reception given to Mr. Phillips's speech. The *Ohio State Journal*, the most high-toned of our Republican journals, copied and emphasized its most anti-slavery portions. The *Tribune* did it justice. I think the smaller fry of journals are not up to the mark of seeing anything but that the great champion of disunion now "goes for the war"; but they will, in time.

By the way, many people seem to labor under a chronic disposition to find war tendencies in the *Liberator*, and in the teachings of Abolitionists. I am often reminded of Miss Murdstone's haunting suspicion of a man in dark corners, closets and coal cellars, and her clapping to of doors, under the impression that "she had him." For twenty years have I heard of this gallant-hearted gentleman as the bravest defender of the doctrines of Christianity, the truest foe of those evils and of those unregulated passions which culminate in war; and I confess that never has he seemed to me to plant himself on broader ground, and sweep with freer, grander vision the whole field of humanity, than in that speech in Music Hall. Perhaps he was a little carried away by the martial spirit that was bred in his veins, but did it make him forget his fealty to justice and truth? I think not. No one thinks so, I am bold to say. For one, I own to being proud that anti-slavery people show themselves capable of that love of country, so native to all gentle souls, and that large magnanimity which is ever ready to welcome every symptom of returning grace in a condemned sinner. E. A. L.

OUR DUTY AS ABOLITIONISTS.

The great question upon which the friends of humanity, the advocates of the abolition of slavery, seem to differ at the present time, is this:—Shall we countenance this war—a war which is waged ostensibly for the sole purpose of sustaining the Government and the Constitution—a Government whose foundations are cemented with the blood of the slave, and a Constitution which is "a covenant with death, and an agreement with hell"? Now, sir, I believe we cannot oppose this war, without standing in the way of the accomplishment of God's divine purpose. Ever since this war commenced until now, I have conscientiously opposed it, even when surrounded by a brutal, unreasoning and infuriated mob; opposed it, because I hoped and believed that the bitter cup of retribution might pass from us—that the dark pall of sorrow and mourning might not be spread over our land—that the sound of wailing and lamentation might not be heard in our pleasant homes—that our hearthstones might not be darkened by grief and desolation; and I believed that all this could be avoided by a dissolution of the Union, which would involve the abolition of slavery. But, as I journeyed in this path, I saw a new light which showed me that I was vainly "kicking against the pricks" of God's immutable providence; that I was standing in the way of the accomplishment of God's retributive justice. It was all plain—the Northern people had failed to remember those in bonds as being bound with them; they had persisted in bowing the knee to Baal, and had made haste to shed innocent blood. Now it is necessary that they should learn the stern truth, that whoever puts a chain upon the limbs of his brother man, fastens the other end around his own neck; that with what measure they mete out to others, it shall be measured to them again. "Even so would he have removed thee out of the strait, into a broad place where is no straitness. But thou hast fulfilled the judgments of the wicked; judgment and justice take hold on thee." And now, as we shed tears of bitter anguish by the fresh graves at Lowell, and over the youthful hero of Alexandria, let us remember the injunction so long unheeded, to "break every yoke, and let the oppressed go free"; and let us resolve, if we have done iniquity, to do so no more.

The Northern people were accessories in the great crime of slaveholding: it was not possible that they could part from the Southern people as did Abraham and Lot on the plain of Jordon, and they be left alone to suffer the punishment of this terrible sin. No! Even though fighting against God and humanity, yet are they instruments by which we shall be punished for transgressing his covenant and his law; even as a nation of idolators was the instrument by which the chosen people of Israel were punished for transgressing the covenant of their fathers, and hearkening not unto the voice of their God.

Then, let us not oppose this war; let us not attempt to shield the wrong-doer from the inevitable consequences of sin; but, rather, let us strive to make it a solemn and instructive lesson to future generations to stand as a monument of our shame, to warn posterity to shun the rock upon which the bark of our national peace was shattered, and to remember that, if they will but do unto others as they would that others should do unto them, they shall spend their days in pleasure, and their years in peace. C. F. H.

West Parish, Marlboro', Mass.

A WORD FROM THE GREEN MOUNTAINS.

WEST CHARLESTON, (Vt.,) June 22, 1861.

DEAR FRIEND GARRISON,—I left the smoke, and dust, and excitement of the city, last month, to see if I could find some peace among my native hills in Vermont.

This is one of the towns in which that distinguished friend of the slave, Sallie Holley, lectured when she was on her tour through Vermont. Her noble words left a good impression, I think, but there is a great deal to be done here yet.

The war seems to be the all-engrossing topic of conversation here, as with you; and as with you, some think there will be a reconstruction by some mean compromise; and others, that slavery will be abolished. I have less faith in the latter than I had at the opening of hostilities. Reflection and the tone of the press confirm me, more and more, in the opinion that there is not virtue enough in the American people to maintain a republican form of government any great length of time. Intelligence without virtue is worse than heathendom. The whole talent of the South, and a great portion of the North, is enlisted against a government of just and equal laws. There is a feeling among the rich and influential, all over the world, that the laborer should be owned, instead of hired. The feeling is by no means confined to the South. The love of command is the ruling passion of all nations. To be a modern Democrat is to be a tyrant; to be a Republican, what is it? Ask the poor fugitives who have been sent back to bondage by Republican office-holders. "Cotton is king" yet, I think, and the duty of Abolitionists is still the same as it has been, whether we succeed or not. The country has not been warned enough yet of the fearful retribution that overhangs the land. A long and bloody contest is inaugurated upon us; devastation stares us in the face; and, as sure as effect follows cause, eighty years of oppression and crime will not be atoned for in a few short months. A million dollars a day is no small amount of money to pay for shooting each other; and the demoralizing, dehumanizing effect of camp life cannot be reckoned in dollars and cents. "I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just"!

Yours, for the "irrepressible conflict,"

J. LEONARD.

P. S. The hard times are not felt so bad here as in Massachusetts. Grass looks well, and farmers are in hopes to have good beef to feed the soldiers on; but I fear the soldiers will have hard fare. J. L.

THE BLACK LAWS OF ILLINOIS.

NORA, (Ill.) June 9, 1861.

FRIEND GARRISON,—The cause of true Anti-Slavery has a few friends in this part of the West, who feel desirous that the Black Laws of Illinois should be "wiped out."

No colored person is allowed to stay in the State (if born out of it) over two years, without being subject to fine and imprisonment, and no person with negro blood in his veins is allowed to testify in a court of justice. Who shall be the means of blotting out from the statute book of Illinois this infamous law? The Republicans will not do it: their time is all taken up in taking care of their party. Who, then, are the men and women to take hold of the Anti-Slavery cause in Illinois, and carry it through to its sure triumph? The answer to my mind is plain—the old "Garrisonian Abolitionists." I know something about this class of Abolitionists. Having been born and bred in the old Bay State, and having been a subscriber to the *Liberator* for twenty-five years, "I know whereof I affirm." As old Deacon Kent, of Danvers Port, used to say, "I can stand as a witness to these things."

At an early period, we used to go into the school districts, and hold our meetings in the school-houses, and there preach the unsearchable riches of immediate emancipation; and the people heard us gladly, and became converted. I speak of Essex county; other counties did the same thing, and the State was redeemed.

Now, this is precisely what is needed to be done in Illinois, and it can be done; but the Garrisonians must do it. One object of my writing is to speak of the visit of Judge Tabor, of Independence, Iowa, (formerly of Shelburn Falls, Franklin County, Massachusetts.) The Judge gave us one lecture here in Nora on Anti-Slavery, in the Congregational church, to great acceptance. He is an excellent lecturer, and an excellent man—has great knowledge of history—states facts in the best possible manner, and backs them up with unimpeachable testimony—is witty, and tells an anecdote at the right time. Now, we want just such a man as the Judge is to go through the State of Illinois, and do the work thoroughly. It is rarely that we find a man in the West of such large talents as Judge Tabor, who is willing to take hold of the Anti-Slavery cause, and labor in it with such ability as he does. His whole soul is in the work. C. B. Campbell, of Clinton, Iowa, accompanies Judge Tabor, and was here with him. Brother Campbell is a real working Abolitionist, a good speaker and singer, plays well on the melodeon, and sings Anti-Slavery songs very finely. Friend Campbell was formerly a Congregational minister, and settled over a good society; but he was too free a spirit to be bound by sectarian cords. He is an excellent man to get up a meeting, and work in the cause of the slave.

I believe, friend Garrison, that the old, fearless and pure Anti-Slavery work ought to be carried right straight along, notwithstanding the war seems to take up the people's attention just at this time.

J. P. HARRIMAN.

A SCALPING PARTY. The Hessians at Columbus trampled and spit on our flag. This was an insult to us, and is our quarrel. Our brave Tennessee boys want the opportunity to attend to the vile Cairo cowards, when they return to make the people of Columbus rue their devotion to the secession cause. They will scalp every one of them, if there is hair enough on their stupid pates to grab.—*Memphis Avalanche.*

☞ The Memphis *Appeal* notices the departure from there of Brig. Gen. McLoud, Col. Prentiss of Ky., and Col. Jeff. Thomson of Mo., for White River, Arkansas, taking with them a large quantity of arms. A special despatch to the same paper says Bishop Polk has been assigned a command as Major-General of the Lower Mississippi!

☞ A Paris correspondent says: "The public opinion of France, so far as it has been pronounced, has been, in the main, all on the side of the American Government. The only journal which has consistently and persistently taken the rebel side is the *Pays*, edited by Granier de Cassagnac; and I have already stated to your readers the ground of his love for slavery and slave governments. His antecedents are understood here, and his assertions and arguments pass for very little."

ANOTHER VICTIM. The *Evening Gazette* mentions the arrival in this city of Mr. Winters, an intelligent mechanic, a Bostonian, who has lately been driven from Mobile. He was employed by the Government on the works in Mobile Bay, and at the commencement of the troubles was compelled to join the Home Guard, and work on the rebel fortifications. He was paid in confederate bills, which he destroyed as worthless. He was then suspected, and was required to take the oath of allegiance; but this he refused to do, and was then ordered to leave the city in half an hour. Without being allowed to see his wife and child, or to send a message to them, he was put on board the mail-boat for New Orleans, with scarcely any clothes. Watching his chances, he secreted himself in a steamer for St. Louis, and so escaped, after many hardships, (having only $12 in money when he left,) he arrived here. He has no knowledge of his wife and child, and they are probably ignorant of him. He confirms the statement that there are many Union men in the Southern army who would not serve, unless compelled to do so. Mr. Winters is in great distress, and in want of work. —*Boston Traveller.*

PARTICULARS OF MAJOR WINTHROP'S DEATH. During the battle at Great Bethel, Major Winthrop was distinctly seen for some time leading a body of men to the charge, and had mounted a log, and was waving his sword, and shouting to his men to "Come on!" when a North Carolina drummer-boy borrowed a gun, leaped on the battery, and shot him deliberately in the breast. He fell nearer to the enemy's works than any other man went during the fight. Among the enterprizes in which the Major had previously participated, was the celebrated expedition of Lieut. Strain, in Central America, the hardships and privations of which are historical.

RECOVERY OF THE BODY OF MAJOR WINTHROP.—The Baltimore *Clipper* gives the statement from one who went out with the flag of truce for Major Winthrop's body :—

"After waiting some hours, a file of soldiers were seen approaching, bearing with them the body of Major Winthrop. It was inclosed in an India rubber cloak, and very much decomposed. Upon examination, it was found that the Major's death had been caused by a Minnie bullet wound in the left breast. Col. Magruder informed the friends of the deceased that he had been buried with all the honors of war by the Confederate troops, and that they had also buried with military honors thirty of the federal troops who had been found upon the battle-field. When the body of Major Winthrop was placed in the coffin, Col. Magruder and his men removed their caps, and appeared to feel keenly the solemnity of the moment. After the coffin had been secured, Col. Magruder and Lieut. Butler both shook hands cordially, and before parting, Col. Magruder remarked to Lieut. Butler, 'We part as friends, but on the field of battle we meet as enemies.' Each party then retraced their steps to their quarters. The body arrived in this city at 5 o'clock this morning, and was immediately dispatched to New York."

LIEUT. GREBLE'S LAST LETTER. On the Sunday before his death, Lieut. Greble wrote as follows :—

"I hope that I may be given courage and good judgment enough to do well my duty in any circumstances in which I may be placed. As far as I can see, there is not much danger to be incurred in this campaign. At present, both sides seem better inclined to talking than fighting. If talking could settle it, by giving the supremacy forever to the General Government, I think it would be better than civil war; but that talking can settle it, I do not believe."

Just before starting for the battle in which he was killed, he wrote on a piece of paper, in pencil, for his wife :—

"May God bless you, my darling, and grant you a happy and peaceful life. May the good Father protect you and me, and grant that we may long live happily together. God give me strength, wisdom and courage. If I die, let me die as a brave and honorable man; let no stain of dishonor hang over me or you."

☞ Proceedings in the East Tennessee Convention have been received here. All the counties of that portion of the State, except Rhea, are represented. A declaration of grievances quotes facts showing that the right of free suffrage has been obstructed by a disunion government; that they had been subjected to insults, the flag fired on and torn down, houses rudely entered, families insulted, women and children shot by merciless soldiers, citizens robbed and assassinated, and in view of these facts it is resolved that the action of the State Legislature, in passing the Declaration of Independence and forming a military league with the Southern Confederacy, is unconstitutional, and not binding upon loyal citizens; that in order to avoid a conflict with their brethren, a committee be appointed to prepare a memorial, asking the Legislature to consent to the formation of East Tennessee into a separate State.

Arrangements are being made for holding elections in the counties of East Tennessee to choose delegates to a General Convention to be held at Kingston.

BALTIMORE, July 1. Since 2 o'clock this morning, startling proceedings have been going on here. Detachments of artillery and infantry have been sent to various sections in the city, and are now posted at Monument square, Exchange place, and 8th ward, Broadway, and other points. Before daylight, all the members of the Board of Police Commissioners, except the Mayor, had been arrested, and sent to Fort McHenry. There are a multitude of rumors as to the cause of this sudden movement, but there is nothing definite. It is said a plot was discovered of an intended outbreak.

☞ Marshal Kane, of the Baltimore police, was arrested, on the morning of the 27th ult., by General Banks, for giving aid to the enemies of the Government. Gen. Banks issued a proclamation naming John B. Kenly as Provost Marshal, and superseding the powers of the Police Commissioners. Kenly is to exercise complete control over the Police Department until some known loyal citizen is appointed to act as Marshal. The Police Commissioners have issued a protest, and virtually disbanded the force, and Kenly has sworn in a new force.

ARREST OF A FEMALE SPY. A young damsel of eighteen years has been arrested by the Michigan Regiment, near Washington. She gave her name as Alice Kingsbury, and said she was a native of Washington City. Upon her person was found an accurate diagram of the fortifications on Shorter's Hill, the position of the guns being marked, as well as the weak points. She had been permitted to remain in the vicinity for some days, but suspicion being aroused, was arrested. She is in close custody.

CAMP BUTLER, NEWPORT NEWS, June 25.

A friend of mine came from the fort, last night. They captured and brought in a $600,000 prize. She was a new clipper ship, with 40,000 stand of arms, a lot of brass rifled cannon, and any quantity of ammunition. She was captured by the Quaker City, off Charleston harbor, just as she was going over the bar.

DEATH OF CAPTAIN INGRAHAM. Accounts from Charleston report the death, on the 10th ult., of Capt. Duncan N. Ingraham, formerly of the United States Navy. He figured, some years ago, in the famous case of Martin Kozsta. He deserted his flag, recently, in its danger, though he declared he would never fight against it.

☞ Two regiments of Alabamians and some Mississippians reached Harper's Ferry this morning, and destroyed the balance of the tressle-work of the railroad bridge. They then came over to the Maryland shore, seizing all the boats they could lay their hands on, either breaking them up or taking them over the river. All the Union men of Harper's Ferry were again driven out by them.

☞ J. B. Knott, Attorney General of Missouri, is now a prisoner at the arsenal. The *Democrat's* correspondence says the Union Home Guards, at the fight at Cole Camp, on the 19th ult., lost 20 killed or wounded, and 23 taken prisoners. The latter were taken to Warsaw, and liberated, on taking the oath not to bear arms against the Southern Confederacy. The Union force was 500, and the rebels 100 mounted and 200 infantry. The rebel loss is reported at 32.

☞ All the roads leading in the direction to Washington are obstructed by cuts, barricades of trees, &c. The rebels were in hourly expectation of an attack by the Union troops, and slept on their arms for ten days.

PHILADELPHIA, June 29. Five thousand soldiers, en route to Washington, have been provided with collations by our citizens during the last 24 hours.

☞ Gen. Pillow has issued a proclamation, declaring that by the law of the State of Tennessee, all debts due the North are seized and sequestered to the State.

☞ The Memphis *Avalanche* has an account of the seizure of the steamer City of Alton, and the probable capture of a large number of Cairo troops.

☞ The recent repulse of the rebels at Edwards's Ferry is said to have been a serious affair for them, and it is reported that 60 were killed by Lieut. Hasbrook's howitzer shells.

☞ A dispatch from Washington states that a spy was arrested in the Rhode Island camp, and a quantity of arsenic found in his pockets. It was with much difficulty that the officers saved him from the summary vengeance of soldiers.

☞ The Government can now concentrate 70,000 men in the vicinity of the Capital in three hours.

FATAL AND DISASTROUS TORNADO. A late tornado at Campaign city and county, Ill., destroyed property of the value of nearly half a million dollars; while five persons were killed, and a number seriously wounded.

SHOCKING RAILROAD ACCIDENT. The express train from New York to Boston, over the New Haven and Hartford Railroad on Saturday, crushed three boys who were on the track at the depot in New Haven, so badly that two of them died.

MR. RUSSELL'S REPORT CONFIRMED. The New Orleans *Crescent* gives us an account of no less than five murders and several shootings and stabbings in that city in one day, together with robberies and assaults innumerable.

☞ The *Delta* publishes the following concerning the condition of society in New Orleans :—

"Personal security is fast becoming a matter of doubtful assurance. Men of high and low estate are met upon the street, assaulted, and in many cases murderously used, with an insolent disregard of law which argues a conviction of escape from punishment."

☞ Mr. Davis, an artist employed by the Harpers, who has been travelling through the South with W. H. Russell, of the London *Times*, is likely to experience some inconvenience in his further peregrinations through that country. The Charleston *Courier* of the 7th ult. says :—

"The courtesies and facilities properly extended to the gentleman who represents the London *Times* should not be abused and prostituted by a parasite hireling of such a contemptible New York Picture Magazine. Let the people of the South, in welcoming Dr. Russell, inform Mr. Davis that there is room for him elsewhere."

☞ The Constitution of the Confederate States is unpopular in Georgia, because of the absence of a declaration making the three-fifths black rule the basis of representation. The Augusta *Chronicle* says, without such a basis, the Constitution cannot be ratified.

☞ Judge Liery, 72 years of age, and a strong Unionist and a slaveholder, was tied to a tree by some of Gov. Jackson's men, in Missouri, and his body literally riddled with bullets.

MASSACHUSETTS A. S. SOCIETY.

Collections by E. H. Heywood.

Weymouth, $5; Music Hall, 20; R. H. Ober, to redeem pledge, 10; Deborah Kimball (donation,) 1; Charles Babcock, (do.) 50c $36 50

EDMUND JACKSON, *Treasurer.*

Boston, July 1, 1861.

☞ MERCY B. JACKSON, M. D., having had fifteen years' experience in the Homœopathic treatment of diseases, offers her professional services to the Ladies and Children of Boston and vicinity.

References.—David Thayer, M. D.; Luther Clark, M. D.; John M. Tarbell, M. D., Boston. Eliphalet Clark, M. D., Portland, Me.

Rooms No. 20 Bulfinch street. Office hours from 2 to 4, P. M.

☞ PLEASANT BOARDING, ON FAVORABLE TERMS.—Mrs. H. S. DENHAM can accommodate a gentleman and wife, or two or three single gentlemen, with pleasant rooms, on favorable terms, at 75 (formerly 33) Beach street, near the Worcester Depot, Boston.

A few transient boarders can also be accommodated.

☞ A. T. FOSS will speak at

Hyannis,	Sunday, July 7.
Osterville,	" " 14.
Centreville,	Tuesday, " 16.
Barnstable,	Sunday, " 21.

☞ WM. WELLS BROWN will speak upon The Present Crisis and "The Irrepressible Negro," at West Wrentham, on Sunday, July 7, at 10 o'clock, A. M., and at Sheldonville, at 5 o'clock, P. M.

☞ A. M. POWELL, an Agent of the American A. S. Society, will speak at

Red Rock, N. Y., Sunday, July 7.

☞ The *P. O. Address* of Mrs. Caroline H. Dall is changed from Bradford street to No. 5 Ashland Place, Boston. The *Anti-Slavery Standard* and the New York *Christian Inquirer* will please copy.

New Dress Goods

—AT—

HEBBARD'S,

365 Washington Street.

Figured Irish Poplins,	[illegible]	87 cts.
French checked do.	50 cts.	[illegible]
French striped and figured do.	50 cts.	" [illegible]
Double with Mozambiques,	37 & 50 cts.	62 & 75 cts.
Double width Grey Goods,	25 cts.	cost 50 cts.
Single width Grey Goods,	8 & 10 cts.	" 9&12 cts.
Best American Prints,	62 cts.	" 82 cts.
Berages, silk and wool,	17 cts.	" 32 cts.
Organdie Muslins, price,	13 cts.	former 27 cts.
Common Muslins,	8 cts.	cost 12 cts.
Double width Challie,	25 cts.	" 35 cts.

Boston, June 7.

Look at the Prices!

—AT—

HEBBARD'S!

365 Washington Street.

Black French Lace Mantillas,	$4	cost $8
Black Silk Mantillas,	6	" 10
Black Silk Basquenes,	12	" 16
Cloth Garments,	5	" 8
Heavy Plaid Silks, for Mantillas,	1	" 1.50
Heavy Plaid Silks,	60 cts.	" 90 cts.
Rich Chene Silks,	75 cts.	" $1.00

Plain Silks at like discount.

Boston, June 7.

Marking Down

—AT—

HEBBARD'S,

365 Washington Street.

Look at PRICES!

Mourning Pine Apple sets,	$2.50	cost 3.00
Valancienes Medallion sets,	3.50	" 5.00
Cambric and Muslin sets,	1.00	" 2.50
Collars,	25, 37, 1.50	cost 50, 62, 1.75

Linen sets, 20 cts.—Collars 6ts.

Boston, June 7.

IMPROVEMENT IN

Champooing and Hair Dyeing,

"WITHOUT SMUTTING."

MADAME CARTEAUX BANNISTER

WOULD inform the public that she has removed from 223 Washington Street, to

No. 31 WINTER STREET,

where she will attend to all diseases of the Hair.

She is sure to cure in nine cases out of ten, as she has for many years made the hair her study, and is sure there are none to excel her in producing a new growth of hair.

Her Restorative differs from that of any one else, being made from the roots and herbs of the forest.

She Champoos with a bark which does not grow in this country, and which is highly beneficial to the hair before using the Restorative, and will prevent the hair from turning grey.

She also has another for restoring grey hair to its natural color in nearly all cases. She is not afraid to speak of her Restoratives in any part of the world, as they are used in every city in the country. They are also packed for her customers to take to Europe with them, enough to last two or three years, as they often say they can get nothing abroad like them.

Call and see some of the best references in the country. No charge for information.

MADAME CARTEAUX BANNISTER,

No. 31 Winter Street, Boston.

June 14. tf

Poetry.

TWO PICTURES OF THE SOUTH.

"Look on this picture, and then on this."—HAMLET.

To the Editor of the Liberator:

DEAR SIR—I take the liberty to send you a couple of songs. One is from the pen of Gilmore Simms, an exquisite production, but full of that hyperbole for which the "sons of the South" are famous. Probably you may have met with it before. The other is a different version of the same subject, in which I have endeavored to present a more truthful picture;—and I think that you will admit that, if my production is inferior, in *poetry*, it surpasses that of Simms for *truth*. Thinking this might be of some interest to your readers—as giving the "lights and shadows," the bright and the dark side of the picture—I send them to you for insertion in your paper, or otherwise, as you may see fit.

I remain, yours, &c., G. E. D.

SONG OF THE SOUTH.

I.

Oh! the South, the sunny, sunny South,
Land of true feeling, land forever mine!
I drink the kisses of her rosy mouth,
And my heart swells as with a draught of wine;
She brings me blessings of maternal love;
I have her smile, which hallows all my toil!
Her voice persuades, her generous smiles approve,
She sings me from the sky, and from the soil!
Oh! by her lonely pines, that wave and sigh—
Oh! by her myriad flowers, that bloom and fade—
By all the thousand beauties of her sky,
And the sweet solace of her forest shade;
She's mine—she's ever mine;
Nor will I aught resign
Of what she gives me, mortal or divine;
Will sooner part
With life, hope, heart—
Will die—before I fly!

II.

Oh! love is hers: such love as ever flows
In souls where leaps affection's living tide;
She is all fondness to her friends; to foes,
She glows a thing of passion, strength and pride;
She feels no tremors when the danger's nigh;
But the fight over, and the victory won,
How, with strange fondness, turns her loving eye
In tearful welcome on each gallant son!
Oh! by her virtues of the cherished past—
By all her hopes of what the future brings—
I glory that my lot with her is cast,
And my soul flushes, and exulting sings;
She's mine—she's ever mine;
For her will I resign
All precious things—all placed upon her shrine;
Will freely part
With life, hope, heart—
Will die—do aught but fly! GILMORE SIMMS.

SONG FOR THE SOUTH—[PARODIED.]

I.

Oh! the South, the sunny, sunny South,
Land of slavery, land of wails and wo;
I hear the curses issuing from her mouth,
And my heart swells with indignation's glow!
She brings me tears from the maternal eye,
And piteous moans that harrow up my soul;
Her barbarous deeds offend the gracious sky,
And her fair name illumes th' accursed roll!
Oh! by the myriad tears of sundered kin,—
Oh! by the miseries that on her wait,—
By all the thousand horrors of her sin,
And the dread future of her fate;
She is not mine;—no, no, not mine;
Give me the inclement clime
Where Freedom reigns, and I
Will envy not the chivalrous sons
Of sunny South, those valiant (?) ones
Who never fly!

II.

Ah! Hate is hers; such hate as ever springs
From wretched hearts deprived of Freedom's joy;
And round her all the horrors slavery brings,
And burning wrongs accumulate to destroy.
Nor long shall retribution slumber in repose,*
Or fulsome boasts pollute th' indignant sky;
Fate's ominous clouds, surcharged with dreadful woes,
Thick gathering round, proclaim her doom draws nigh!
Oh! by the fate of the unhappy blacks,—
Oh! by the cruel blows, and broken ties,—
And by their groans, and lacerated backs,—
By [illegible] that loud for vengeance cries;
[illegible] not mine; no, no, not mine;
Thank God! the inclement clime
Where Freedom reigns sublime,
And manhood swells the breast,
And all mankind is blest,
Is mine! is mine! G. E. D.

* These lines were written shortly after the Brown episode, and the fifth, sixth, seventh and eighth lines of the second verse were originally written thus:—

5. She quakes with terror whenever danger's near;
6. The color fled her cheeks when Brown was nigh;
7. The danger past, and nothing left to fear,
8. Her fulsome boasts pollute th' indignant sky!

In consequence of later events, the lines in the text have been substituted in their stead.

June, 1861. G. E. D.

For the Liberator.

COME UP HIGHER!

Come, give us your hand, ye down-trodden million,
You've well earned your freedom from every-day toil;
Come, now, take your seat in Nature's pavilion,—
Mechanic, and seaman, and son of the soil.

Come, give us your hand, your weary back straighten;
Step up on that stair; now, up on another;
Continue your rise, and your stand daily heighten,
Assert yourself equal with mankind, your brother.

Come, give us your hand, let us help you yet higher;
Look around on the scene fabricated by you;
This spectacle grand, which all nations admire,
To both labor and art is assuredly due.

Come, give us your hand, step up a notch still:
The spade and the chisel, the steam and the pen,
Are the powers that move both mountain and mill;—
The laborer's the cream of all living men.

Come, give us your hand, you've reared up this huge pile;
You've built us good houses, and cleared up our land;
Your created wealth has made all the world smile:
Stand erect on the platform, and give us your hand.

Come, give us your hand, you keystone the arches,
The structure of nations reposes on you;
You keep up the many in life's rugged marches,
While the reins have been seized by the indolent few.

Come, give us your hand, come, sovereign brothers,
Here's the signal of welcome to all of true worth;
We've one common Parent, the God of our mothers,
The great master Mechanic of heaven and earth.

Boston. W.

For the Liberator.

THE VICTIM OF SLAVERY.

Sits the negro in his cottage,
Long by Slavery's hand oppressed;
With the star of Freedom lighting
Up his sad and aching breast.

Round he looketh on the chosen
Of his young and tender years;
And adown his swarthy features
Stream the bitter, burning tears.

Rest his glances on his children,
Gathered fondly round his knee,
And his heart itself is nerving
To be happy, to be free.

Sons, too long outcast and trodden
Mid the cannon's deafening roar,
There is hope the hour is coming
When your suffering shall be o'er.

It must die—that monster hugest—
Though by Wealth and Power fed,
For the sons of Freedom hate it,
And will trample on its head.

SYLVESTER.

The Liberator.

THE RIGHT OF SECESSION.

DEAR SIR—As you have given your readers the two sermons of Messrs. Beecher and Phillips, in favor of the war, and against the "right of secession," and also referred them to the article of William Goodell, as "a thorough refutation of the doctrine," will you do the *few* Abolitionists, who take an opposite view of this vital question, the favor to republish, (from a pamphlet sent to your address,) "A Northern Plea for the Right of Secession," by my friend, George W. Bassett, of Ottawa, Illinois?

The "Plea" would occupy about the same space in the *Liberator* as the two sermons of Messrs. Beecher and Phillips. We would be thankful for its publication, even if divided to suit your convenience as to space.

The articles, which I requested you to publish from the *Anti-Slavery Bugle*, it is frankly admitted were below the mediocrity of the communications from your numerous correspondents, in style, arrangement, &c. I make no pretensions, whatever, to scholarship, as all the schooling my worthy, though poor, pioneer parents were able to bestow upon their children was acquired, ragged and barefoot, in a "log cabin" in the wilds of the Northwestern Territory, and of the State of Ohio.

But this objection will not hold good against my friend Bassett. He is a scholar, and this production of his pen, so far from being a disgrace to the columns of even the *Atlantic Monthly*, would, if published therein, add another literary and political gem to the many which already adorn its pages.

But you will perhaps ask, "Why should secession Abolitionists seek through a loyal anti-slavery journal to publish their unpopular views?" I answer, because we seek—anxiously seek—to reason with our fellow-abolitionists, and, if possible, to retain their good opinion, by an honest effort to convince them that, so far from being traitors, the Union, based upon the immutable principles of eternal justice and man's imprescriptible right to self government, has no firmer friends under the broad canopy of heaven than the secession Abolitionists. True, we are every where ill-spoken of; denounced by one class of our fellow-citizens, directly, and by another indirectly, as traitors, and threatened by the former class with the halter, for daring to express our honest convictions of "right and wrong."

I have before me a letter from a friend in Illinois, dated May 11th, in which he says, "I received yours of April the 3d, (remailed at ——,) yesterday. In connection with it, I received a note from my sister, warning me for the world not to return home, as the town that I have done more than any other man to build up, physically and morally, would not listen to, or even tolerate me, one day. Oh, my brother! can it be possible that we are to be exiled for no crime, save preaching the doctrine that men are greater than their works—that God made man, and man made the *Union*; and that the Union,—man's work,—was not so great as man, God's work? Before I left ——, the 'reign of terror' had set in, and all hell appeared to be let loose. The main church in the town had the 'stars and stripes' afloat from the steeple, and the building was, as brother —— phrases it, converted into a recruiting office. Oh, such is the religion of this God-accursed and God-forsaken nation!"

I could give several cases of the most brutal and savage threats against the life of individuals who question the policy of this war.

The Republican journal at Rock Island unblushingly heads an attempt to hang a supposed "secessionist, who," it says, "had to run for his life, and hide from his pursuers in a 'waste-house,'" as "Moline patriotism," or "The patriotism of Moline." Moline, let it be remembered, has been proverbial for its Abolitionism.

This same Republican journal, in the same editorial leader, even urges the "hanging of cowards;" and yet I have to find the first man, who is not a Democrat, who condemns its course, or withdraws his patronage from a sheet so vile, and so dangerous to liberty and life.

Now, is it any wonder that our lives are in imminent peril when the Republican journals, which so lately professed to be the champions of "*free speech, free soil, and free men*," unblushingly incites the ferocious spirit of the mob, in a whiskey-drinking community, to the perpetration of the vilest crimes that disgraced humanity during the "Reign of Terror" in France?

In order to show the predominance of mobocracy in this region, let me state that a reliable individual, residing in the vicinity, has informed me that the ladies (I will not disgrace the name of woman by associating her with a mob) of Deanington and vicinity have threatened to tar, feather and rail-ride a military captain, one of their own professed anti-slavery Republicans, about some difficulty in the organization, or the acceptance by the Governor, of a military company.

Two years since, I lectured, by invitation, for a "Harmonial Association," in an adjoining county, and, of course, chose my subject, which was, Anti-Slavery. Taking the position that the Federal Constitution was, according to the "plain sense and intention of the words used in that instrument," an anti-slavery document, I admitted, on the other hand, that, as always administered, it was "a covenant with death and an agreement with hell." And I urged upon the consideration of the audience the fact, that every man, who did not believe the Federal Constitution to be an anti-slavery document, and voted accordingly, was unquestionably bound, if slavery be a crime, by the most solemn obligation to God and humanity, to trample it in the dust, and to go for "secession" from a Union which bound the free States to be the "jailors and constables of slavery." At the close of the lecture, the gentleman, who brought me the invitation, informed me that the audience, respectable for both numbers and intelligence, "thought that they got more than they bargained for." They, however, treated me courteously. Since the commencement of this war to maintain the "covenant" which I then denounced, the same individual, a professedly anti-slavery Republican, informed me, in no very flattering, if not in unfriendly terms, that if I ever came back to Red Oak Grove, and lectured as I had done, they would *lynch* me. And, in fact, so changed are the times, and so terrible is the "reign of terror," that it would cost me my life to attempt to lecture and distribute Anti-Slavery Tracts, as I did last winter. The remainder of the Tracts sent to me by Mr. May are, however, useless, as "*others are doing the work of the Abolitionists*" so thoroughly, that they, impatient of results, like the "Liberty," the "Free Soil" and the "Free Democratic" parties, have taken tickets in the Republican consolidated national lottery at Washington, under the management of Wendell Phillips's "SLAVE HOUND," Seward & Co. The advertised scheme of this mammoth lottery consists of the enormous and alarming capital stock of eighty millions of dollars,—"Almighty Dollars,"—with the rare capacity of nearly doubling its capital every decade, while the "covenant with death and the agreement with hell" can be maintained. The grand capital prize in this magnificent lottery scheme, "conceived in sin and brought forth in iniquity," is the perpetuation of the above "covenant," and the consequent perpetuity of slavery as a "State Right," which the owners of this lottery told us at Chicago was "essential to the perfection and endurance of our political fabric." The capital money prize is $100,000 to the fortunate holder of the ticket endorsed, "The keenest-scented blood-hound North of Mason and Dixon's line."

The other prizes are in a descending scale until they reach $10 to the holder of a ticket endorsed, "*Sent the fugitive back to the hell of slavery, right or wrong.*"

The blanks in this lottery are "Secession and the overthrow of slavery"; and yet the "Disunion Abolitionists," instead of consistently taking the slave States at their word, are unconsciously aiding the pro-slavery managers to turn the wheel so as to draw the grand prize, which will necessarily perpetuate slavery, and cheat them out of the "blanks," which they have heretofore coveted as the noblest prize which humanity could win.

B. G. WRIGHT.

P. S. Since writing the above, it seems that I am under the ban of a military company at Deanington for distributing "secession pamphlets." I have been warned by a man, who passed through that place and vicinity, and heard the threats from numerous individuals, that this heroic company intends to give me a call next Saturday, and by the terror of a noosed rope, to force me to retract my belief in the right of State secession, and to compel me to swear to support the Union, when they know, from my lectures at their Lyceum, that I have always declared the Union, as the Constitution is administered, to be "a covenant with death and an agreement with hell," which every man, who is not a Radical Abolitionist, should indignantly trample in the dust.

Did I not intuitively and implicitly believe in the unlawfulness of even defensive war, and had I not an abiding faith in the philosophical and heroic virtue of Jesus, that "whoso loseth his life shall save it," I would arm myself to meet this heroic military mob. Nay, more, I would not visit one of our villages, or even one of my *Republican* neighbors, without being armed with a bowie knife and a six-shooter.

Rural, Ill., June 2, 1861.

THE LOGIC OF "CONTRABAND OF WAR."

The *Pionier* of June 6, commenting on Mr. Cameron's instructions to General Butler in regard to the fugitives at Fortress Monroe, says:

"Only in America is it possible, in times like these, for a banker, who knew how to wage war only upon money-bags, to be made Minister of War; but if the war, contrary to logic and to right, can supply the qualifications of a soldier, Mr. Cameron gives promise of marvellous performances in his department. Let us look a little closer at his Order.

'The Government,' it means, in other words, 'cannot recognize the rebellion of a State against its authority, but must, spite of the rebellion, recognize its own obligation to respect the laws of this State, and, among these laws, of course the one which makes cattle of men is pre-eminent.' But, we ask, is there in Virginia a law which permits Mr. Cameron to send troops into that sovereign State, and to rule there as lord and master? He derives this right from the federal Constitution and the state of rebellion, and thereby confesses that it is not the laws of the State which are binding upon him, but the purpose of the war, in which he has the authority of the Constitution. Why, then, should those State laws be binding in regard to slavery, especially since this constitutes the source of the rebellion? From the fact that Virginia is in the bands of the rebels, it is fairly established that the State of Virginia, whose laws were formerly entitled to consideration, no longer exists at all. How can Mr. Cameron recognize the State of Virginia into existence, when it no longer recognizes itself? But, as far as the obligations of the federal government are concerned, if the latter, spite of the rebellion and the war undertaken against it, delares itself still bound to the recognition of slavery that exists by Virginia law, surely all the more must it be bound to recognize the laws of the Union which exist for Virginia, and among these stands pre-eminent the Fugitive Slave Law. If Mr. Cameron, because of the state of war, can be acquitted of the duty of surrendering fugitive slaves, as the laws of the Union enjoin, then most certainly he can also be acquitted of the duty of recognizing slavery, as the laws of Virginia enjoin. How will he escape this contradiction?

Where there is no logic, either honor or understanding is wanting. The policy which reckons Mr. Cameron amongst its supporters is lacking in both, and the poor slaves must shortly suffer for it. He calls them 'persons,' but orders them to be retained as 'contraband.' Were he candid, he would say: To surrender the 'persons' to their 'masters' while these are in arms against us would be too outrageous, and would excite discontent among the soldiers; therefore, we will postpone the rendition till the 'masters' have been reduced to subjection, in order to console them for their fate. But we must restore—capital and interest. Hence the keeping of accounts."

THE PRINCIPLES OF PEACE.

ROCHESTER, (N. Y.) June 16, 1861.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON:

MY DEAR FRIEND—I was much cheered by reading your article in the last *Liberator*, headed, "*What of your Peace Principles now?*"—for it seems to me that there has been a sorrowful departure from those principles by many who have, beretofore, professed to believe in them. I believe there never was a time when it was more necessary to hold up those principles high—especially now that we are all hoping that, in the contest now going on, in some way the liberation of the slave will grow out of it; and, therefore, a great temptation is presented for the lovers of freedom to take part in it.

When I adopted the principles of Peace, it was from a conviction that human life is too sacred to be taken away, under any pretext; that the strongest power in the universe for the doing away of moral evil is moral truth; and that human life and human liberty will never be secure, so long as one human being is justified in taking the life of another human being for any cause. I have believed that the world was steadily progressing, and that the teachings of Jesus were far in advance of those of Moses; but some of our modern reformers, who have professed peace principles for a life-time, and are now preaching Progression, have discovered that the law of Moses is in advance of the precepts and example of Jesus. At the meeting of the *Friends of Human Progress*, held a few days ago at Waterloo, one of the prominent objects of which has heretofore been to promote peace principles, strong war speeches were made; and I was somewhat amused at the reasons that one dear old Friend gave for a change in his views. He had discovered that slaveholders were "lions and tigers," and that it is right to shoot "wild beasts." So that we have only to cry "tiger," or "mad dog," and we have made a man an outlaw! Oh! when will men learn to be governed by sound principles instead of popular excitement?

Yours, for Liberty and Progress,

BENJAMIN FISH.

PEACE TESTIMONY.

To the Editor of the Liberator:

It seems to me that, if ever there was a time when the true friends of peace should "report themselves," now is that time.

With all my soul, I respond a hearty "Amen!" to brother Love of Philadelphia. I also feel it my duty to say, that I have not a particle of sympathy for the principles of brother Madox. I hope to hear extensively from the true peace men and women everywhere. Thank God for "another sifting"!

Yours, for the redemption of man,

SEWARD MITCHELL.

Cornville, (Me.) June 20, 1861.

A FACETIOUS SOUTHERN STATE PAPER. The Committee on Foreign Affairs of the Confederate States, in a recent labored report, perpetrate the following excellent official joke: "Our late associates in the Government of the United States have seized the whole of the United States navy, one half of which belongs to us, and design using it against us." The U. S. Government is actually charged with seizing its own ships!

SOLDIERS' NEWSPAPER. The printers in the 5th Pennsylvania regiment, at Alexandria, have started a newspaper devoted to the interests of the soldier and the Union. It is printed on the press of the Alexandria *Sentinel*, formerly a secession sheet.

LEWIS'S NORMAL INSTITUTE FOR PHYSICAL TRAINING.

This Institution is presumed to be the first ever established to educate guides in Physical Culture; and it is believed that, of all schools, none is more demanded by the exigencies of the times. Teachers, managers of schools, the people themselves, are awakening to a vivid perception of this vital want, and beginning earnestly to inquire how it can be best supplied.

Books, discussing the subject in some of its various aspects, have long occupied a place in our libraries; but we have failed to be improved by them, chiefly because Physical Culture, especially in the department of Gymnastics, is one of those arts which demand the living teacher. We need a college, in which persons may be taught both the art and the science of physical training.

After due consultation with leading educators, it was lately resolved to organize such a college; and that resolve, under a statute of the Commonwealth, has now been carried into effect.

Readers of our educational journals are, to some extent, familiar with Dr. Lewis's system of Gymnastics; since, in connection with his appearance before the American Institute of Instruction, last year, those journals, as also large numbers of the daily press, gave somewhat full accounts of the principal features of that system. It is a novel system; novel, alike in its philosophy, and in its practical details. Dispensing with the whole cumbrous apparatus of the ordinary gymnasium, its implements are all light, easily managed, and designed less to impart mere strength of muscle than to give flexibleness, agility, and grace of movement. The exercises are accompanied by music, and all of them so arranged that both sexes participate in each.

Competent judges, acquainted with the corps of Professors attached to this Institution, will deem it no hyperbolism to say, that an abler, a more earnest corps could be furnished by no other city in the country.

The chair of Anatomy will be occupied by Dr. Thomas H. Hoskins, author of the invaluable work, entitled "What we Eat." His lectures will be abundantly illustrated by skeletons, manikins, models, paintings, and diagrams. To a judicious leadership in physical culture, a knowledge of anatomy is much more important than to the practice of medicine. If, in a class of pupils, one is very stooping, has a lateral curvature of the spine, an ugly gait, or is otherwise deformed or enfeebled through some muscular imperfection, the teacher, if not knowing anatomy, will proceed like one in the dark. On the day following the delivery of each lecture, a quiz will be held on the subject thereof, and all the pupils required to attend the same.

The chair of Physiology is to be filled by Dr. Josiah Curtis, whose State Reports and other writings occupy so large a space in Medical Libraries. His pupils will derive special advantages from the varied means of illustration employed by him in a course so important to those who would become guides in physical training. Each pupil in this department will be required to join a class for recitation, and will come under the Professor's direct personal examination.

The chair of Hygiene will be occupied by Dr. Walter Channing, who held for so many years a high professional position in the Medical College of Harvard University; who is so well known to the profession for the largeness of his observation and experience in all departments of Sanitary Science; and whose profound interest in the success of this movement could alone induce him to leave his well-earned retirement to engage in a work so onerous.

The chair of Gymnastics will be occupied by Dr. Dio Lewis.

Besides the services of the distinguished gentlemen above-named, those of several others, among the best thinkers in New England, have been secured for a course on the Philosophy of Education.

The class will also be taught the principles of the "Swedish Movement-Cure;" a department of the Institution, devoted to the treatment of curvature of the spine, paralysis, and other chronic maladies, affording rare opportunities to study in detail the application of Ling's methods in treating such forms of chronic disease. This special use of muscle-culture has won a reputation so world-wide, that a course of instruction in Physical Education which should omit its development would be seriously defective.

Each pupil, on being received into the Institute, will be critically examined with reference to strength, form and health; and any deficiency thus disclosed will be placed at once under the most thorough treatment, for the double purpose of illustrating the process of such treatment, and of more fully preparing the pupil himself for the duties of his profession. Each will be drilled by Dr. Lewis in person, with such care that he or she cannot fail to become a competent teacher of gymnastics. And each will have two drills a day; in no instance, however, to be so protracted as to fatigue; will be made familiar with at least two hundred different exercises, all suited to develop both strength of muscle and symmetry of form; and will be allowed, every one in turn, to lead a small class, in order to learn more perfectly the arts of leadership; a point, this latter, of such prime importance that it will receive unwearied attention.

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Good board and room can be procured in Boston, during the summer, for $3.00, $3.50, and $4.00, per week.

The demand for teachers has risen to fever-heat. At the commencement of the autumn terms of our schools and colleges, it would be easy for Dr. Lewis to effect engagements for one hundred ladies and gentlemen, should so many be found, as all who had faithfully availed themselves of the facilities offered by this Institution might well be found, competent to teach gymnastics. There is not a village of five hundred inhabitants, in the Free States, in which it would be difficult to open a class of ladies and gentlemen that would pay, for two hours in the evening, at least three times as much as is generally received for the six hours of rather unhealthy labor in the public schools. Indeed, any qualified teacher of these new, fascinating modes of gymnastic training would, in any part of the Northern States, manage badly, if the earnings were not five times as large as are generally received in those schools. And unless, by some miracle, the physical condition of the American people shall be altogether revolutionized, the demand for teachers will rapidly increase. As no permanent fixtures are used, any hall with good light and ventilation might be occupied.

July and August have been selected as the time, and Boston as the place, of holding the first session of the Institute, for the following reasons:—The long vacation in schools occurs at that time, and teachers, so much interested in the work, are then at liberty. It is also the season of leisure with Dr. Lewis, in which he can give his undivided attention to the task of drilling the pupils. Boston is favored with almost uninterrupted sea-breezes, while the altitude and ventilation of the Institute building make it a very desirable place during the warm months. Persons in bad health could scarcely spend two months in relations more favorable to its restoration.

It is believed that "The Lewis Normal Institute of Physical Education" is opened under auspices which will insure its permanent success; that it will one day become the Harvard of many kindred colleges. The educational public will readily concede to Boston special advantages for the realization of all desirable educational schemes. This Institute will spare no labor and no expense which may promise to enlarge the sphere of its usefulness.

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MR. RUSSELL'S CORRESPONDENCE.

Mr. Russell writes to the London *Times*, under date New Orleans, May 25th, from which we make the following extract, showing in what manner the Southern army is recruited:—

REIGN OF TERROR IN NEW ORLEANS.

There are doubts arising in my mind respecting the number of armed men actually in the field in the South, and the amount of arms in the possession of the Federal forces. The constant advertisements and appeals for a few more men to complete such and such companies furnish some sort of evidence that men are still wanting. But a painful and startling insight into the manner in which "volunteers" have been sometimes obtained has been afforded to me at New Orleans. In no country in the world have outrages on British subjects been so frequent and so wanton as in the States of America. They have been frequent, perhaps, because they have been generally attended with impunity. Englishmen, however, will be still a little surprised to hear that within a few days British subjects living in New Orleans have been seized, knocked down, carried off from their labor at the wharf and the workshop, and forced by violence to serve in the "volunteer" ranks! These cases are not isolated. They are not in twos and threes, but in tens and twenties; they have not occurred stealthily or in by-ways; they have taken place in the open day and in the streets of New Orleans. These men have been dragged along like felons, protesting in vain that they were British subjects. Fortunately, their friends bethought them that there was still a British Consul in the city, who would protect his countrymen—English, Irish, or Scotch. Mr. Mure, when he heard of the reports and of the evidence, made energetic representations to the authorities, who, after some evasion, gave orders that the impressed "volunteers" should be discharged, and the "Tiger Rifles" and other companies were deprived of the thirty-five British subjects whom they had taken from their avocations. The Mayor promises that it shall not occur again. It is high time that such acts should be put a stop to, and that the mob of New Orleans should be taught to pay some regard to the usages of civilized nations. There are some strange laws here and elsewhere in reference to compulsory service on the part of foreigners, which it would be well to inquire into, and Lord John Russell may be able to deal with them at a favorable opportunity. *As to any liberty of opinion or real freedom here, the boldest Southerner would not dare to say a shadow of either exists.* It may be as bad in the North, for all I know, but it must be remembered that in all my communications I speak of things as they appear to me to be in the place I am at the time. *The most cruel and atrocious acts are perpetrated by the rabble, who style themselves citizens.* The national failing of curiosity and prying into other people's affairs is now rampant, and assumes the name and airs of patriotic vigilance. Every stranger is watched, every word is noted, espionage commands every key-hole and every letter-box; love of country takes to eaves-dropping, and freedom shaves men's heads and packs men up in boxes for the utterance of "Abolition sentiments." In this city there is a terrible substratum of crime and vice, violence, misery and murder, over which the wheels of the Cotton King's chariot rumble gratingly, and on which rest in dangerous security the feet of his throne. There are numbers of negroes who are sent out on the streets every day with orders not to return with less than 75 cents—anything more they can keep. But if they do not gain that—about 3s. 6d. a day—they are liable to punishment; they may be put into jail on charge of laziness, and may be flogged *ad libitum*, and are sure to be half starved. Can anything, then, be more suggestive than this paragraph, which appeared in last night's paper: "*Only three coroner's inquests were held yesterday on persons found drowned in the river, names unknown.*" The italics are mine.

Over and over again has the boast been repeated to me that, on the plantations, lock and key are unknown or unused in the planters' houses. But in the cities they are much used, though scarcely trusted. It appears, indeed, that unless a slave has made up his or her mind to incur the dreadful penalties of flight, there would be no inducement to commit theft, for money and jewels would be useless; search would be easy, detection nearly certain. That all the slaves are not indifferent to the issues before them is certain. At the house of a planter the other day, one of them asked my friend, "Will we be made to work, massa, when old English come?" An old domestic in the house of a gentleman in this city said, "There are few whites in this place who ought not to be killed for their cruelty to us." Another said, "Oh, just wait till they attack Pickens!" These little hints are significant enough, coupled with the notices of runaways and the lodgments in the police jails, to show that all is not quiet below the surface. The holders, however, are firm, and there have been many paragraphs stating that slaves have contributed to the various funds for State defence, and that they generally show the very best spirit.

RETURNING FUGITIVES.

We trust that the order transmitted to Gen. Butler, to harbor no more slaves at Fortress Monroe, was based upon the fact that he is not prepared, by the condition of his quarters and the state of his commissariat, to give them a resting place; and that it is by no means an indication of the policy which the Government will order its commanders to adopt. The country needs and demands a practical assurance from the Government, that the war, brought upon the Republic by the insanity and folly of the South, is not on our side to be conducted with the gentle courtesy that marks the conduct of a man in his treatment of a rebellious and erring child; but that, as long as the Southern army wars upon the material interests and political property of loyal men, striking at our trade, our manufactures, our commerce and our agriculture, with the venom of a serpent; issuing letters of marque, threatening the safety of our commercial towns, and doing whatever else their malignity and ferocity may suggest—as long as they do these things, the blows aimed at them should be such that, when they fall, they will tell upon the general result, and tend to bring this conflict to a speedy close. This is not a war of bulletins and proclamations—not a contest between cologne water on one side and sugar-plums on the other; and if we enter into it, and carry it on, under the impression that the enemy will restrain their hands when they have the power to cripple our resources, destroy our property, or take our lives, we fight at the disadvantage which would attend the man who should attempt to tame a hyena by pelting him with soap-bubbles. War means quick destruction. It means death to combatants by any of the means which civilized nations may employ. It means exhaustion of the resources of the parties engaged therein, in such a way that one or the other will confess inability to carry it on. Now, if there is any method by which the right arm of the enemy against whom we contend may be sooner paralyzed, or his intolerable boasting and arrogance be sooner subdued, than by striking at the main resource upon which he relies for his bread—the labor of his slaves—we should be happy to have some one wiser than we are point it out!

We tell "the powers that be," that there has been enough sending back of prisoners, enough scrupulousness in regard to the sanctity of slave "property," enough mistaken leniency and forbearance lest some right should be violated. The people, while offering their lives in countless thousands and their treasures in untold millions, that rebellion may be overcome, want the assurance that the Administration is in downright earnest as they are—ready to seize occasions as they rise, to take advantage of any weak side the enemy presents, and to turn to quick and rapid account any disability by which he is embarrassed. If prisoners are seized, let them be sent to the rear of the base line, and put in camp, and treated as their crimes warrant. If traitors who are worth the trouble are got within Federal power, let them be tried, and, if guilty of the overt act, hang up like malefactors and assassins as they are. If slaves escape, let them run, and woe be to him who sends one back. They are the backbone of the rebellion. They work while the traitors fight. They produce the bread that treason eats. They dig the trenches and throw up the embankments behind which traitors strut. They are more valuable to-day, man for man, to the rebel cause than the whites who defend it. Without them the war would end in a month. Wherever they are cleaned out, there the contest is ended. In the name of all that is prudent and patriotic, let our boys have their way, and hit hard where they can! Have we not dealt in cologne and sugar plums long enough?—*Chicago Tribune.*

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VOL. XX. NO. 28. BOSTON, FRIDAY, JULY 12, 1861. WHOLE NO. 1594

Refuge of Oppression.

☞ The traitors who are the most to be detested and watched, at this crisis, do not reside in the Confederate States, but at the North—who, while affecting to be loyal to the Union, are constantly deploring the evils of war, suggesting the desirableness of compromise on any terms however degrading and injurious, and insisting that the North, not the South, is to blame as the aggressive party. Of such traitors are the *Journal of Commerce* and its contributors daily guilty. Below is a specimen:

[From the New York Journal of Commerce.]

It will be observed by the date at its close, that this communication was written on the 4th of July. But it was doubted whether the public mind was then in a condition to receive so sober and just a truthfully spoken, and therefore the publication of the article has been deferred to the present time.

SOME REASONS WHY I AM OPPOSED TO THE PRESENT WAR.

First—Because war is, at best, a terrible necessity, not to be resorted to until all amicable measures of settling national difficulties have been exhausted. It is well known that ever since the election of Mr. Lincoln, the Republican party has received every practical suggestion in favor of peace that has been offered.

Towards the close of the last session of Congress, the first full report was made in the Senate on behalf of the Crittenden resolutions, which were undefinded, one of the Senators, I think his name is Hale, saying, "We have more important business on hand,—we have a Tariff to pass."

Second—Because it is a civil war, of all wars the most cruel and exhausting, and the most repugnant to the sentiment of the present age.

Third—Because, if successful, it must be over the ruins of the Republic. We shall have a government, but it will not be the government of the United States.

It is an abuse of terms to speak of a Union or compulsion, "a union of equals," consisting of compulsory and unwilling members, holding a government so sorely forced must be maintained by force; and the power necessary to hold it, must destroy the life of the country, or a standing menace to the liberties of the Republic.

Fourth—Because it cannot succeed. Eight millions of free people inhabiting such a country as they possess, accustomed to the use of arms, fighting, as they verily believe, for their homes and all that makes life precious, cannot be conquered.

Fifth—Because we enter upon it without the moral support of the great Christian nations of the earth; and in processing it are very likely to meet hostile recognition.

Sixth—Because war will not settle our difficulties it will only aggravate them. We shall have to recognize sooner or later, and had better do so at the threshold of a bitter war than at its close.

Seventh—Because of the spirit of lawlessness and anarchy it is creating. The laws are the only safeguards we have gone three centuries backward since the war commenced.

Eighth—Because of the conditions on which it is waged; submission or extermination.

Ninth—Because it will transform the uniformly designs of our great foreign rivals into a sad power. *Tenth*—Because it will prove ruinous to the city of New York, and highly injurious to the country at large. We had the unique position, as a heavy national debt; withstand the strength of our population from the pressure of foreign nations, by a force of high excitement and irregularities; drive our commerce from the seas, or sell it to a foreign subsidy; the hurtful channels of enterprise and industry are changed; the capital of the country will be hoarded or absorbed by the government for warlike uses; commerce and affairs will be unsettled; property will be distributed; property will depreciate in value; the hard-earned credit and wealth of years will be much impaired; the old general bankruptcy; all classes will suffer; and the end and values will be greatly increased. Such are some of the followers in the train of this war. But great as these evils, they are nothing, when compared, in *case the war should fail of its object.* Then comes the pressure of its tendency to destroy the government, and make it one stupendous jubilee, concern for the benefit of contractors and their confederates.

Twelfth—Because the Declaration of Independence asserts the right of a people "to abolish the political bonds which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them: "That Governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends for which it was instituted, it is the right of the people to alter and abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form as shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness."

When New York ratified the Constitution, she expressly reserved the right of secession, and further said, "That the power of the Government may be terminated by the people whenever it shall become necessary for their happiness;" the ratifications of Rhode Island and Virginia are to the same effect. These express conditions apply to all of the States for all are equal.

Thirteenth—Because this government was founded on voluntary consent; to assume that it must be maintained by force is to admit that it is a failure.

Fourteenth—Because, in waging it, we, as a people, solidly commit ourselves to a resistance to the right and capacity of self-government. We vindicate the principle of Great Britain in her attempt to coerce the Colonies and maintain her government. We make our forefathers traitors, and the Declaration of Independence the round relain of a set of conspirators against law, order and government.

It makes a world of difference when we are with the foe, or than with the hounds.

Suppose Britain it is not, as some suppose, a war to sustain our government, but a war to compel other States, now outside, to continue under the government they do not choose to have.

Fifteenth—Because it is a war for supremacy, and not for the Constitution; a war of desperation, and not of hope.

Thousands in the land believed that when Mr. Lincoln was elected, the Union was lost. Secession never counted those hyperbolacian, but only of late has the heavy truth struck home. We begin to realize the loss. Our commercial position, if not our very existence, threatened by protection at the North, and free trade at the South, our nation, at pretentious humbled, our vision of unbounded greatness rudely dispelled; our property turned to adversity; on all sides baffled and perplexed, we yield to our passions, fly to arms, and seek those destructive courses, "which, if not victory, are yet recompense."

Seventeenth—Because it is inexpedient; and, excuse me for saying it unnatural. Instead of adding the best of our misfortunes, we are making the worst of them. Wordsworth, the philosophic, condemned, the respectable opinion of mankind, religion, and all. "Let thy speech be ever, Peace, Peace, (saying nothing of your wrongs) Peace, Peace, Peace, in terms of distinctness the most soul touching, against the course they have taken, and the ruin they have accomplished, but let them go. Your fathers fought the battles of the Revolution shoulder to shoulder with their fathers; the ashes of your dead are in the land of the Revolution, from Maine to California; your sons have taken of their daughters to wife; your sons have taken of their daughters to wife; ye are brethren; ye have been reared under the same institutions,—have sept at the same graves.

And a lorum said to Lot, Let there be no strife I pray thee, between me and thee, and between my herdsmen and thy herdsmen, for we be brethren." Is not the whole land before you? Separate thyself, I pray thee, from me. If thou will take the left hand, then I will go to the right; or if thou depart to the right hand, then I will go to the left."

"Let us alone, we will compromise with you. Let us submit to them gracefully, and put aside the arms of fratricide, and say to our brethren, "Take, take, take—"rather than be less,

Cared not to be at all."

The sentiment was worthy of the roll. True courage speaks a different language. Let us take, instead of the present, the wise, the patriotic course and turn from the rash conclusion of fratricidal extermination. Let it be a question of slavery, provided we cannot be fellow-citizens. If the Union is to be saved, it must be saved as it was, if the Union be lost, it is nevertheless in our power to become the nucleus of a new and better the work; as our people, a mighty nation.

Let the most sanguinary mind, the liveliest imagination, endeavor to picture the future of a conservative, and it will vainly strive to fathom an abyss of misery, woe and desolation which we are just on: describe.

Eighteenth—I oppose this war because it is a war of sections: the North against the South, the strong, or against the weaker, the majority, by force to compel the minority in arms to resist. In this contest, which is not a question of slavery, pro or con,—or any other question over this,—the right of State sovereignty is the issue. The States made the Union; States made the Union, and I am convinced that a solution of this question by a resort to force, must be fatal to liberty, and lead that a suggestion to that effect was promptly rejected by the framers of the Constitution, I am opposed to oppose this war.

Nineteenth—I oppose this war because there is no law authorizing it. These armies operating in the South, that are sent to the remaining forts of our national defence; this extensive sea coast and river blockade; the invasion of States, the invasion of the writ of Habeas Corpus; the seizure and confiscation of private property by military force; citizens taken by soldiers; and arrested, imprisoned, and for trial, for speaking treason; the present martial law prevailing in the North; and the claim had taking the place of the jury box; these and many other acts, are all without law, and the authority of order his authority, are wholly without warrant in law. Congress alone is empowered to make laws. Congress alone has such. This case is without precedent, and the power of Congress, this power can be so readily assumed, all the liberties of my people, and the rights of the States,

day of January next; but you know, as well as I do, that the Republican party placed in the Governor's chair of this State, one whom they considered the best representative of their principles. You know that he went to Washington, and was baptized into the policy of the Cabinet that was to be. You know that he returned to the capital of the Commonwealth, and saw a mob, in the pay and service of secession, trampling under foot the very sentiments which placed him in his chair of State, and he cannot be fairly said to have lifted a finger for the most sacred of all rights—that of freedom of discussion. You know that, after writing a letter on the value of free speech, of which I said, (and said it fittingly,) that it was the noblest word a Massachusetts Governor had spoken since the days of John Winthrop, on that mad week in January, he violated every principle announced in his letter to Kimball, broke his promise as a gentleman, failed in his duty as an officer, aided his subordinates to belie the Abolitionists in the public journals; and when afterward the House of Representatives passed, and the Senate was ready to pass, a bill offering him that power, the lack of which he had made a pretext for inaction, he personally intrigued to prevent its enactment. ("Shame.")

I know five months, crowded with great events, have passed since. But such treachery no events are large enough to hide. Free speech is the germ of our history, the corner-stone of our power. Whoever, in Massachusetts, trespasses on free speech, declares war with all our past, and endangers all our future. Everett, in 1836, had the excuse of a stronger temptation for less infamy. Let no sheen of military efficiency blind us to the danger of such an act from one whom the masses trust. Last March, before a Legislative Committee, I bore my testimony on this point. I do not mean to forfeit the character of twenty years of impartial vigilance by silence now. I feel with Southey, speaking of an act not so dangerous: "To palliate it would be in vain; to justify it would be wicked. There is no alternative for one who will not make himself a participator in the guilt, but to record the disgraceful story with sorrow and shame."

Why do I mention this? Is a recreant Governor of Massachusetts of so much consequence? No. But in this he was the mouthpiece of the Cabinet at Washington—of the men, I mean, who were marked for the Cabinet, when the 4th of March opened. They did what they thought necessary for the welfare of the Republican party. They wrecked it. Your Governor placed himself among those men—ready to do anything to save the party. I said, just now, that Charles Sumner and his like, with the *Tribune*, had saved the country. It is because I believe of him, (and I know but some half-dozen others of whom I should dare to say it,) that while he would do anything to serve his country, he would not do a dishonorable act to save it. When, on the contrary, a man writes himself down in the other category, when he shows himself willing to use means he knows to be base, for an end he thinks good, his usefulness is gone. I place no confidence, therefore, in the action of that political organization which failed us in the trial hour. I put my faith in the honesty of Abraham Lincoln as an individual, in the pledge which a long life has given of Chase's love for the anti-slavery cause; but I do not believe either of them, nor all of them, nor all their comrades, have the boldness to declare an emancipation policy, until, by a pressure which we are to create, the country forces them to it. We are on the one side; the enrolled army of Virginia on the other. A defeat, bloody and cruel, will anger the North into emancipation. A victory, that drives the South into despair, and makes her seek any means, in her desperation, may force her government to emancipation. Let us pray for the life of Jefferson Davis! (Laughter.) God grant him long life, and *something* of an army! (Renewed laughter.) Let us pray that Heaven, or some power, will put into his heart courage, so that he may not run away too soon (merriment); so that out of the contest may come emancipation. A northeaster, that sweeps the ocean clear of every sail, is one thing; the pattering storm, that only makes every man feel uncomfortable, is another. I think, of late, we have seen the latter kind of warfare, and not the best sort.

What we are to ask for is a decisive policy, or the commencement of it. I believe that Wall street wants it; State street wants it. The merchants of fifty and sixty years old, who see their property melting away, who count t[illegible] losses by hundreds of thousands, have [illegible]ish to be in a slave Union again. [illegible] come to a moment when the selfishness of wealth is on our side. Rich men, or those lately so, cannot afford to have this war smothered up by compromise or half-way peace; that were to risk another bankruptcy four years hence. The heart of the masses and bank vaults are as one. At a fitting moment, the government has only to decree justice, and it will see the nation take its place among honorable States, with an uprising as proud and glorious, as hearty and unanimous, as that which awed Europe into sympathy and respect two months ago. This administration holds in its hand the seed of the mightiest change of our age—the change of the Great Republic from hypocrisy into honor. It lies with them to assure the success of this experiment of self-government, and make the world our debtors. So far, the people have done their full share, rebuking distrust from the height of a sublime virtue. Let statesmen fitly use the noble weapons which a great people have forced into their almost reluctant hands. Woe to any man who balks the hour, or fails to seize the golden opportunity! The curses of one race left in chains—of another mocked in its purpose—of the world sad from the failure of its great free model, shall load his memory.

I look at this question only as an Abolitionist. If I stood here on other ground, I should have a great deal else to say. If I stood here as a citizen, I should protest against the criticism by the press of our generals and colonels—upon the hasty rebuke of a single error, mischance or mistake, of what are called "civil" generals. I have no such fault to find. Our army, hitherto, has been officered—how? Out of every ten, eight were Southerners. Of those eight, four were traitors and two were imbeciles; so we had about two out of ten worth anything. We have now civilians; unpractised men, to be sure, but they are "smart" men, cunning New Englanders. They could build a ship on ten days' notice, and translate the New Testament out of the original Greek with a month's schooling. It does not need long to make anything out of a Yankee; and in ten such Yankees, you will find five that think, each one of them, they sha[illegible] President: such will face ambuscades or open batteries for a chance. (Laughter and applause.) Those men will fight boldly, at least. The other five have reputation, a purpose, and an intention to do their duty. You will get two-thirds of the ten decent officers, in the end. Wait awhile: we can afford to teach such men their art on the "sacred soil of Virginia." An army, raised at a bound from 25,000 to 250,000—where, but among civilians, shall it find new officers? I see no errors in the last two months which the history of the great Frederic and of Wellington does not parallel. I have, therefore, no criticism of the army. I think, if it was not held back, it would have bivouacked at Richmond, and not met a Southern soldier, either. (Applause.) So that, if I were speaking as a citizen, I should have no fault to find with our levies, with our generals, with the general machinery. They want only a head. They want only a purpose, and that the masses are to give them, not the statesmen. You and I are to begin it. And as I so seldom praise anybody, I certainly may be allowed to say of the N. Y. *Tribune*, which we so often find fault with, that it has done yeomanly sevice in the last six months. We want a press equally energetic, equally exacting, all over the country; and we want a public opinion here in Massachusetts that shall forget party lines, not for the purpose of welcoming Bell-Everett or broken-down Democratic statesmen into their ranks; but shall forget party lines, in order to rise to the requisitions of the hour, and tell the open secret on every man's lip—merchant, farmer, politician, clergyman—that which no man dares print, and no politician avow, but which flashes from every eye, and nestles in every heart. It is, that every man believes this a fight for and against slavery, and intends to strangle it. Why should they not say it? It ought to be said in our Legislature—ought to be said in Congress—ought to be said very soon by the administration.

I could talk a great deal longer, if it were necessary (many voices—"Go on!"); but of what use were it? We are all, as I said, afloat. The good God takes the helm out of man's hands, and we have only to be faithful, each in our little place, and let the great spirit of the century lift up our practice to our ideal. These days of anti-slavery gatherings for the purpose of emancipation, I believe, will be soon over. By the Constitution or over it, liberty is sure to come. Our part will soon be to watch for the welfare of this victim race, guard it during its pupilage, shelter it by patronage, by protection, by privilege, by recognizing its claim to an equal manhood. Sooner than we expected, sooner than the most sanguine of us dreamed, this problem is to be decided. How often we have stood under these trees, and sometimes talked despondingly of the future! Mr. Garrison once burned the U. S. Constitution on this platform. It is now indeed a blurred and tattered parchment between the cannon of South Carolina and the sides of fort Sumter. It is gone; the nation survives. The parchment is rent in twain; the people exist. That people are to shape their government anew. You and I are to have a voice in the moulding. The part which Henry and Madison, which Hancock and Adams, played in '87, we are to play to-day. They yielded to the recollection of past suffering, to the fear of present evil, to the prestige of great names, and made an instrument out of which have grown sixty years of infamy, and now civil war. They planted the dragon's teeth, and, to-day, Boston and South Carolina hold each other by the throat. This is the first-born child of 1787. To-day we plant fresh seed. Mr. Lincoln and the administration are pausing, waiting. The furrow is opened. The guns are shotted to the lips. They are to be pointed—where? At a miserable rattlesnake flag? At a bankrupt and fugitive cabinet, now in Montgomery and now in Richmond? At a General, of whom half the world doubts his existence? No! Your 250,000 muskets, shotted by thirty years of anti-slavery agitation, are to be pointed at the Slave Power. (Applause.) Demolish it! (Renewed applause.) Shame England; waken France; summon Europe to our side by proclaiming that the cause of the North is liberty, and our end justice; that no flag, no parchment, is worth shedding a drop of blood, but that four millions of slaves, whom we have outraged for seventy years, claim of us this atonement; and whether, in money or in blood, it is to be laid cheerfully on the altar. Show the world that twenty millions of freemen, the ripe fruit of two hundred years of self-government and Puritanism, are above wars waged for the bauble of a crown, the etiquette of a boundary, or the honor of a flag: that they take the thunderbolt, as God does, only to lift up the humble and abase the proud, and execute justice between man and man.

I want to take back that name which I endeavored to write on the forehead of Abraham Lincoln, of Springfield,—"the slave-hound of Illinois"; and instead of it, before the first day of January, 1862, I want to write on that then honored brow, "Liberator of four millions of bondmen; first President of the *free* United States of America." (Loud applause.) Help him to that fame. The Western lawyer is "willing," only he has not the courage to offer. (Laughter.) We can help him. Help him by the press. Why, the Boston *Atlas* has recovered its soul! It speaks brave words. Soon they will let us stand by the left wing of the party. We can save it from being devoured by the Leverett Saltonstalls and George T. Curtises of a defunct dynasty. And it must be saved, not the party lines, but the heart of it. Massachusetts must send out, not merely men; as usual, she must send out ideas. I take from your Governor no jot of his merit. I tear from his brow no leaf of his laurel. Prompt, efficient, sagacious, foresighted, exact in routine,—I grant it all. He has done well with the military arm of Massachusetts. But brute force, muskets, Minnie rifles, are not the real arguments of the old Commonwealth. Virginia can fire a gun—from an ambuscade—and Illinois can muster a regiment; but it is only the Bay State that can remodel an age. It is only the conscience and the brain of Yankees that can upset and set up nations. That was what we were to have done during the winter, and what we are to do for the future.

A momentous hour this. It is a dangerous thing to make speeches in these days. We stand at the parting of two roads. A great policy is to be decided this year. It is easy to say that emancipation lies at the end of both roads. No doubt of it. As sure as God reigns, the slaves, or most of them, in ten years or five, will be free. But that is sorry consolation for twenty millions of educated, Christian, Republican citizens. We ought to be able to handle this problem as a tried General handles his troops on the field of battle,—to secure the result with the least possible suffering. We ought to be able to secure it without half a dozen years of warfare, without a broken Union, without exasperated States; and we can so manage it, if we will.

For myself, I put no value on the Union. It is a name—nothing more. It is a parchment, stained and bloody. It were enough for me to damn it forever, that Thomas Sims and Anthony Burns bear witness against it on the pavements of Boston. But there are men—some of you—who still linger in your fathers' prejudice for the Union. If so, up! gird yourselves! demand of the administration that they proclaim emancipation. There is no other way to save the Union—none. If, eighteen months hence, General Scott is encamped, with General Davis against him, in any such shape as now, (as I believe they probably will, unless emancipation intervene,) England and France will acknowledge the confederacy,—we shall acknowledge it; and then, ten or twenty years will elapse before the exasperated States coalesce a second time. Now, seize time by the forelock; call back to reason the madness of Louisiana and Georgia; announce that the stars and stripes carry liberty with them. (Applause.) Mr. Cameron says, "Wherever the flag goes, trade follows." Oh, better that maxim! Wherever the flag goes, LIBERTY goes with it, and let trade take care of itself. (Applause.) Announce it, and soon, if there is a majority for the Union, they will show themselves. Say to the slaveholders, "The Union shares the loss with you, if it takes your slaves from you by a military necessity." No matter what it costs. Better pay the money to save the sinner from his sin, than spend a million a day, for five years, in a cruel, useless, and brutal war. One year is enough for manhood; enough to show the character and purpose of the North; any thing more is brutal. The government can prevent it by a word. Call on the honesty of the Cabinet, and bid them banish traitors. If that means the Empire State, banish it. Put into the office of Secretary of State, a man whom Lincoln will not have to watch. One half of the clerks of the departments are traitors. Empty them! Mr. Chase knows, in the Northern half of Ohio, men who for nothing, rather than the places should be filled by traitors, would serve the government. I go for decision. Adjourn Congress, and Scott will be decisive. I concede gladly, proudly, fully, the fame of the Lieut. General. I do not want him to die or be superseded. Only adjourn Congress; tell him that all hope for the present Union is over; but that his fame as a General, before he dies, rests on his crushing the viper within six months; and the old man will do it. (Applause.) It is not loyalty, it is not ability, it is a nation behind him that he needs. You and I can begin that voice which shall be echoed from the Mississippi, and compel the government to speak. Men whisper to us in the streets, in our chambers, what General Butler means here, and Mr. Cameron there, and Mr. Chase elsewhere:—we want it proclaimed. We want it known to you, voted on, enforced; and the next time we meet here, you will not need me to make a speech. Butler will be here, with a proclamation of emancipation in his hand, as an introduction to you, (loud applause,) asking your votes, perhaps, as Governor of Massachusetts, (laughter,) and thinking that there is no pedestal but this which surely leads to the gubernatorial chair. Yes, I congratulate you that you will soon have a new batch of speakers. The old worn and scarred guard can retire to the rear rank, and the new Major Generals and civilians, who have invented "contrabands," and lawyers who have turned their ingenuity into the channel of statesmanship, will be here to swell our jubilee of gratitude; and we will not be careful, then, to divide the degrees of merit, but cheerfully let the last comer take the best prize. (Loud applause.)

The Liberator.

No Union with Slaveholders!

BOSTON, FRIDAY, JULY 12, 1861.

FOURTH OF JULY CELEBRATION AT FRAMINGHAM.

The Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society held its customary meeting on the Fourth at Harmony Grove, Framingham, which was attended by a large concourse of people, who testified by their presence their appreciation of the idea which underlies the celebration of the day, and their sympathy for that reform which would make all the people of the land, as they "of right ought to be, free and independent."

The day was a charming one, a gentle breeze from the lake fanning the grove, and making the air, odorous with the breath of pines, delicious to the sense. The train from Boston consisted of seven cars, well filled, while Worcester, Milford, Framingham, and the towns adjacent, were largely represented. In all, not less than two thousand people, probably, were present, who appeared heartily to enjoy the many charms of the place, and to be deeply interested in the exercises.

At eleven o'clock, the assembly was called to order by Mr. GARRISON, in the beautiful amphitheatre, which seems designed by thoughtful Nature for just such purposes, and the following list of officers read, which was unanimously ratified by the audience:—

President—EDMUND QUINCY, of Dedham.

Vice-Presidents—SAMUEL MAY, Jr., Leicester; Hon. N. H. WHITING, Boston; Col. WM. WHITING, Concord; CHARLES L. REMOND, Salem; CAROLINE M. SEVERANCE, West Newton; Mrs. CAROLINE H. DALL, Boston; GEO. DRAPER, Hopedale; ABBY KELLEY FOSTER, Worcester; BENJAMIN SNOW, Jr., Fitchburg; Hon. O. W. ALBEE, Marlboro'; JOHN AYRES, West Newton.

Secretaries—CHAS. K. WHIPPLE, J. M. W. YERRINTON, Boston.

Finance Committee—EBEN D. DRAPER, Hopedale; SARAH E. WALL, Worcester; Mrs. CAROLINE R. PUTNAM, Salem; Dr. J. M. ALDRICH, Fall River; WILLIAM BASSETT, Jr., Lynn; RODNEY MOORE, Slatersville.

REMARKS OF EDMUND QUINCY, ESQ.

Mr. QUINCY, on coming to the platform to assume the duties of President, said:—

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—I believe it has been the custom, at all assemblies which have been held on the Fourth of July, throughout the length and breadth of the land, ever since the Fourth of July has been celebrated, to reciprocate congratulations on the great blessings which we derive from the act of which this day is the anniversary, and the blessings which Heaven has bestowed upon our country. I think you will all agree with me that the country never had occasion to be more thankful for the Declaration of Independence, or for the blessings which Heaven has showered upon us, as a nation, than we have this day. Especially have we, the Abolitionists, the high priests of freedom in this country,—who have been for thirty years leagued for the destruction of American slavery, the great enemy of the principle inaugurated on the Fourth of July, 1776—the right of self-government, the right of every individual to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness,—never had occasion to thank God and take courage more heartily than to-day. Being Speaker, it is not for me to speak to-day; but I cannot help reminding you of the difference which exists in the political condition of this country,—to the change which has taken place, on the surface, at least, of the public sentiment of the North, since we last met together in this grove, a twelve month since. Nay, I need not go back a twelve month. Let us go back and place ourselves again in the Tremont Temple, at the end of last January—not much more than five months ago—when we were shut out of our property by a mob, led, or at least *tailed*, by the Mayor of Boston, (laughter,) when it seemed as if the public sentiment of the North was organizing itself into the most crystalline form of pro-slavery, and we were to have the times of '35 acted over again, with increased intensity. The voice of anti-slavery was silenced all over the country; public meetings were broken up, not only in all the large cities, but in the villages. The hosts of pro-slavery were organized, and concentrated into secret societies all over the country, for the express purpose of putting down the discussion of slavery, so that the slaveholders could enjoy their institutions in peace, and their friends at the North enjoy those crumbs which fall from their master's table, in the shape of Southern trade. What a change has taken place since then! The very men who, within three or four months, were openly befriending the cause of the South,—men who, to my own personal knowledge, were openly maintaining that the slaveholding States were in the right, that they had the right of secession, that they had ample provocation for it, that the North would go with the South, and that they would put down anti-slavery, and the whole country be re-organized, virtually, under the Montgomery Constitution,—the very men, I say, who made these statements, in public places, are now at the head of regiments, and marching down South to fight these very slaveholders whose most humble servants they were at that time. I think those men have really changed their opinion. The force of public opinion behind them has compelled them to change, not only their front, but their hearts. They begin to realize that there is a North, and that their hopes of fame and profit lie there, and that the only hope of the country lies in putting down the Slave Power, if not in putting down slavery.

We have to congratulate ourselves that we find our country is not so bad as we thought it was twelve months ago; that our countrymen are not so bad as we believed them to be; that they were not ready to submit to every form of ignominy and insult that could be heaped upon them for "so much trash as could be grasped thus"—which trash they never got—out of which they were cheated; thus degrading and humiliating themselves for nothing; and therefore this mighty change.

Who would have thought, six months ago, that there would be 300,000 Northern men in arms on the frontier, three months from that time? I am very well aware, ladies and gentlemen, that there is not a thorough anti-slavery principle underlying this movement. I need not affirm that there is not, for you all know it. But events are stronger than individuals. The President of the United States has already been driven far beyond the ground which he at first undertook to keep. He said he meant to interfere not at all with the soil of the slaveholding States, only to repossess himself of the strong places they had stolen from us; and now we see him sending forward his armies on to the "sacred soil of Virginia," with the unquestioned intention of sweeping over the entire slaveholding States, if it be a possible thing to do. Allegiance to the Fugitive Slave Law, and the rights of slavery in the country, led the van of the topics in his inaugural, and every time his agents opened their mouths for the first six weeks, it was to offer their services to the slaveholder to put down slave insurrections, or to promise that any such attempt should be put down with an iron hand;—and that in a portion of the country where a slave was one of the rarest of curiosities, and where a slave insurrection was a moral and political impossibility, as much as a rising of the colored people of Massachusetts to take possession of the country. Yet those men made this statement for the sake of political effect; but now, one of those very gentlemen, making use of his legal acumen, and that skill which he has learned in the defence of criminals, invents a legal quibble, by which the fugitives are regarded as "contraband of war," as entrenching tools, and the President and Cabinet gladly accept his interpretation of the law. It is perfectly true that the government does not lead the people; it is led or driven by the people. The people have already driven the Cabinet far in advance of the ground they intended to occupy; and it only remains for the North to know what it wants, and be resolute and determined to have it, and the Cabinet and the army will be the obedient instruments of the public will.

The Abolitionists are charged with having produced this state of things, and it is true. We accept it. We acknowledge that the anti-slavery movement is responsible for the present state of things in this country, and we thank God for it. The American Anti-Slavery Society, at this moment, has for its Office Agent—who? Abraham Lincoln, at the White House. (Laughter.) And it has for its General Agent, in the field—who? Lieutenant-General Scott, commander-in-chief of the armies of the United States. (Applause and laughter.) Whether willingly or unwillingly, they are doing the will of the Abolitionists. I fear they do it unwillingly. But, whether willingly or unwillingly, they are doing it, must continue to do it, and do it more and more thoroughly, as the heart and mind of the North are more and more resolved that this quarrel shall not be settled upon any basis except the abolition of slavery. (Applause.)

A hymn entitled "Secession," by Rev. Mark Trafton, was then sung, to the tune of "Auld lang syne," after which, E. H. HEYWOOD addressed the audience, in an earnest and interesting speech, which was heard with manifest pleasure, and frequently and loudly applauded.

SPEECH OF REV. JAS. FREEMAN CLARKE.

Rev. JAMES FREEMAN CLARKE, of Boston, was then introduced, who spoke as follows:—

The two gentlemen who have just spoken began by saying that they were not going to make a speech, and then they went on and made two very good speeches. I should like to try the same experiment. I am not going to make a speech. (Laughter.) Perhaps by saying that, I shall enable myself to make one.

It is now eighty-five years since our fathers made the Declaration of Independence, and put their names to it. We have met here to-day, as the American people have been meeting every year during this long period, to celebrate—what? An action, a battle, a conquest, a victory, an achieved independence? By no means. We do not celebrate the success. The American people do not meet to celebrate the day when the British nation acknowledged, through its government, that we were free and independent. But we meet, and the American people, led by a sure instinct, have been in the habit of meeting, year after year, to celebrate the day upon which it was declared that America and the American States, "of right were and ought to be free and independent." That is, we have been celebrating, not an achievement, but a conviction, all that long time. I ask you, friends, whether there is not something in that? Ought we not to be thankful, when we recollect that all along through these many years, the whole American people have been celebrating the day, not on which victories were accomplished, but on which a right was uttered? I think you have a right especially to celebrate this day. You have believed, all along, in the right, and in the utterance of the right. You have made it your policy to declare this one fact to the people of the land—that no man has a right to hold his brother as a slave. You have declared it over and over again, and the whole stock which you have had has been simply the utterance, in one form and in another form, of that one idea, that nobody has a right to hold his brother as a slave. When people said to you, "But what are you going to do with the negroes?" you replied, "Nobody has a right to hold another as a slave." And when they said, "Why, do you want to have insurrections, and to have the throats cut of the masters and mistresses?" you have replied, "Nobody has a right to hold any one as a slave." And when they have said, "What are you going to do with the compromises of the Constitution?" you have replied, "It is not right to hold anybody as a slave." That has been your work, that has been your mission; and by means of that, you have done your part in hastening forward the day when no foot that is not free shall tread the soil of this great land.

But it was not enough that, on the 4th of July, 1776, our fathers should declare that these States ought to be independent. They had to go and fight for it, and to work for it; and so, seven years after, in 1783, they succeeded in attaining the victory. And then, after that, something else had to be done. They had to organize their conquest, and then came the formation of the Federal Constitution. That was a very different act from carrying out the idea of independence and liberty. They had to turn themselves round, look in an opposite direction, and undertake to do an entirely different work—namely, to put together that which they had succeeded in gaining—to frame a scheme of government. Instead of looking at freedom, they began to look at order. They said, "Now, we are in a different danger. It is not being enslaved by a foreign government, but in anarchy at home, and we must contrive to make some kind of arrangement by which we shall have order among ourselves." Well, the moment the people began to organize, they began to compromise. "I want to have this element inserted in the Constitution, and you want that element inserted. Now, how shall we manage? Why, we won't put in the whole of yours, or the whole of mine, but a little of each." And so they went on, step by step, organizing and compromising, compromising and organizing, and at last we had the Federal Constitution.

Now, it has been the habit of many of the anti-slavery people to say that the Federal Constitution is a pro-slavery document. So it is. When you look at it from one side, it is a pro-slavery document; but, as I have always thought, it is, also, when you look at it from another side, an anti-slavery document. My notion about the Federal Constitution is, that it is both pro-slavery and anti-slavery. In other words, that it is an inconsistent document. There were things put together for the sake of having a Union, that did not really fit, that could not be made to fit. These timbers would not go quite together, and so they had to be put as near together as they could be made to go, and nailed together as well as they could be fastened, and then plastered over, then painted over, and covered up, and the whole was made to look like one substantial building. But by and by cracks began to appear, and then it was found that, after all, there was not that sort of unity that was at first anticipated.

If you look over head at night, you will see, about this season of the year, a lovely star glittering with a blue light in the region of the firmament over you—a star of the constellation Lyra. Near that star, there are two other stars, making a little equilateral triangle. If you examine one of those stars, which seems to be a single orb, with a telescope of low power, you will find that, instead of its being a single star, it is, in fact, double—two stars instead of one. But if you examine it again, with a telescope of a higher power, you will find that, instead of being a double star, it is a quadruple star; and instead of having one or two stars, you have in fact two pairs of stars, of exquisite little points, and near them, two other little exquisite points, the whole revolving round each other, and making a quadruple star.

Now, something like that, it seems to me, is the Federal Constitution. We have, in the first place, what seems to be like one government; but when you come to examine it closely, you will find that there were two hostile elements—the element of liberty and the element of slavery—joined together in it. We have, for instance, three places in the Constitution where there is a recognition of slavery;—a faint and a doubtful recognition, as of those who were ashamed of slavery, and did not want it in the Constitution, but did not know very well how they should succeed in organizing a government unless they admitted it, and so they put it in; but in a very careful and gingerly way, so as to have as little the appearance of slavery as possible. So, in the first article, they inserted this clause:—

"Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons."

That meant *slaves*, as you know; and you know how great a fire that little matter has kindled.

Then they went on, and in the fourth section of the same article, they declared, "that the migration or importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year 1808." Well, that meant, that the slave trade should not be prohibited until after 1808, but it is stated in a modest and humble way.

Then, as the third pro-slavery element in the Constitution, we have the famous clause which has been so often quoted in regard to the return of fugitives:—

"No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up, on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due." Art. 4, sec. 2.

You see how awkward that is; how very much afraid they were to say what they meant. I suppose there is no doubt that they did mean to return fugitive slaves, but they did not venture to say it. They plastered it over and painted it over, as well as they could. They, in fact, expressed it in such a way as to make it grammatically mean the exact opposite of what they intended, because the nominative of those verbs, "shall be delivered up," and "shall be discharged," is "no person"; so that, grammatically, that famous clause means that the fugitive slave shall not, on the one hand, be "discharged from service or labor," and, on the other hand, shall not be "delivered up"; and if it had been in favor of the South, instead of in favor of the North, that grammatical construction would have been brought out fifty years ago, and the whole of that article would have been thrown under the table of the speaker, never to come out again. The South would have said, "People should say what they mean; and if they meant that the fugitive slave should be given up, they should have said so, but they have said that he shall not be given up." That is what the South would have said, but we never referred to that fact. I allude to that only to show the way in which, in the organization of the government, this element of slavery was introduced, along with the many elements of freedom introduced there.

But this was not all. We have not only in the Constitution this double star—the black star of slavery and the brilliant orb of freedom—but we have another antagonism, just as real and just as striking. It is a quadruple star. You know very well it was not Mr. Calhoun who first asserted the doctrine of nullification, and, as a consequence to that, the doctrine of secession. So long ago as the year 1798, those great Southern statesmen, Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Madison, in the Virginia resolutions of 1798, laid down, emphatically, the doctrine of nullification. Mr. Everett, in his speech in New York, undertakes to explain away that fact. The fact stands, that the doctrine of nullification, with secession connected necessarily with it, was interpreted by those great founders of the State, Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Madison, as being the true and natural interpretation of the Constitution. Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Madison said that the States were, by the Constitution, parties to a compact; that the Constitution was a compact; and that, when the parties to that compact differed as regards its interpretation, and there was no authorized person to decide between them, each must decide for himself, on his own responsibility; and that the Federal Court, being a part of one of the parties to the compact, had no right to decide as against the claim of either of the States; therefore, that a State had a right to decide for itself that any act of the Federal Government was unconstitutional, and the Federal Government, on the other hand, had a right to decide for itself the same thing.

The doctrine of nullification was laid down in those resolutions by these great statesmen, with secession connected with it. You know very well that it was the doctrine of the whole Democratic party at that time. The Federal party, at that time, took its stand on the antagonistic doctrine. The Federal party had for its object, to defend the power of the Federal Government, as against the independent claims of the States. The Democratic party had for its object and leading idea, the maintenance of the rights of the States, as against the General Government. In other words, the Federal party, at that time, took the ground which the whole North takes to-day; and the Democratic party, at that time, took the ground which the South almost universally takes to-day. Well, there was a split. There was in the Constitution evidently a primal crack, preparatory to a future split. The Federal party seemed to be conquered, put down by the Democrats. It was supposed that that controversy was brought wholly to an end; and yet we see to-day great armies in the field, pitted against each other on the avowed ground of deciding that question of constitutional law; because, although the motive may be different, although we may have an anti-slavery motive at the North, refusing to allow of the further extension of slavery, and although the South may have a pro-slavery motive, determining to have a greater extension of slavery; yet the reasons of the North and the South, and the justifications of the North and the South, which are different from the motives, are exactly to be found in that old radical question which broke out from the beginning of the Federal Government, and which to-day bears its fruit in this war. Not one, alone, but both of the original antagonisms, you see, come to light now, and are to be settled by the arbitrament of the sword.

I have given this little analysis of the history of the government, as derived from the original Constitution of our Union, in order that we may understand a little what we are actually doing now. Is this an anti-slavery war, or is it a Constitutional war? Is the North fighting to-day for freedom, or is it fighting for the old federal doctrine of the government? It is to-day fighting for both. The whole motive of the North, that which has carried the Northern soldiers to the field, is evidently not to defend the old federal theory. That is not what gives the North courage; that is not what has united the North as one man to-day; because that federal doctrine was given up, set aside and relinquished by the North years ago; and although it has come up again and again in the Senate of the U. S. and elsewhere, yet that doctrine of the Union, by itself, without this support derived from the grand feeling of the masses of opposition to slavery, would not to-day sway the North as one man to maintain itself against the Southern assumption. The fact is, our government, from the beginning, has been very much like that image described by the prophet, with its head of gold, its breast and arms of silver, its belly of brass, its legs of iron, and its feet part iron and part clay. Its head was of gold—the great original ideas, the primal conviction of justice, of freedom, of the universal equality of man with man, with which this country's mind was filled at the outset. That is the golden head. The body of silver was all that part of the Constitution which gave to the people of the land the power to arrange their government and its laws according to their own convictions of right, which swept over all aristocracy in the State, and all aristocracy in the Church, and which has given us to see, for so many years, in this country, a people which, without any standing army, was able to maintain law; which, with scarcely a visible police, was able to preserve order; which, without an ecclesiastical establishment, was able to have a universal church; and in which every child, whether of the poor Irish emigrant just landed on the shore, or of the millionaire, was able to be educated to such a point, that every office in the land was open to his talent. That was the breast and arms of silver—the frame-work of this government—able to effect all that, and effect it so long. All government rests on force, ultimately, and therefore you have iron in the legs. But when you come to the feet, the feet were part of iron and part of clay. There was a fatal antagonism of strength and weakness. The strength of freedom and the weakness of slavery combined in the feet of our golden statue; and we now see its fall, because of that original defect.

But to-day, the question before us is,—things being as they are, and we having now reached that point in which these ideas have at last appeared in the form of hostile armies,—what is our duty, and what can we do? The other night, as we looked at the heavens, we saw suddenly that magnificent comet, that splendid and ominous portent, on the side of the North, with the North Star on one side and the Northern Bear on the other: ominous to every Southern eye of the impending force which was to come from the North, which was to come from freedom, to resist the assaults of slavery. It was the very comet of which, apparently, Milton spoke, when he said that it

> —— "fires the length of Ophiucus huge
> In the Arctic sky, and from his horrid hair
> Shakes pestitence and war."

But that came unexpected. No astronomer had foretold it. So has this war come unexpected. No political astronomer was able to foresee, six months ago, what was coming. Nobody foresaw it; and yet that comet has not come by miracle. It has been drawn along by the sure laws of the universe, by the everlasting force which God has impressed upon matter. It has been drawn along from the upward abyss of space, year after year, along its sure orbit, slowly moving toward the sun, but with a gradually accelerated rate, until at last it comes plunging down directly at the face of the great orb of day. But it is all law. It is not accident; it is will, it is law. And so this great conflict to-day has taken us by surprise, and has come unexpected; but it has come by law; it was inevitable. There have been times when it might have been prevented. The North might have prevented it, years ago, if they had refused to admit Missouri as a slave State. Years after that, it might have been prevented, if they had refused to admit Texas into the Union as a slave State; and years after, if they had resisted the compromises of 1850. I know not how long it might have been arrested. It might have been turned aside. This new force might have introduced another attraction, and sent it off in another direction. War need not have come, if we had been faithful to every duty in the past; but it has come, and what is our duty now? The duty of anti-slavery men to day is, to do that which nobody else will do. Your anti-slavery men are those who remember the slave. Nobody else remembers the slave to-day; it is your duty to remember him. Nobody else remembers the four millions whose whole destiny is involved in the termination given to this conflict. It is for you to remember the destiny of these four millions. It is for you to remind the people of the land that there can be no secure peace, that the whole struggle will be thrown away, that all the wealth and all the blood which we lavish in this war will go for nothing, unless we are enabled to obtain such guaranties of the weakness of the South and of the Slave Power, that it shall never be able to rise again to resist the power of freedom. How can these guaranties be obtained? There are no guaranties that I know of, except the guaranty of emancipation. There is nothing else. If we come out of this war with fifteen slave States, we are sure to have another war, by-and-by, sooner or later. The only guaranty that this nation can have, the only guaranty which the capitalists who are squandering their money in defence of the Union, the only guaranty which the fathers and mothers who are sending their sons to die on the field of battle can have against having to do the whole work over again, is to be found in emancipation. I do not say that it is necessary to have the guaranty, for this purpose, of the emancipation of all the slaves of the South; but I do say, that sensible, practical men at the North, who only care for the Union, and do not care one bit for anti-slavery, can be made to see, if proper pains are taken, that it is absolutely necessary, in order to realize any good from this great struggle, that it shall end at last in the emancipation of the slaves of the border States. They can be made to see that, and they ought to be made to see it. That is not carrying out the anti-slavery principle, which demands the emancipation of every slave, down to the last; but it is taking a great practical step in that direction, and a step which, once taken, will necessitate all the rest. And that step, it seems to me, every sensible business man, all over the North, may be convinced must be taken, if they are not to throw away all they are doing, and have it all go for nothing.

This was the substance of what I wanted to say. Only this other thing: I think it is our duty, also, to recognize the movements of Providence. We cannot help it very well. We cannot help seeing that God has taken this matter into his own hands. We cannot help recognizing the fact, that we are all of us on a great current, drifting on together, we cannot tell where, and we hardly know what is to be the result. We can exert ourselves a little; we can do our duty; and God may, from these efforts, produce great results, by and by. But it is very evident that our power consists now in recognizing the divine presence in this work, and in that strength going forward, full of courage, full of hope, full of confidence, recognizing, through this whole strange history, the enormous power of ideas, seeing how every true idea must, sooner or later, ripen into fact, and so having more and more confidence in that great moral principle which you laid as the basis of your movement—the principle of everlasting justice and eternal right. (Applause.)

The President then introduced the Rev. Mr. MULLIGAN, of Michigan, as a minister of the Church which had anticipated the American Anti-Slavery Society in the enunciation of its great principle, "No union with slaveholders," and had remained faithful to the cause of impartial freedom to the present hour.

Mr. MULLIGAN said he was glad to be present with so many of the friends of the slave, as the representative of a people who believed that the true church was the ark of liberty for the slave, and Christ the deliverer of the oppressed. He then proceeded to speak upon slavery and the present condition of the country, taking a text of Scripture as the basis of his remarks, and making an application of the Bible account of the opening of the fifth seal to the events of the present hour. He concluded his remarks by saying, that until we determine to cut ourselves loose from national iniquity, until we plant ourselves strongly upon the rock of truth and true liberty, we can never make successful battle upon the great system of slavery.

A "Song of Freedom" was then sung, to the tune of "Scots wha hae," and the meeting adjourned, to re-assemble again at 2 o'clock.

AFTERNOON. The meeting was called to order at 2 o'clock, and a hymn by Augustine Caldwell, entitled "Liberty for all," was sung, after which SAMUEL MAY, Jr., General Agent of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, made an earnest appeal for funds to "help the cause along." He referred to the wonderful change which has taken place in public sentiment within a few months, and urged upon his hearers the duty of continued activity and faithfulness, in order that this change might be made to result in the freedom of the slave. The slumber, said he, is over, the

lethargy is broken up, the apathy is at an end. However far many of the North may be from feeling right now, they do begin to feel; they have begun to act; and now I believe, under God, the salvation of the slave and of the North together draws nigh. But the work is not over. The moral warfare has not ceased; and though for a time it may be eclipsed, in the sight of the nation, by the array of armies, by the fluttering of the banners, and the sound thereof may be deafened by the noise of the drum and of the artillery, nevertheless, this power, the deepest and strongest which can sway men, still lives, and, I maintain, is embodied in this Society, and its individual friends and well-wishers.

Now friends, continued Mr. M., these are hard times,—and thank God for them! I am glad a time has come when we are all called upon to make some sacrifices—when those who are poor feel poorer than ever, and all are straightened in some way or other. Still, let us see to it that the old cause shall not be straightened. Let us see to it that it shall have the means to send out agents, publish tracts, and send forth its papers, and keep its moral testimony alive, vigorous and faithful, until slavery breathes its last breath. That, I am sure, you will do, and do it now.

The names of the Finance Committee were then read, and they entered upon the discharge of their important duty, with gratifying results, the collection amounting to the handsome sum of $185.15.

Wendell Phillips, Esq., was then introduced, and received with hearty applause. His speech will be found in another part of this paper. It was characterised by his usual eloquence, and warmly applauded.

Stephen S. Foster was the next speaker. He said that, in the new and very interesting aspect of public affairs, he thought it became them to utter their opinion publicly in regard to the duty of Abolitionists in this new position. He had accordingly hastily drawn up two resolutions, expressive of what he believed to be the real sentiments of the Abolitionists of New England at the present time, viz.:—

Resolved, That, as citizens deeply interested in the honor and welfare of our common country, we earnestly ask and demand of our national government that it at once proclaim an act of emancipation to all our enslaved countrymen, wherever held, as the only honorable, just and efficient means of settling our present national troubles, and establishing our Union upon a solid and enduring basis.

Resolved, That until the government shall take this step, and place itself openly and unequivocally on the side of freedom, we can give it no support or countenance in its effort to maintain its authority over the seceded States, but must continue to labor, as we have hitherto done, to heap upon it that obloquy which naturally attaches to all who are guilty of the crime of enslaving their fellow-men.

Mr. Foster said that, as he believed the resolutions expressed the sentiments of the meeting, he should not attempt to discuss them at that time. He could see no reason for supporting the government now that did not exist twelve months ago. It was only as "goods and chattels" that his fellow-men were received under the protection of the United States. Not until they were received and protected as men, at all hazards, would he give one cent of his money or one drop of his blood for the support of the government.

Mr. F. did not agree with Mr. Phillips that the abolition of slavery would break the Union to pieces. He still held to the doctrine that "righteousness exalteth a nation." He believed that the present administration could do no act so honorable to itself or so beneficial to the country, as to proclaim emancipation. The whole matter would then be honorably and permanently settled. He was sorry that Mr. Phillips seemed to have lost his confidence in the safety and practicability of impartial justice. He [Mr. F.] did not know why he should hesitate for a moment to require the government to proclaim immediate emancipation. Mr. Phillips had said the President was not strong enough to do justice; then let him resign and go home, rather than practise injustice. When a man said "liberty," he must mean liberty, or he was not the man for him. When a man sat upon the bench, and claimed to execute justice, he must execute justice, or not ask any support from him. He was surprised to hear Mr. Phillips speak of President Lincoln as "an honest man." He supposed he did not mean what he said, but meant "an honest slaveholder"—if that was not a paradox; that is, that when he swore to support the Constitution, with all its pro slavery guarantees, he meant honestly to keep his oath. He wished to dissent, also, from the sentiment of Mr. Phillips, when he expressed his willingness to have the government pay for the slaves. He would never consent to pay the sinner to cease from his sin, and was unalterably opposed to paying one single dollar to anybody for the abolition of slavery.

Mrs. A. K. Foster rose to second the resolutions. She hoped they would be put to vote, for she thought it would be a discredit to the Abolitionists of New England if they should adjourn without giving a certain and unmistakable voice to their feelings, which might be published throughout the length and breadth of the land.

Rev. E. Davis, of Fitchburg, asked that the question might be taken on the resolutions separately. He believed that the Abolitionists should insist upon immediate emancipation as the only righteous and just method of settling this question, and bringing the war to a close. There might be differences of opinion in regard to the second resolution, but he thought the first would meet their earnest approval, and that they would not only pass it there, but carry it with them to their several fields of labor. He was calling attention to the subject in that portion of the State where he lived, and probably a number of petitions would be sent to Congress, setting forth the duty of emancipation as the only hopeful, just and rightful method of bringing this war to a close.

The question was then put on the first resolution, and it was adopted, without dissent.

Dr. Mann, of Sterling, suggested that the latter clause of the second resolution might be omitted.

Mr. Davis inquired whether, if they differed in regard to the second resolution, it was wise to press its passage. Some (among whom he judged Mr. Phillips was to be numbered) would go for upholding and supporting the government in every way possible, because it was working for the emancipation of the slave. He thought it would be better to press home the principle of emancipation, rather than find fault with the government.

Henry C. Wright said they were called upon to heap opprobrium on the government as a pro-slavery government, while, in all the seceded States, the U. S. government is regarded as an anti-slavery government. Every man, said Mr. W., who says a word for the Constitution of the U. S., is an Abolitionist in fifteen States of this nation; and if my friend Mr. Foster were to go into any Southern State, and say a word in favor of the Constitution of the U. S., he would receive the doom of a traitor to slavery. Let any man in the Southern States open his mouth in favor of the stars and stripes of the Union, and he would be treated as an Abolitionist. Mr. Foster believes the Constitution an anti-slavery instrument; so does Charles Sumner, and so do multitudes of the people of the North;—so that all the slave States regard the U. S. government as an anti-slavery government, and multitudes of the people of the North have already come to that conclusion, and multitudes more are rapidly coming to it. The question now is, whether we shall use our influence to "heap obloquy" on the government which the pro-slavery part of the country declares to be anti-slavery? Our business is to get the people to regard the government as an anti-slavery government, not to heap opprobrium upon it. The Southern people are, by their cruelties towards the people of the North, stirring the entire North into opposition to slavery, and I believe that, in one year, we shall see the day when the Northern States will understand this war to be against slavery on the part of the North, and in favor of slavery on the part of the South. Our duty is to convince the people that slavery is the cause of all our troubles.

Dr. Mann said he did not object to the first portion of the resolution. As long as the administration sustained an equivocal position, and they did not know what its purpose was, they could not commit themselves to its support, and might properly say so. He objected to the last clause, because he took it for granted that the administration was determined to support slavery, which they did not know. They did not know but that it was the ultimate purpose of the administration to proclaim emancipation.

Samuel May, Jr., thought it was quite gratuitous for them to be passing resolutions declaring that they did not support the national administration. Nobody expected that the Abolitionists would support the administration under the Constitution of the U. S. They never had done it, and did not calculate to support any administration until it was thoroughly and openly on the side of freedom. There was no use in their passing such a resolution, to inform the *Boston Courier*, whom nobody believed or cared for, what they were going to do. The administration represented the North as no other administration had ever done, and had more of the love of freedom in it (though far less than they desired) than any other administration since this great question came under discussion; and he would not pass a resolution saying that they would load it with obloquy. As Mr. Phillips had said, if the Northern people backed up the administration, it might be that they would declare emancipation, and throw the door wide open for the fugitive. At any rate, it was the duty of Abolitionists to watch the crisis, and, as far as possible, to encourage every good purpose; and he thought the resolution already passed might have a power which would be taken out of it, if they consented to the passage of an ugly threat like that embodied in the second resolution immediately after.

Mr. Wright moved to lay the resolution on the table.

Mr. Foster rose to speak, but was called to order by Mr. C. L. Remond, on the ground that a motion to lay on the table is not debatable, and Mr. F. resumed his seat.

The motion to lay on the table was then put, and carried.

Mr. Foster immediately called up the resolution again, and proceeded to speak upon it. He said that the position of the Abolitionists was not so clearly understood as Mr. May seemed to suppose. There were hundreds who supposed that the Abolitionists had changed their views of the government. If he understood the remarks that had been made upon that platform, they had, with one accord, not in words, but in substance, urged the people to come up and adopt the war conducted by the present administration as the great means of emancipating the slaves of this country. What was the effect of Mr. Phillips's remarks today? He had understood him to say, "Let us give the administration our sympathy." He believed that the public inferred, and had a right to infer, from the course of the *Liberator* and *Standard*, and from the fact of the postponement of the accustomed anniversaries this year, that the Abolitionists were heart and soul in this war. He was afraid they were. He was afraid the Abolitionists had been seduced from their allegiance to principle, and been induced to give their support to the government which they had opposed for twenty years, and which declares it has made no change in its position since that time. He took it the administration did not lie, for, according to Mr. Phillips, they were all honest, except Seward, and they had declared their purpose to be, to execute the Constitution of the United States, that "covenant with death and agreement with hell," at the cannon's mouth. They had called the beauty and strength and power of the North to put down slave insurrections, to protect a capital which to-day is used for the sale of American women for the vilest of purposes, and hunt fugitives, if they happen to be the slaves of "loyal" citizens. Should they not heap obloquy upon such a government? He held them to be guilty over every other administration, in that, in the very extremity of their calamity, they perpetrated the crimes which have disgraced the country for the last seventy-five years.

The acting President (Mr. May) said he felt compelled, in consequence of the limited time that remained before the necessary adjournment of the meeting, to interrupt the speaker. He thought that, after the audience had so decisively expressed their opinion by laying the resolution on the table, it was not right for Mr. Foster to occupy the time by telling them they were wrong, and giving his reasons. (Applause.)

Mr. Foster replied, that they had been told all day that they were right, and he didn't believe it had done the least bit of good; now, if they should be told that they were wrong, and the reasons given, they might be benefitted by it. But as that platform had become like all others, and there was no freedom for those who differed from the sentiments which had been expressed there, he should leave it to those who had occupied it all day. The voice of the Abolitionists would be stifled in the press and on the platform in the country. He had hoped that there might be a fair expression of opinion of those who dissent from the policy of giving support and countenance to the war. He knew there were many earnest, honest friends of freedom, who deeply lamented the course of the Society, but he was aware that they would have to adopt some other channel for the expression of their views than those through which their feelings had heretofore found utterance.

Mr. May remarked that the audience had here a specimen of the way in which friend Foster was gagged. He had spoken two or three times, and one of his resolutions had been adopted, but because they would not hear him four times, five times, he said he was gagged.

Mr. Foster attempted to reply, but the confusion was so great that he could not be heard, and in a few moments, he left the platform.

SPEECH OF WM. LLOYD GARRISON.

Mr. Garrison was loudly called for, and came forward to address the audience. He was welcomed in the most cordial manner, and when the cheering had subsided, spoke as follows:—

Mr. President,—I have not attempted to address an audience for the last ten months, in consequence of a bronchial difficulty, from which I have been slowly recovering. It gives me no pleasure to speak when I cannot make myself distinctly heard, and I am sure it can give others no pleasure to hear me, if my voice comes to them broken and faint. I have, therefore, been silent during the day; always, indeed, preferring to hear others, rather than myself. My time to speak was thirty years ago, and *I improved the opportunity*. (Applause.) But, to-day, when thousands of tongues are loosed to plead the glorious cause of universal freedom, why should I be called to take this stand? "To gild refined gold, to paint the lily, is wasteful and ridiculous excess"; and in this roar of cannon and clash of arms, I am well content to be silent.

Of course, I believe that all our difficulties are in consequence of the existence of slavery in our country; that that is the evil fountain from which all our bitter waters have flowed; and that this will prove an almost idiotic war, if it shall not end in the total abolition of slavery. (Applause.) I do not believe the government can have the success it is seeking in this struggle, unless liberty shall be proclaimed by it "throughout all the land, unto all the inhabitants thereof." I voted, therefore, very cordially, for the resolution offered by my friend Mr. Foster, calling upon the government to seize this favorable opportunity, which, in the providence of God, has been put into its hands, to finish the war, to remove the root of bitterness forever from among us, and to make it possible for us to mingle together, North and South, like kindred drops, and form a Union based upon justice and freedom, from the Atlantic to the Pacific. (Applause.) I believe we are growing up to this conviction, in accordance with the sentiments of John Quincy Adams, rehearsed in the hearing of the nation on three several occasions, declaring it perfectly constitutional, on the part of the government, under the war power, in an exigency like the present, to abolish the slave system at a blow; and I say there ought to go up one voice from all parts of the country, demanding of the commander-in-chief of our army, that he immediately let the slaves of the South go *Scott* free! (Laughter and applause.)

There are those who say that the war is not waged to abolish slavery. Granted! They say it is to uphold the flag. Granted! It is to maintain the government. Granted! But this is certain—the government and the flag,—as my friend, Mr. Wright, so justly observed,—are now regarded with fierce malignity and unconquerable hatred by the slave oligarchy, and utterly repudiated by them; and, for one, in this anomalous state of things, I do not feel disposed to be severely critical upon President Lincoln,—at least, as long as he makes himself an outlaw south of Mason and Dixon's line, in company with myself! (Applause.) Indeed, after so long a time, I am getting into very respectable society. (Laughter.) Even Edward Everett, to-day, in the city of New York, utters language which would make it perilous for him to show himself in any part of the Southern Confederacy. So, whether he likes it or not, he stands by my side, involved in the same condemnation; and they would give him a coat of tar and feathers as readily as they would me. "This is the Lord's doings, and it is marvellous in our eyes." (Applause.)

I cannot say that I do not sympathize with the government, as against Jefferson Davis and his piratical associates. There is not a drop of blood in my veins, both as an abolitionist and a peace man, that does not flow with the Northern tide of sentiment; for I see, in this grand uprising of the manhood of the North, which has been so long grovelling in the dust, a growing appreciation of the value of liberty and of free institutions, and a willingness to make any sacrifice in their defence against the barbaric and tyrannical power which avows its purpose, if it can, to crush them entirely out of existence. When the government shall succeed (if it shall succeed) in "conquering a peace," in subjugating the South, and shall undertake to carry out the Constitution as of old, with all its pro-slavery compromises, then will be my time to criticise, reprove and condemn; then will be the time for me to open all the guns that I can bring to bear upon it. But, blessed be God, that "covenant with death" has been annulled, and that "agreement with hell" no longer stands. I joyfully accept the fact, and leave all verbal criticism until a more suitable opportunity. There is no American Union as hitherto. Eleven of the slave States are in the Southern Confederacy, and the government maintains its power over the others only by Northern bayonets. All the slave States are a unit, except so far as they are kept down by those bayonets. Surely, that is not the old Union! Subjugation and conquest are not fraternity and peace! And we shall not again unite; though in saying this, I frankly declare that my faith is not so much in the virtue of the North as in the diabolism of the South. ("Hear, hear.") It is because God has "given them over to believe a lie, that they may be damned"—and their damnation is sure. (Applause.)

Under these circumstances, I take great courage, and am full of hope. I should cry, "Shame to the people of the North!" if they did not, with their principles, and their ideas of government, come up to the support of the administration, offering all they have of blood and treasure, until this band of conspirators shall be put down, and slavery utterly obliterated. What we ought to do is to take the resolution we have just adopted, put it into our hearts, plead for it everywhere, and create a great Northern sentiment, which shall irresistibly demand of the administration, under the war power, the emancipation of every slave in the land; and then God will give us peace and prosperity, and we shall have, for the first time, a "great and glorious Union." (Applause.)

Oh, Mr. President, how it delights my heart when I think that the worst thing we propose to do for the South is the very best thing that God or men can do! That while they are confiscating our property, refusing to pay their honest Northern debts, covering the ocean with their piratical privateers, tarring and feathering, hanging, and driving out innocent Northern citizens from their borders, all we threaten to do, in the excess of our wrath, as a retaliatory measure, is to abolish their iniquitous and destructive slave system, and thus give them light for darkness, good for evil, heaven for perdition! (Loud applause.) Yes, we will make it possible for them to be a happy and prosperous people, as they never have been, and never can be, with slavery. We will make it possible for them to have free schools, and free presses, and free institutions, as we do at the North. We will make it possible for the South to be "as the garden of God," under the plastic touch of liberty; and for the nation to attain unparalleled glory, greatness and renown. Assuredly, we have no enmity to the South; the enmity is on the other side. Liberty knows how to be magnanimous, forbearing, long-suffering, patient, hopeful; and therefore it is that, in the very whirlwind which is now sweeping over the land, Southern men as safely reside among us as they ever did. They are not threatened with tar and feathers, nor compelled to flee from our presence because of their Southern origin, but enjoy unimpaired all their constitutional rights. The brutality, the barbarity, the demonism, are all at the South. Yet, I pray you to remember that the slaveholders are just as merciful and forbearing as they can be in their situation—not a whit more brutal, bloody, satanic, than they are obliged to be in the terrible exigencies in which, as slaveholders, they are placed. They are men of like passions with ourselves; they are of our common country; and if we had been brought up in the midst of slavery, as they have been,—if we had our property in slaves, as they have,—if we had had the same training and education that they have received,—of course, we should have been just as much disposed to do all in our power to support slavery, and to put down freedom, by the same atrocious acts, as themselves. The tree bears its natural fruit—like causes will produce like effects. But let us return them good for evil, by seizing this opportunity to deliver them from their deadliest curse—that is Christian. I was really amused at what I will call the ferocious kindness and generosity of the New York *Courier and Enquirer*, as exhibited a short time since in an article from the pen of Col. Webb, whose indignation was hotly excited by the act of Jefferson Davis commissioning privateers to sweep our vessels from the seas. Waxing hot as Vesuvius, he said to the Southern Confederates, "If you dare to touch one of our merchant ships, we will not leave one of your slaves in his fetters!" A fearful threat, to be sure! If you commit outrages upon us, we will confer blessings upon you! If you are resolved to play the part of corsairs towards our property, we will act the part of benefactors towards you! Delightful revenge! Why, this is genuine Abolitionism!

Now, I think we can all afford to be Abolitionists; if you will pardon the egotism, *Garrisonian* Abolitionists. (Applause.) I think we cannot afford to be anything else. For what is it to be a "Garrisonian" Abolitionist? I will tell you—I have often told you—but there may be some here who have not heard it, and who really suppose that I desire something so unjust, so dangerous, so fanatical, that no honest man ought to give me any countenance. It is a very great and a very serious mistake. "Garrisonian Abolitionism," in politics, is this:—"We hold these truths to be self-evident:—that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." (Applause.) And "Garrisonian Infidelity" is this:—"Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them." (Applause.) I am sure you all subscribe to your country's Declaration of Independence, and I shall take it for granted that you believe in the Golden Rule given to us by Jesus Christ. Under these circumstances, there is no difference of opinion among us; only let us see that we honestly carry out our principles;—for the only difference between the Abolitionists and the mass of the people has been this, that the former have declared their principles, applied them, and carried them out; whereas, the mass of the people have simply adopted their principles in the abstract, but not applied them, nor carried them out. Let us remember that this involves the question of the liberties of mankind. I do not talk about the negro—I do not see the negro—I see only a human being. I see the representative of all mankind in any one whose rights are cloven down. I see my own self impersonated, and deprived of every right that God has given me by creation. It is my own case—it is yours. I plead for those in bonds, not because of their complexion or race, but because they are the children of God and brother men; and I desire to be as faithful to them as I would wish them to be to me, if our conditions were reversed.

I believe there is no difference of opinion now, that the Southern traitors are the vilest of thieves and robbers. State street says so, Wall street says so. "The villains," they say, "have stolen forts, arsenals, mints, everything belonging to the government within their reach, and are sending their piratical cruisers on the high seas, to seize our ships, and confiscate our property. They ought to be hung by the neck—the piratical scoundrels!" Take care, gentlemen! Don't get angry! Don't use "harsh and denunciatory language"! The Abolitionists have been offenders in this particular long enough! Possess your souls in patience!

> "They that have done these deeds are honorable men—
> So are they all, all honorable men!"

Ah! when the trial comes to ourselves; when it is our property that is seized and confiscated; when our rights are trodden upon, and we are driven to the wall,—how quickly is our vision anointed, and how clearly do we see the villany of the men who dare commit such outrages! Now, I have seen all this, and ten thousand times worse than all this, daily, hourly inflicted upon millions of my fellow-creatures, in the persons of the slaves,—millions who have nothing that they can call their own, who are doomed to life-long robbery, cruelty and oppression; and I have said that those who thus deprive them of their natural rights, drag them down from their high position as immortal beings among four-footed beasts, deprive them of all power of development and acquisition, ought to be branded as guilty of the basest robbery and the vilest oppression; that there is no language adequate to depict their criminality; and, because the victims were black, I have been accused of using harsh and unchristian language! No, the language is not harsh, is not unchristian: it is impossible to call such conduct by any other name, and rightly define it. We must be, like Him who created us, no respecters of persons; but perceive and confess that the wrongs which are done to others, even the humblest of the human race, are as grievous to be borne, and as much to be abhorred and condemned, as though they were done to us.

Let us do what we can to change the public sentiment of the North, by a fearless and faithful proclamation of the truth. Alas! for the bitter and proscriptive prejudice which every where prevails against the colored race! Those whom we treat the most injuriously, we hate the most intensely. It is a fearful retribution upon us, as a people, because we have remorselessly trampled upon the poor and needy. Yes, it is because we have taken the helpless and unoffending negro, and said, "We will scourge him, work him without wages, deprive him of his liberty, treat him as a beast," God has sent this leprosy of colorphobia into our souls, and we are full of malignity and madness whenever the cause of the oppressed comes up, demanding full justice at our hands. Let us get rid of all this! Let us see in every slave, Jesus himself; let us endeavor to remember the solemn test in the great trial-hour, "Inasmuch as ye have not done it unto one of the least of these, my brethren, ye have not done it unto me"; and let the same horror fill our minds at the idea of a slave being driven upon a Southern plantation, as we should feel if we saw our Savior under the lash of the slave-driver.

I have thus, very briefly, given you my "fanaticism," my "treason," my "infidelity." My cry still is, "No Union with Slaveholders!" Does not that sound well to-day? (Applause.) What Union has the South for you, O people of the North? You are fighting for the flag, you say—not for the abolition of slavery. Go South, and they will smother you in its folds! You are fighting for the Constitution—not for the abolition of slavery. Go South, and make the declaration, and you will never come back alive! You are fighting for the Union—not for the abolition of slavery. Go South, and denounce her treasonable movement, and receive the fate of felons! No longer, then, be blind to the fact, that slavery is at the bottom of all our national divisions, and must be overthrown before we can be one people. Henceforth, be abolitionists, in deed and in truth! Tell the government that it will commit a most heinous crime, as well as be guilty of an act of transcendant folly, if it shall allow any considerable time to pass before proclaiming, under the war power, freedom to all in bondage. In the words of Whittier—

> "Have they wronged us? Let us, then,
> Render back nor threats, nor prayers:
> Have they chained our free-born men?
> Let us unchain theirs!"

And what cause for any delay? What further provocations or perils are needed,—if the claims of suffering humanity are not sufficiently imperative,—to warrant the government immediately to enforce such a measure in self-defence, and to promote the general welfare?—a measure that would at once bring the rebellious South to terms, and quickly end the war, enabling the country to organize a majestic and enduring Union upon the basis of universal freedom, and putting an end to all sectional hostilities; so that, from ocean to ocean, the pulsations of the people shall beat together as one, and all shall be made happy in the light and liberty of heaven! (Applause.)

Mrs. Abby Kelley Foster was the last speaker, and her remarks were necessarily brief, the hour for adjournment having nearly arrived. She said there has appeared to be a confusion of tongues among the speakers, but I think there is really more harmony than might be supposed. Mr. Phillips, although opposed to the resolution condemning the government, wishes long life to Jefferson Davis; which shows that he has not much sympathy for those against whom Jefferson Davis is contending. Mr. Garrison places more reliance upon the persistent diabolism of the South than upon the virtue of the North; and, in fact, when the matter is looked into, it will be found that there is no confusion of tongues. We are in the condition, to-day, of the woman who saw her husband and a bear in conflict, and didn't care a straw which whipped. Here stands Mr. Phillips, wanting the bear to whip the husband (the North) pretty thoroughly, until he shall rise up and make common cause with those under his heels. Mr. Foster's resolution says the same thing. Mr. Garrison has to thank the South for what the North is doing, and for his hope of liberty, more than to thank the administration, which is an endorsement of the resolution of Mr. Foster. There is no confusion of heart, there is no confusion of sentiment; and when you come to sift the matter to the bottom, we all stand together on the platform of the old American Anti-Slavery Society.

Rev. Mr. Martin was called for, but did not respond to the call, and after singing another hymn, the meeting adjourned, and the large company turned their faces homeward, with pleasant recollections of a day happily, and we hope profitably spent.

☞ The President's Message was communicated to Congress on Friday last. It is of moderate length, dispassionate but firm in its tone, and simple in its style. It asks for four hundred thousand soldiers and four hundred millions of dollars for the vigorous prosecution of the war. It is every where well received.

FIRST OF AUGUST CELEBRATION.

Again the Anniversary draws near of one of the most beneficent and memorable events in the history of the world,—ancient or modern,—the Peaceful Emancipation of 800,000 Slaves, the beginning of a great Act of Justice and Humanity, whose wisdom has at length compelled the acknowledgment of the world at large, even of the unwilling and prejudiced. The Emancipation of the Slaves in the British West India Islands, on the 1st of August, 1834, ranks now in history as an event not less remarkable for its cheering results than for the benevolent and humane motives which inspired it.

The Managers of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society invite the friends of freedom everywhere, all who are interested in the great events of human progress, and all who desire to see the barbarous, inhuman, and unchristian Slavery of our own land give place to the reign of Freedom, Justice, and Peace throughout our borders, and throughout the world, to meet with them, at the well-known and beautiful grove in ABINGTON, on Thursday, August 1st, 1861, in commemoration of the Day.

Let all join to make this Festival of Freedom worthy of the occasion, of the long line of effective meetings which have preceded it in honor of this event, and of the mighty object in behalf of which it is held,—the cleansing of our own land from the curse and shame of Human Slavery.

Eloquent speakers will be present. Railroad trains will run at reduced fares, &c. Of all which, further particulars hereafter.

W. L. GARRISON,
E. H. HEYWOOD,
THOS. J. HUNT,
ELIAS RICHARDS,
ELBRIDGE SPRAGUE,
Committee of Arrangements.

BLOODY CONFLICTS IN MISSOURI.

Kansas City, July 10. The Fort Scott *Democrat* of the 7th, contains an account of a battle between the Missouri State troops, under Gov. Jackson and Gen. Rains, numbering, by their own account, from 10,000 to 13,000, and the Federal forces, under Col. Seigel, numbering 1500. The first onset resulted in the State troops being driven back some distance, and their officers ordered a retreat. Their centre gave way, but the order not being heard on the flanks, the advancing Federal troops were in danger of being surrounded themselves, and fell back, retreating slowly, keeping up a fight, our artillery making fearful havoc among the rebels.

The loss of the rebels is very great. Our informant says he counted 70 or 80 wounded on the field and in houses by the wayside. At Dry Fork a large amount of beef was thrown out of their wagons to make room for the dead.

Another informant, a resident of Carthage, states that he passed over a part of the battle-field, yesterday, and saw wagons and hacks passing in every direction, gathering up the dead for interment.

The losses, on the part of the State troops, is not less than 300 or 500. The ground in many places was strewn with dead horses, and the stench was sickening. The whole country is laid desolate; fences are torn down, crops trampled and houses plundered. Parties of women stated that everything had been taken from them by the traitors, except what they had on.

Fort Scott, Mo., 8 P. M. A citizen of this place has just arrived, having left Sherman, Jasper county, at daylight this morning. He states that after leaving Carthage, Siegel encamped two miles southeast of that town, where he was attacked in the night, and his command badly cut up. His loss is variously estimated at from 300 to 1000, and that of the traitors from 1000 to 3000 killed and wounded.

☞ A letter from Hagerstown, Md., says perfectly reliable information has been received that no less than eighty-three rebels were killed on Tuesday at Hainesville, and one hundred and twenty wounded.

Extra Session of Congress. Congress met at Washington on the 4th of July. Forty members of the Senate were present. Senator Wilson, of Massachusetts, chairman of the military committee, gave notice that he should offer on the following day—

A bill to ratify and confirm certain acts of the President for the suppression of insurrection and rebellion.

A bill to authorize the employment of volunteers to aid in enforcing the laws and protecting the public property.

A bill to increase the present military establishment of the United States.

A bill providing for the better organization of the military establishment.

A bill for the organization of a volunteer militia force, to be called the National Guard of the United States.

A bill to promote the efficiency of the army.

There were present in the House, 159 members. Objection was made to the reception of Messrs. Blair, Marston and Curtis of Missouri; Daily, of Nebraska; Upton, Pendleton, Brown, Carlisle and Whaley of Virginia; Thayer of Oregon; but all were sworn, except Mr. Daily.

Galusha A. Grow of Pa. was elected Speaker, receiving 99 votes. Mr. Crittenden of Ky. received 12 votes, and Col. Blair of Mo., 11. Emerson Etheridge of Tenn. was elected clerk, receiving 92 votes.

Distressing Accident. A sad accident occurred at the residence of the poet Longfellow, at Cambridge, Tuesday afternoon, by which Prof. Longfellow was seriously, and Mrs. Longfellow fatally burnt. The particulars of the occurrence are these:

About 5 o'clock in the afternoon Mrs. L. was standing at a table in the library, making wax seals for the amusement of her daughters. She threw down a lighted match, which struck her light clothing, setting it on fire, and she was almost immediately enveloped in flames.

Mr. Longfellow, who was near at hand, rushed to her assistance, and succeeded, with much difficulty, in consequence of the thin texture of her clothing, in extinguishing the fire. She was burned upon nearly every part of her person, except her face. She succeeded in keeping the fire from that, and it is believed she did not inhale any of the flames. Mr. Longfellow's hands were very badly burned, but he received little injury besides that, and is not considered to be in any danger.

Both were kept under the influence of ether during the night, by direction of attending physicians, Drs. Wyman of Cambridge, H. J. Bigelow of Boston, and others. At ten o'clock, Wednesday morning, Mrs. L. was alive, but her friends entertained but little hope of her recovery.

The three daughters of Mrs. Longfellow were at home when the accident occurred: her two sons were at Nahant, and they were immediately sent for. Mrs. L. is a daughter of Mr. Nathan Appleton.

Everything that medical skill could suggest was done to relieve the sufferer, but in vain. She lingered until 11½ o'clock Wednesday forenoon, when death relieved her from further suffering.—*Traveller.*

Captain Ward. This officer who was killed at the affair at Mathias Point while in command of the U. S. steam gunboat Freeborn, was a native of Connecticut, from which State he was appointed. He entered the service on the 4th of March, 1823, and was appointed Commander on the 9th of September, 1852. Captain W. was the sixteenth commander on the active list. He had seen some sixteen years service at sea, and nine years duty on shore. He was commander of the receiving ship at the Brooklyn Navy Yard during two years past.

Destructive Fires. The Fourth and succeeding days were marked by great fires in different places. Boston suffered severely on Thursday afternoon, losing some $700,000 by conflagrations. The greatest was in East Boston, commencing on Whidden's wharf and sweeping over ten acres. Sixty houses, eight vessels, two factories, a machine shop and the sectional dry dock were destroyed.

At the same time, there was a fire on Albany and Hudson streets, which destroyed about twenty tenements.

At East Albany, on Friday morning, the freight house at the Boston depot was destroyed, involving a loss of nearly half a million of dollars. The property burned comprised two large freight depots, the passenger depot, the ticket office, the elevator, fifty-four car loads of freight, eight car loads of live hogs, five canal boats, and one valuable freight bridge. The long passenger bridge was partially saved. The canal boats were all loaded with grain.

There were also smaller fires in New Orleans and several other places, involving losses of immense amount in the aggregate.

Later from Europe. Lord Chancellor Campbell died suddenly on the 23d, and Sir R. Bethel is his successor. The Sultan of Turkey died on the 25th, and is succeeded by his brother.

The loss by the great conflagration in London is over two millions pounds sterling, and by some estimates three and four millions.

☞ Both the New Hampshire and the Connecticut Legislature postponed the consideration of the Corwin amendment to the Constitution. Very well.

☞ General Fremont has been appointed to the command of the Western department, including Illinois and the States and Territories between the Mississippi River and the Rocky Mountains.

Cost of the War. The Washington *Republican* undertakes to estimate the cost of the war for two years. The sum total is four hundred and fifty-seven million dollars.

☞ Rev. M. D. Conway, of Cincinnati, preached at Music Hall, Sunday forenoon, on the emergencies of the times. The closing portion of his sermon related to the war, which was advocated with an emphasis. Mr. Conway believes in an energetic prosecution of the contest. He also thinks that the success of our arms will be the death-blow of slavery. The sermon was much liked by the large congregation. Mr. Conway is the live man of the Cincinnati pulpit, and has the largest congregation in the city.—*Boston Atlas.*

☞ MERCY B. JACKSON, M. D., having had fifteen years' experience in the Homœopathic treatment of disease, offers her professional services to the Ladies and Children of Boston and vicinity.

References.—David Thayer, M. D.; Luther Clark, M. D.; John M. Tarbell, M. D., Boston. Eliphalet Clark, M. D., Portland, Me.

Rooms No. 20 Bulfinch street. Office hours from 2 to 4, P. M.

☞ A. T. FOSS will speak at
Osterville, Sunday, July 14.
Centreville, Tuesday, " 16.
Harwich, Sunday, " 21.

☞ WM. WELLS BROWN will speak at Quaker Hill Grove, South Foxboro', on Sunday next, July 14, at half-past 5 o'clock, P. M., on The Present Crisis, and its connection with the Slaves of the South.

☞ REV. A. D. MAYO, of Albany, will speak at Music Hall, on Sunday, July 14.

OBITUARY.—MRS. ELIAS THOMAS.

From the time when Mr. Garrison commenced his labors, she was one of his warmest admirers, and entered heart and soul into the abolition of slavery as advocated by him. She had a mind far-seeing and generous in all its bearings—of large magnanimity, and yet so considerate and critical in entering into the most trifling details. She possessed wit, brilliant and inexhaustible, but never aimed the shaft of sarcasm or the pointed retort to wound the feelings of any. She was always careful and assiduous to relieve the wants of the poor around her; yet she longed to do something to benefit the many needs of her darker brethren and sisters, and break some link in the heavy chain which has bound so long their bodies and souls.—While she accomplished the duties of this world for those around her, yet the approbation of a Higher Power was always in her thoughts, and the smiles of a Heavenly Guide seemed still more approving to the spirit as she came nearer the dark portal which slowly closed after and glided before her earthly eyes forever. Her life, like that of all earnest workers, was as calm and easy stream, flowing smoothly in its course, till it was lost in the rushing river of Death; but no divided purposes, no relinquished objects, could show that her will ever faltered.—She has left to her loved ones here, the contemplation of a life whose beautiful completeness strikes the mind as a Grecian statue fills the eye with its rounded fulness and harmonious proportions. Her last hours were perfect serenity. A hymn was sung by her children around her bed—one to which she loved to listen during her sickness—and those were the last earthly sounds she heard. From the strains that told of rest—"eternal, sure"—after an expression of pleasure at being so near the heavenly kingdom, her spirit slowly took its flight for that home she had been surely approaching so long, where she has gone to receive the reward of a life perfected by untiring exertion and unceasing energy.

Mrs. Thomas was the only daughter of William Widgery, for many years a very active and influential citizen of Portland, who died at an advanced age in 1822. In September, 1802, she married Elias Thomas, with whom she lived in most happy union to the day of her death, bringing up a large and united family in virtuous habits and sound principles, the oldest of whom is the present respected Mayor of Portland, William Widgery Thomas. Her husband, with whom she lived more than 58 years in a congenial harmony, survives her in his 89th year.

Portland, (Me.) July 9, 1861.

$40 PARKER $40

Sewing Machines,

PRICE FORTY DOLLARS.

THIS is a new style, first class, double thread, Family Machine, made and licensed under the patents of Howe, Wheeler & Wilson, and Grover & Baker, and its construction is the best combination of the various patents owned and used by these parties, and the patents of the Parker Sewing Company. They were awarded a *Silver Medal* at the last Fair of the Mechanics' Charitable Association, and are the best finished and most substantially made Family Machines now in the market.

☞ Sales Room, 188 Washington street.

GEO. E. LEONARD, Agent.

Agents wanted everywhere.
All kinds of Sewing Machine work done at short notice.
Boston, Jan. 18, 1861. 3m.

IMPORTANT TESTIMONY.

Report of the Judges of the last Fair of the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association.

"Four Parker's Sewing Machines. This Machine is so constructed that it embraces the combinations of the various patents owned and used by Elias Howe, Jr., Wheeler & Wilson, and Grover & Baker, for which these parties pay tribute. These, together with Parker's improvements, make it a beautiful Machine. They are sold from $40 to $120 each. They are very perfect in their mechanism, being adjusted before leaving the manufactory, in such a manner that they cannot get deranged. The Machine is a very essential point in a good Machine, is simple, positive and complete. The apparatus for gauging the length of stitch is very simple and effective. The Machine, as well as other parts, is well arranged. There is another feature which strikes your committee favorably, viz: there is no wheel below the table between the standards, to come in contact with the dress of the operator, and therefore no danger from oil or dirt. This machine makes the double lock-stitch, but is so arranged that it lays the ridge upon the back quite flat and smooth, doing away, in a great measure, with the objection sometimes urged on that account."

Boston, June 7, 1861.

P. S.

PERUVIAN SYRUP,

THE GREAT CURATIVE OF THE AGE.

TRY IT.

IT will entirely cure, or greatly relieve, the following distressing complaints: Dyspepsia, Dropsy, Diarrhœa, General Debility, Nervousness, Liver Complaint, Erysipelas, Jaundice, Dysentery, Neuralgia, and the endless catalogue of Female Difficulties, most of which originate in a low state of the blood.

Get our new Pamphlet, and read it.

JEWETT & COMPANY,
No. 39 Summer st., Boston.

For sale by all Druggists.
April 19. 3mis.

IMPROVEMENT IN
Champooing and Hair Dyeing,
"WITHOUT SMUTTING."

MADAME CARTEAUX BANNISTER

WOULD inform the public that she has removed from 223 Washington Street, to

No. 31 WINTER STREET,

where she will attend to all diseases of the Hair.

She is sure to cure in nine cases out of ten, as she has for many years made the hair her study, and is sure there are none to excel her in producing a new growth of hair.

Her Restorative differs from those of others, being made from the roots and herbs of the forest.

She Champoos with a bark which does not grow in this country, and which is highly beneficial to the hair before using the Restorative, and will prevent the hair from turning grey.

MADAME CARTEAUX BANNISTER,
No. 31 Winter Street, Boston.

June 14. tf

Poetry.

THE SLAVE MOTHER—A BALLAD.

It will be sufficient preface to the following Ballad to state, that it is the plain relation of an incident which happened in Kentucky in 1831.

The day had scarce begun to dawn,
The sun behind the hills
Had far to journey ere his rays
Should gild the mountain rills.

A woman with three little ones
Came from a lowly shed,
And out upon a lonely path
Those little ones she led.

The morn was dark and lowering,
And scarcely one might see,
When at a distance she appeared
What woman she might be.

She led those little ones along,
And not a word she said;
They seemed, as they were passing on,
Like shadows of the dead.

The oldest was a little boy,
Some six warm summers old,
And doubtless to a mother's sight
Was lovely to behold.

The others were two little girls,
Just old enough were they,
Led by their mother's helping hand,
To walk along the way.

"Where are we going, mother, now?"
The little brother spoke;
"O, I was dreaming a sweet dream,
Just as we all awoke."

"We're going but a little way
Come, children, come along;
You cannot think a mother's hand
Would lead her babies wrong.

"O, I have suffered much for you,
Nor will I live to see
The dreadful evils come to you,
Which long have come to me.

"When I was old as you, my son,
I can remember well,
How I was brought across the sea,
With wicked men to dwell.

"They tore me from my mother's arms,
And brought me here to toil,
And every day my tears and blood
Have dewed this hated soil.

"Last evening I was beat again,
Though faint as I could be:—
No, children, such a wretched fate
You shall not live to see."

She stept beside a little spring
That in the meadow flowed,
Just as the first faint gleam of dawn
Along the valley glowed.

The morning showed these little ones
Were like the sable night,
But well the wretched mother knew
Their little souls were white.

She took her little darling babes,
And put them in the spring—
It would have grieved a human heart
To see so sad a thing.

She held her little babies there
Until they all were dead;
But though her soul was wrenched outright,
Yet not a tear she shed.

Let none who know not suffering,
That mother cruel call;
It was that she had felt so much,
She did not feel at all.

She took her little babies then,
And laid them side by side;
'Twas there beside the meadow spring
Where those dear babies died.

She laid her little babies there,
Three children, cold as clay,
And long beside the meadow spring
She kissed them where they lay.

The wretched mother turned away,
With none her grief to heed;
Then down the valley she returned,
Again to toil and bleed.

NOTHING TO DO.

"Nothing to do"? O, pause, and look around
At those oppressed with want, and sorrow too!
Look at the wrongs, the sufferings that abound,
Ere yet thou sayest, there's nought for thee to do.

"Nothing to do"? Are there no hearts that ache—
No care-worn breasts that heave an anguished sigh—
No burthens that thy hands may lighter make—
No bitter tears thy sympathy might dry?

Are there no hungry whom thy hand may feed—
No sick to aid, no naked to be clad?
Are there no blind, whose footsteps thou may'st lead?
No mourning heart, that thou could'st make less sad?

"Nothing to do"? Hast thou no store of gold—
No wealth of time, that thou should'st well employ?
No hidden talent, that thou should'st unfold—
No gifts that thou should'st use for others' joy?

"Nothing to do"? O, look without, within!
Be to thyself and to thy duties true!
Look on the world, its troubles, and its sin,
And own that thou hast *much* indeed to do!

From Vanity Fair.

COMPROMISE.

The veriest spawn of the "Father of Lies"
Is that creeping creature called Compromise.

A slimy thing in villanous guise,
With the pompous title—Compromise.

The tool of the weak—the scorn of the wise—
Oh! men! beware of Compromise!

Crooked and dark the pathway lies
Before the fiend named Compromise.

Avoiding the gleam of good men's eyes,
Characterless crawls Compromise.

Two cowards at war—one of them cries,
"Let's settle the matter by Compromise!"

So, wrapped in a screen that detection defies,
In stalks the umpire—Compromise.

Two thieves who grasp at a stolen prize,
Divide the spoils by Compromise—

A country groans and a nation sighs
When the leaders turn to Compromise.

Though fools may hope to strengthen ties
By Cotton bands of Compromise.

If you wish to see a nation rise,
Dare to speak of Compromise!

Accursed be he who sells or buys
His country's honor with Compromise!

Hang him high, and after he dies,
Write on his tomb-stone—Compromise!

Can ye never a plan devise
To save your land but Compromise?

Come to your senses! Up! Arise!
Ere ye strike on the rock of Compromise!

OUT OF DARKNESS COMETH LIGHT.

Out of darkness cometh light:
Out of weakness cometh might.

Peace shall come from out of strife,
And deck the warrior's weary life.

The hand that made both good and ill,
Makes all obedient to His will.

Weary souls, be not cast down;
First wear the cross, then wear the crown.

The Liberator.

TWO SLANDERS ON HAYTI REFUTED.

Boston, July 2, 1861.

Wm. Lloyd Garrison:

Dear Sir—I do not think that you quite did me justice in your notice of my Guide to Hayti; but as you indicated the chapter and the book from which you quoted, I have no inclination to complain. Still less do I seek to controvert your opinions on the question of colored emigration to Hayti. I cannot state more clearly than I have already done, my reasons for embarking, with all the energy and enthusiasm of my nature, in the mission entrusted to me by the Government of Hayti. Controversy is useful only when it tends to advance a cause, or to convince an opponent; and, inasmuch as we occupy different stand-points—you employing the moral agencies alone, I seeking to bring the physical forces against slavery—it is not likely that we would agree, excepting to agree to differ as to our respective modes of action. I recognize the great value of your labors, and your method; but, at the same time, I have faith also in another class of workers and of powers. Discussion, therefore, could avail nothing.

I ask permission merely to answer two slanders of the Haytian people, which, coming from unfriendly sources, have appeared in the columns of the *Liberator*, but have not yet been refuted in your journal.

The first was copied from the Chatham *Planet*, (Canada West,) of March 8. I replied to it briefly in that paper, and, as my answer contains the paragraph you printed, I subjoin the Letter:—

"Sir—In your journal of March 8, in a report of a lecture by John Brown, jr., you state—

'Of course, like many other localities, Hayti has its peculiarities. The Rev. Wm. P. Newman, formerly of Dresden, in this county, has resided in Hayti for some time past, and has made himself very busy in gathering facts concerning emigration from that quarter. In prosecuting his inquiries, he was very successful. But we are informed, that in consequence of a difficulty arising between Mr. Newman and a large class of Haytians, he has concluded to return to Canada. The origin of this difficulty seems to be found in the fact that, on the occasion of some religious procession, passing along the streets of Port-au-Prince—the State religion in Hayti is Roman Catholic—Mr. Newman, being a Protestant, had not elevated his hat in honor of the passing host. Upon being requested to do so, he refused, when an officer forcibly took Mr. N.'s hat off. Of course, Mr. Newman was indignant at this, and at once came in collision with the authorities, who fined him. As a result of Mr. Newman's conduct, the Roman Catholic classes held a strong feeling against him, which he considers impairs his usefulness in that country. Hence his return to this Province. This is *one* side of the story.'

"Presuming that, like other Englishmen, you like to see fair play, and to hear both sides of every disputed story, I venture to ask the insertion in your columns of a corrected version of Mr. Newman's difficulty with 'a large class of Haytians,' and with the Government of that Republic.

"It is not true that Mr. Newman was fined in consequence of refusing 'to elevate his hat in honor of the passing host.' It *is* true that his hat was knocked off by a petty police officer, in consequence of his refusing to lift it; but it is equally true that the officer *was instantly sent to jail* for his impertinence as soon as the news of his action reached the Government.

"Mr. Newman was fined for writing an insulting letter to an American emigrant named Hepburn. The British Consul said to me, in referring to this letter, that, had he received it, he would have broken every bone in Mr. Newman's body.

"There can be no charge more unjust and untrue, no matter by whom made, than that the Haytians are intolerant. Whoever is sceptical on this point, can easily be convinced of it.

I will not, however, enlarge on this topic now. Neither will I give a full history of Mr. Newman's career in Hayti, as it would appear both ungenerous and cowardly to assail a man who is absent. Mr. Newman will soon return to the Provinces, and then, if he wishes it, I am ready to discuss his Haytian record with him. I have all the documents on file, and am fully prepared to refute the innumerable calumnies that he has secretly written respecting Hayti, and his own race through Hayti, since he discovered that a Government with any sense of self-respect would neither permit itself to be bullied nor insulted."

—The second of the unjust accusations about the Haytians, republished by the *Liberator*, and very prominently printed, but not yet corrected, was an extract from the news by the Echo, as reported by the New York *Express*. This news was copied by the New York *Tribune*, Boston *Journal* and Boston *Traveller*, but all of them promptly published my letter in reply to it. I infer that these letters have escaped your attention. Permit me, therefore, to condense the facts given in them.

I have not the *Liberator* by me, but I think this is the paragraph you quoted:

"There was also another trouble brewing on the island, which was likely to embarrass the government. The free blacks that had been enticed there by Geffard found things quite different from what they were represented by Redpath and his associates. They were compelled to work two days in the week for the government until their passage out, (some $18,) was paid. They were only allowed $3, Haytian currency, per diem, to live on and support their families, which is about twenty-five cents of our money. They were also impressed into the army, and being marched to the frontiers, the Haytians took good care to put them in the front ranks. A person arrived in the Echo, a friend of the free blacks, brought this intelligence, and this will probably be the last of Redpath's scheme of emancipation to Hayti."

This "friend of the free blacks" was a Spanish spy, whom the Haytian government lodged in jail, and liberated only to ship him out of the country by the *Echo*. It was but natural that a disgraced spy should hurry to the kennel of the *Dog Noble* to return his vomit on the Haytian authorities.

Before refuting his slanders, let me say that I prize my reputation as a man of honor and an Abolitionist infinitely above my position under the Haytian government, and vastly over my desire to see a powerful Negro nation in the Antilles as the foundation of a mixed West India Confederacy of free-cotton-growing Commonwealths. I did not seek either honors or office in Hayti; both were forced on me—both were equally unexpected to me. Favor did not follow fawning, but the most inflexible independence of thought and action. I have friends among all parties there, but I flattered no one of them, and stood aloof from them all, while I always expressed my opinions freely. Certainly, I have every reason to be zealous in the service of the Haytian Government; but, were it to violate *any one* of its promises and guarantees to emigrants, I would not hesitate one moment to crush out the movement in the United States, and be the most vehement in denouncing any act of bad faith. My personal reputation is at stake in this matter; and no consideration whatever would induce me to permit it to be sullied by any one, whether a Government or individual, whose agent I might happen to be. If a war is declared by Hayti against Spain, I shall go there and enlist, but I will not permit any one to emigrate, without the fullest knowledge of all the chances for peace or war. Hence, I have suspended emigration for two months, although I might have sent emigrants to the island every week; and hence, in my journal, *The Pine and Palm*, I give the fullest news from all sources, about Hayti, whether favorable to her or the reverse. I was an American Abolitionist before I was a Haytian Commissioner; and among the various titles that friends and enemies have conferred on me, I still place that of *fanatic* as first in order.

To return to the *Echo*. There was *another* passenger by the Echo, a colored man,—personally known to Mr. Garrison,—whose veracity is undoubted, and who had come back to go South to incite insurrections. He had been a fugitive slave. He denied each and every statement of the Spanish spy. Mr. Galloway had just arrived from St. Mark when that vessel sailed, and left all the emigrants contentedly working on their free farms—not one of them having been impressed into the Haytian army—not one having been compelled to work two days in each week, or one hour each month, even, for the government of Hayti. The government has not only redeemed *all* its pledges, but done far more for the emigrants than it promised.

"Now, as to the work performed under government auspices by the emigrants, see how different a version of it Mr. Galloway gives. He says that the land given to the emigrants would be improved, it was found, by irrigation, in certain localities, and that they had prepared to dig a long canal from the Artibonite river for that purpose. But some of the emigrants could not afford the time, and Mr. Lewis, (of Maine,) asked for an appropriation, in aid of the project, of $60,000 Haytian. The government granted it, *and more*. This generous act the Spaniard, or dog Noble of the *Express*, now tries to pervert into an act of oppression."

Letters received by the last arrival from Hayti confirm these statements. I received, also, by the *Echo*, letters from emigrants, who spoke of no such outrages, but, on the contrary, were exceedingly laudatory of the government of the Republic.

With much esteem, your obedient servant,
JAMES REDPATH.

ORATION OF HON. EDWARD EVERETT.

A very able and elaborate Oration was delivered in the Academy of Music, in the city of New York, on the 4th of July, by Hon. Edward Everett, on Southern Secession, and the present War growing out of it. It would occupy more than two entire pages of our paper; but we are unable to find room for any more than that portion of it which relates to the Slavery question.

INTERFERENCE WITH SLAVERY THE GREAT ALLEGED GRIEVANCE.

But the great complaint of the South, and that which is admitted to be the occasion of the present revolt, is the alleged interference of the North in the Southern institution of slavery; a subject on which the sensibilities of the two sections have been so deeply and fearfully stirred, that it is nearly impossible to speak words of impartial truth. As I have already stated, the declaration by South Carolina, of the causes which prompted her to secede from the Union, alleged no other reason for this movement than the enactment of laws to obstruct the surrender of fugitive slaves. The declaration does not state that South Carolina ever lost a slave by the operation of these laws, and it is doubtful whether a dozen from all the States have been lost from this cause. A gross error, on this subject, pervades the popular mind at the South. Some hundreds of slaves in the aggregate escape annually; some to the recesses of the dismal swamp; some to the everglades of Florida; some to the trackless mountain region, which traverses the South; some to the Mexican States and the Indian tribes; some across the Free States to Canada. The popular feeling of the South ascribes the entire loss to the laws of the Free States; while it is doubtful whether these laws cause any portion of it. The public sentiment of the North is not such, of course, as to dispose the community to obstruct the escape or aid in the surrender of slaves. Neither is it at the South. No one, I am told, at the South, not called upon by official duty, joins in the hue and cry after a fugitive; and whenever he escapes from any State south of the border tier, it is evident that his flight must have been aided in a community of slaveholders. If the North Carolina fugitive escapes through Virginia, or the Tennessee fugitive escapes through Kentucky, why are Pennsylvania and Ohio alone blamed? On this whole subject the grossest injustice is done to the North. She is expected to be more tolerant of slavery than the South herself; for while the South demands of the North entire acquiescence in the extremest doctrines of slave property, it is a well-known fact, and as such alluded to by Mr. Clay in his speech on the compromise of 1850, that any man who habitually trafficks in this property is held in the same infamy at Richmond and New Orleans that he would be at Philadelphia or Cincinnati.

While South Carolina, assigning the cause of secession, confines herself to the State laws for obstructing the surrender of fugitives, in other quarters, by the press, in the manifestoes and debates on the subject of secession, and in the official papers of the New Confederacy, the general conduct of the North with respect to slavery is put forward as the justifying, nay, the compelling cause of the revolution. This subject, still more than that of the tariff, is too trite for discussion, with the hope of saying anything new on the general question. I will but submit a few considerations to show the great injustice which is done to the North, by representing her as the aggressor in this sectional warfare.

The Southern theory assumes that, at the time of the adoption of the Constitution, the same antagonism prevailed as now between the North and South, on the general subject of slavery; that although it existed, to some extent, in all the States but one of the Union, it was a feeble and declining interest at the North, and mainly seated at the South; that the soil and climate of the North were soon found to be unpropitious to slave labor, while the reverse was the case at the South; that the Northern States, in consequence, having from interested motives abolished slavery, sold their slaves to the South, and that then, although the existence of slavery was recognized and its protection guarantied by the Constitution, as soon as the Northern States had acquired a controlling voice in Congress, a persistent and organized system of hostile measures, against the rights of the owners of slaves in the Southern States, was inaugurated and gradually extended, in violation of the compromises of the Constitution, as well as of the honor and good faith tacitly pledged to the South, by the manner in which the North disposed of her slaves.

Such, in substance, is the statement of Mr. Davis in his late message, and he then proceeds, seemingly as if rehearsing the acts of this Northern majority in Congress, to refer to the anti-slavery measures of the State legislatures, to the resolutions of Abolition societies, to the passionate appeals of the party press, and to the act of lawless individuals, during the progress of this unhappy agitation.

THE SOUTH FORMERLY OPPOSED TO SLAVERY.

Now this entire view of the subject, with whatever boldness it is affirmed, and with whatever persistency it is repeated, is destitute of foundation. It is demonstrably at war with the truth of history, and is contradicted by facts known to those now on the stage, or which are matters of recent record. At the time of the adoption of the Constitution, and long afterward, there was, generally speaking, no sectional difference of opinion between North and South, on the subject of slavery. It was in both parts of the country regarded, in the established formula of the day, as "a social, political and moral evil." The general feeling in favor of universal liberty and the rights of man, wrought into fervor in the progress of the Revolution, naturally strengthened the anti-slavery sentiment throughout the Union. *It is the South which has since changed, not the North.* The theory of a change in the Northern mind, growing out of a discovery made *soon after* 1789, that our soil and climate were unpropitious to slavery, (as if the soil and climate then were different from what they had always been,) and a consequent sale to the South of the slaves of the North, is purely mythical; as groundless in fact, as it is absurd in statement. I have often asked for the evidence of this last allegation, and I have never found an individual who attempted, even, to prove it. But however this may be, the South at that time regarded slavery as an evil, though a necessary one, and habitually spoken of in that light. Its continued existence was supposed to depend on keeping up the African slave trade; and South as well as North, Virginia as well as Massachusetts, passed laws to prohibit that traffic; they were, however, before the Revolution, vetoed by the Royal Governors. One of the first acts of the Continental Congress, unanimously subscribed by its members, was an agreement neither to import nor purchase any slave imported after the first of December, 1774. In the Declaration of Independence, as originally drafted by Mr. Jefferson, both slavery and the slave trade were denounced in the most uncompromising language. In 1775, the traffic was forbidden in Virginia by State law, no longer subject to the veto of Royal Governors. In 1784, an ordinance was reported by Mr. Jefferson to the old Congress, providing that, after 1800, there should be no slavery in any territory, ceded or to be ceded to the United States. The ordinance failed at that time to be enacted, but the same prohibition formed a part, by general consent, of the ordinance of 1787 for the organization of the North-Western Territory. In his Notes on Virginia, published in that year, Mr. Jefferson depicted the evils of slavery in terms of fearful import. In the same year the Constitution was framed. It recognized the existence of slavery, but the word was carefully excluded from the instrument, and Congress was authorized to abolish the traffic in twenty years. In 1796, Mr. St. George Tucker, Law Professor in William and Mary College in Virginia, published a treatise, entitled, "Proposal for the Gradual Abolition of Slavery, dedicated to the General Assembly of the People of Virginia." In the preface of the essay, he speaks of the "abolition of slavery in this State as an object of the first importance, not only to our moral and domestic peace, but even to our political salvation." In 1797, Mr. Pinckney, in the Legislature of Maryland, maintained that, "by the eternal principles of justice, no man in the State has the right to hold his slave a single hour." In 1803, Mr. John Randolph, from a committee on the subject, reported that "the prohibition of slavery by the ordinance of 1787 was wisely calculated to promote the happiness and prosperity of the North-Western States, and to give strength and security to that extensive frontier." Under Mr. Jefferson, the importation of slaves into the Territories of Mississippi and Louisiana was prohibited in advance of the time limited by the Constitution, for the interdiction of the slave trade. When the Missouri restriction was enacted, all the members of Mr. Monroe's Cabinet—Mr. Crawford, Mr. Calhoun and Mr. Wirt—concurred with Mr. Monroe in affirming its constitutionality. In 1832, after the Southampton Massacre, the evils of slavery were exposed in the Legislature of Virginia, and the expediency of its gradual abolition maintained, in terms as decided as were ever employed by the most uncompromising agitator. A bill for that object was introduced into the Assembly by the grandson of Mr. Jefferson, and warmly supported by distinguished politicians now on the stage. Nay, we have the recent admission of the Vice-President of the Seceding Confederacy, that what he calls "the errors of the past generation," meaning the anti-slavery sentiments entertained by Southern statesmen, "still clung to many as late as *twenty years* ago."

To this hasty review of Southern opinions and measures, showing their accordance, till a late date, with Northern sentiment on the subject of slavery, I might add the testimony of Washington, of Patrick Henry, of George Mason, of Wythe, of Pendleton, of Marshall, of Lowndes, of Poinsett, of Clay, and of nearly every first-class name in the Southern States. Nay, as late as 1849, and after the Union had been shaken by the agitations incident to the acquisition of Mexican territory, the Convention of California, although nearly one-half of its members were from the slaveholding States, *unanimously* adopted a Constitution by which slavery was prohibited in that State. In fact, it is now triumphantly proclaimed by the chiefs of the revolt, that the ideas prevailing on this subject when the Constitution was adopted are fundamentally wrong; that the new government of the Confederate States "rests upon exactly the opposite ideas; that its foundations are laid and its corner stone reposes upon the great truth, that the negro is not equal to the white man; that slavery—subordination to the superior race—is his natural and normal condition. This our new government is the first in the history of the world based upon this physical, philosophical and moral truth." So little foundation is there for the statement that the North, from the first, has been engaged in a struggle with the South on the subject of slavery, or has departed in any degree from the spirit with which the Union was entered into, by both parties. The fact is precisely the reverse.

NO ANTI-SLAVERY MEASURES ENACTED BY CONGRESS.

Mr. Davis, in his message to the Confederate States, goes over a long list of measures, which he declares to have been inaugurated, and gradually extended, as soon as the Northern States had reached a sufficient number to give their representatives a controlling voice in Congress. But of all these measures, not one is a matter of Congressional Legislation, nor has Congress, with this alleged controlling voice on the part of the North, ever either passed a law hostile to the interests of the South, on the subject of slavery, nor failed to pass one which the South has claimed as belonging to her rights or needed for her safety. In truth, the anti-slavery North never has had the control of both Houses of Congress, never of the judiciary, rarely of the Executive, and never exerted these to the prejudice of Southern rights. Every judicial or legislative issue on this question, with the single exception of the final admission of Kansas, that has ever been raised before Congress, has been decided in favor of the South, and yet she allows herself to allege "a persistent and organized system of hostile measures against the rights of the owners of slaves" as the justification of her rebellion.

The hostile measures alluded to are, as I have said, none of them matters of Congressional legislation. Some of them are purely imaginary as to any injurious effect, others much exaggerated, others unavoidably incident to freedom of speech and the press. You are aware, my friends, that I have always disapproved the agitation of slavery for party purposes, or with a view to infringe upon the Constitutional rights of the South. But if the North has given cause of complaint, in this respect, the fault has been equally committed by the South. The subject has been fully as much abused there as here for party purposes, and if the North has ever made it the means of gaining a sectional triumph, she has but done what the South, for the last twenty-five years, has never missed an occasion of doing. With respect to everything substantial, in the complaints of the South against the North, Congress and the States have afforded or tendered all reasonable—all possible—satisfaction. She complained of the Missouri Compromise, although adopted in conformity with all the traditions of the government, and approved by the most judicious Southern statesmen; and after thirty-four years acquiescence on the part of the people, Congress repealed it. She asked for a judicial decision of the territorial question in her favor, and the Supreme Court of the United States, in contravention of the whole current of our legislation, so decided it. She insisted on carrying this decision into effect, and three new territories, at the very last session of Congress, were organized in conformity to it, as Utah and New Mexico had been before it was rendered. She demanded a guarantee against amendments of the Constitution adverse to her interests, and it was given by the requisite majority of the two Houses. She required the repeal of the State laws obstructing the surrender of fugitive slaves, and although she had taken the extreme remedy of revolt into her hands, they were repealed or modified. Nothing satisfied her, because there was an active party in the cotton-growing States, led by ambitious men, determined on disunion, who were resolved not to be satisfied. In one instance alone, the South has suffered defeat. The North, for the first time since the foundation of the government, has chosen a President by her unaided electoral vote; and that is the occasion of the present unnatural war. I did not, as you know, contribute to that result; but I did enlist under the banner of "the Union, the Constitution, and the Enforcement of the Laws." Under that banner I mean to stand, and with it, if it is struck down, I am willing to fall. Even for this result, the South has no one to blame but herself. Her disunionists would give their votes for no candidate but the one elected by leaders who avowed the purpose of effecting a revolution of the Cotton States, and who brought about a schism in the Democratic party directly calculated, probably designed, to produce the event which actually took place, with all its dread consequences.

REPRESENTATION OF THREE-FIFTHS OF THE SLAVES.

I trust I have shown the flagrant injustice of this whole attempt to fasten upon the North the charge of wielding the powers of the Federal Government to the prejudice of the South. But there is one great fact connected with this subject, seldom prominently brought forward, which ought forever to close the lips of the South, in this warfare of sectional reproach. Under the old Confederation, the Congress consisted of but one house, and each State large and small had but a single vote, and consequently an equal share in the government, if government it could be called, of the Union. This manifest injustice was barely tolerable in a state of war; when the imminence of the public danger tended to produce unanimity of feeling and action. When the country was relieved from the pressure of the war, and discordant interests more and more disclosed themselves, the equality of the States became a positive element of discontent, and contributed its full share to the downfall of that short-lived and ill-compacted frame of Government.

Accordingly when the Constitution of the United States was formed, the great object and the main difficulty was to reconcile the equality of the States, (which gave to Rhode Island and Delaware equal weight with Virginia and Massachusetts,) with a proportionate representation of the people. Each of these principles was of vital importance; the first being demanded by the small States, as due to their equal independence, and the last being demanded by the large States, in virtue of the fact that the Constitution was the work and the government of the People, and in conformity with the great Law in which the Revolution had its origin, that Representation and Taxation should go hand in hand.

The problem was solved in the Federal Convention, by a system of extremely refined arrangements, of which the chief was that there should be two Houses of Congress, that each State should have an equal representation in the Senate, (voting, however, not by States but *per capita*,) and a number of Representatives in the House in proportion to its population. But here a formidable difficulty presented itself, growing out of the anomalous character of the population of the slaveholding States, consisting as it did of a dominant and a subject class, the latter excluded by local law from the enjoyment of all political rights, and regarded simply as property. In this state of things, was it just or equitable that the slaveholding States, in addition to the number of representatives to which their free population entitled them, should have a further share in the government of the country, on account of the slaves held as property by a small portion of the ruling class? While property of every kind in the non-slaveholding States was unrepresented, was it just that this species of property, forming a large proportion of the entire property of the South, should be allowed to swell the representation of the slaveholding States?

This serious difficulty was finally disposed of, in a manner mutually satisfactory, by providing that Representatives and direct Taxes should be apportioned among the States on the same basis of population, ascertained by adding to the whole number of free persons, three-fifths of the slaves. It was expected at this time that the Federal Treasury would be mainly supplied by direct taxation. While therefore the rule adopted gave to the South a number of representatives out of proportion to the number of her citizens, she would be restrained from exercising this power to the prejudice of the North, by the fact that any increase of the public burdens would fall in the same increased proportion on herself. For the additional weight which the South gained in the Presidential election, by this adjustment, the North received no compensation.

But now mark the practical operation of the compromise. Direct taxation, instead of being the chief resource of the Treasury, has been resorted to but four times since the foundation of the Government, and then for small amounts; in 1798 two millions of dollars, in 1813 three millions, in 1815 six millions, in 1815 three millions again, in all fourteen millions, the sum total raised by direct taxation in seventy-two years, less than an average of 200,000 dollars a year. What number of representatives, beyond the proportion of their free population, the South has elected in former Congresses, I have not computed. In the last Congress she was represented by twenty members, in behalf of her slaves, being nearly one-eleventh part of the entire House. As the increasing ratio of the two classes of population has not greatly varied, it is probable that the South, in virtue of her slaves, has always enjoyed about the same proportionate representation in the House in excess of that accruing from her free population. As it has rarely happened in our political divisions, that important measures have been carried by large majorities, this excess has been quite sufficient to assure the South a majority on all sectional questions. It enabled her to elect a candidate for the Presidency in 1800, and thus effect the great political revolution of that year, and is sufficient of itself to account for that approach to the monopoly of the government, which she has ever enjoyed.

Now, though the consideration for which the North agreed to this arrangement may be said to have wholly failed, it has nevertheless been quietly acquiesced in. I do not mean that, in times of high party excitement, it has never been alluded to as a hardship. The Hartford Convention spoke of it as a grievance which ought to be remedied; but even since our political controversies have turned almost wholly on the subject of slavery, I am not ware that this entire failure of the equivalent, for which the North gave up to the South what has secured her in fact the almost exclusive control of the government of the country, has been a frequent or a prominent subject of complaint.

So much for the pursuit by the North of measures hostile to the interests of the South; so much for the grievances urged by the South as her justification for bringing upon the country the crimes and sufferings of civil war, and aiming at the prostration of a government admitted by herself to be the most perfect the world has seen, and under which all her own interests have been eminently protected and favored; for to complete the demonstration of the unreasonableness of her complaints, it is necessary only to add, that, by the admission of her leading public men, there never was a time when her "peculiar institution" was so stable and prosperous as at the present moment.

THE ADVOCATES OF PEACE.

There can be no peace until it be firmly, definitely and finally settled that we have a government. This is the issue, and it must be met without faltering, without hesitating, without wavering; sternly, vigorously met, and decided now and for all time. No compromise now! no holding back the sword, and extending the olive branch! Is it barbarous? is it brutal? is it bloodthirsty to speak thus? Call it such who may, so do not we. It is the only policy that can save this country and this government from ruin and destruction. Nor is it with vindictiveness or bitter hatred against one single human being that so we speak; but with none the less determination—with a stern, unyielding, unflinching, fixed and settled purpose, that the majesty of the law, the divine right of government, shall be upheld and maintained at all hazards, and at every sacrifice of blood and treasure that necessity requires.

What use to talk of peace and compromise now? Peace and compromise were offered; nay, more than offered—*urged* upon those now in rebellious arms against the government, until we were taunted well-nigh as cravens. And these offers were made in good faith, with unparalleled forbearance, in the very face of acts of the most unblushing treason and plunder towards the national government. But the first gun which, with hostile intent, sent forth its missile of death against Fort Sumter, changed, as with the touch of a magician's wand, the whole aspect. The deadly hatred of the South to the North—deep-seated, long-smouldering, concentrated, and envenomed by its very repression—had burst forth at length without any guise or concealment. And it has spread like the blast of the death-angel over the length and breadth of the Southern States, until its poisonous infection has well-nigh stifled the common feelings of humanity. Is this mere rhetoric? Is it the production of a heated imagination? What say the facts? One example shall suffice.

We know, through a lady but recently from the South, that a lady of Charleston, S. C., pretending refinement and delicacy, expressed the barbarous and revolting wish—and this without any personal or peculiar reason for hatred—that every fly in Charleston were in the hospital at Fortress Monroe, to batten and feed on the festering sores of the soldiers sick there with the small pox. Talk of hatred and cruelty! Why, the wish for the whole North to have but one neck, that some delicate lady's arm might exterminate them all by one blow, even as Judith smote off the head of Holofernes, is mercy and tender compassion in comparison.

Gentlemen then may cry, "Peace! peace!" but again we say, "There is *no* peace." What peace will they have? Will they have a peace congress—a peace convention? That has been tried without effect. What greater efficiency can such a measure have now? What oath, what treaty, what armistice, what truce, what solemn obligation, can we rely on now, after the baseness, the deceit, the utter disregard and violation of the most sacred ties and bonds from which we have already suffered so much, and whose disastrous effects we still feel?

Will any alteration or amendment of the Constitution of these United States satisfy the traitors? None! Their rebellion waited not even an *attempt* to procure such amendment by legitimate and peaceful means. The founders of the Constitution, it seems from Mr. "Vice-President" Stephens, had erroneous views on slavery. Upon how many more points are these new lights in the science of government to discover that Washington, Jefferson, Madison and Hamilton were mistaken? Mistaken, not in points of detail, as to the length of terms of office and the like, but in principle, deep-lying essentials of a free republican government. If we yield to a demand to nationalize slavery, and bow down ourselves to King Cotton, dragging his enslaved millions in eternal chains, how long will it be before we shall have another king or other kings, to reign over us? The Constitution affords every just guarantee and protection to all the rights of life, liberty, property, and the pursuit of happiness of each and all the inhabitants of these United States, whether as citizens thereof or of any individual State. Shall we be "*coerced*" into its amendment now? Never! Not a letter must be altered—not a "*t*" crossed nor an "*i*" dotted under the threat of coercion.

Up, then, citizens of these United States of North America—up for the Government, for the Constitution, for liberty, for all that is sacred in a free Republic, for the rights for which your fathers fought and bled! Trust not the syren, aye, even timid, faltering, treacherous, traitorous voices, that would lull you to inaction with the cry, "Peace! peace! when THERE IS NO PEACE!"—*Philadelphia Press.*

SECESSION TRAITORS ABROAD.

It is useless to disguise the fact that there are, in our midst and scattered throughout the country, a few cowardly secession traitors, who, while they outwardly profess to sustain the government, secretly lose no opportunity to rejoice over every reverse our brave and patriotic soldiers meet with; gloat over the assassination of the lamented Ellsworth; seize every occasion to thwart and discourage the enlistment of volunteers; claim that nine-tenths of the soldiers who have gone to fight the battles to preserve the Union are democrats, and then tell those soldiers that the war is *unjust* and *unholy*, and yet claim to support the government and these democratic soldiers who are prosecuting this "unholy and unjust war"!

This is secession consistency. It is cowardly *treason!* Every one of these traitors would rejoice if the last Northern soldier should meet his death in the South, at the hands of the rebel assassins.

These men are cowards at heart, or their acts would be in accordance with their words. Why do they not join the Southern army? The country would then be rid of a set of traitors—a dead weight which is destroying the best government in the world, and who, if opportunity presented, would be found openly what they are secretly—traitors to the North and the government, and destructive to the democratic party.

Now let us see what effect this secession language will have on the democratic party. It is claimed by the secession paper in this county, and the secession talkers, that seven-tenths of all the volunteers are democrats; and yet they pronounce the war unjust and unholy, and glory over the defeat and assassination of those democratic soldiers, and the success of the rebels.

Do those democratic volunteers regard this war as unjust and unholy? If so, they would not go there, because there is no compulsion. Can it be expected that those soldiers will ever vote for any of the men, or with any party, who give "aid and comfort" to the enemies of the government, and who secretly desire that the volunteers from the North may fill "bloody and hospitable graves" in the South?

Never! The man who shall run on any ticket, who has aided and countenanced secession, would not be dignified by being placed among the scattering. There can be no justification of these Southern rebels. The act of secession has been a predetermined thing with them for years, only waiting a favorable opportunity to strike the blow. Finding no reasonable excuse, they broke up the Charleston and Baltimore conventions, and run Breckinridge to insure the election of Lincoln.

The running of Breckinridge was a mere farce. They went into the contest upon the principle of the gambler who tossed pennies, "Heads I win, tails you lose." The Southern States elected Lincoln by running Breckinridge, and then held his election as their justification for secession. One after another they seceded, and had actually matured a plan to march on and take Washington.

At this stage of things, the North rose as one man, and it is the duty of every patriotic citizen to strengthen the bands of the government in this emergency. The Union will be sustained at any sacrifice of blood and treasure, and these Southern rebels will be taught a lesson it would be well for the country if they had learned earlier. They will be brought back subdued and humiliated; and woe to the traitor of to-day who shall venture into politics after a peace shall be concluded! He will be marked and doomed.—*Catskill (Democratic) Journal.*

THE PEACE THAT MEANS PEACE.

Peace is surely desirable. Its value can hardly be estimated. Civil war, such as we are now entering upon, is among the very worst of national calamities. The ill-blood between sections, which will grow out of it, is another great misfortune. The waste of treasure and of human life, involved in the struggle, will be fearful. And yet, peace might be too dearly purchased. We should not be disposed to rejoice over a *dishonorable* peace. We should not be disposed to rejoice over a peace purchased by a compact binding us to the maintenance of slavery anywhere. Slavery is the cause of this war; and has been the cause of all our civil troubles. It is itself a sort of chronic war. We should not rejoice,—we should rather mourn,—over any peace which committed us to its maintenance, or sanctioned its extension. Give us, rather, the opposite policy, and root out the cause of our troubles, even though it cost all it seems likely to cost!

To *buy* back the rebels—to offer them a price to come into the Union and rule over us again, would be the height of folly and weakness.

It would establish rebellion as a regular resource of defeated parties, and the means whereby they could carry the ends they could not carry by the ballot-box. To recognize their independence would be to make secession the resource of every slightly dissatisfied State, and our Union would crumble rapidly to pieces.

But no compromise can now be successful. The North is determined to wipe out, once for all, the great rebellion of 1861, and to make an example of it that shall deter demagogues in future from attempting to overthrow the nation because the people have decided they shall not rule it.—*Delhi (N. Y.) Republican.*

The "Contraband" at Fortress Monroe. A correspondent of the New York *World* writes from Fortress Monroe as follows:—

"On my way into the camp, I passed a group of negroes sitting on the edge of the bluff, and looking towards Africa. They were of all ages, sizes, sexes and costumes. In brief, they were a group of the famous 'contrabands' who had come in during the night from the adjacent country, and were to be sent down to Fort Monroe by the next boat, which happened to be the one on which your correspondent embarked.

One of them—a little fellow with a face as black as an ink-bottle, big, tumorous lips, white ebonies and brief breeches, who wore also an enormous cap *a la militaire*, of the precise pattern adopted by the secession army—looked at me with a peculiar grin as I passed.

'Are you a contraband?' I inquired.

'Yah! yah! yah! I gueff so!' was the response. 'Massa run away, den de darkies run away too!' continued he, laughing, and all his companions joined in the demonstration.

On the boat coming down to the fort this afternoon, there was a large number. I questioned some of them, and I can assure you the stupid ignorance which they have been supposed to exhibit is a mistake. They are bright and intelligent. The most of them seem happy at the thought of escape, though the uncertainty of their future, and the strangeness of the scenes through which they are passing, impresses them deeply. One old female slave assured me she had 'a kind—a *werry* kind massa!' 'Why, bless de Lor'!' she added, in proof of the fact, '*he nebber put wires in his cowhides in all his life!*'"

No Prejudice against Color. The Vicksburg *Whig* is in extacies over a free negro named Jordan Chavis, who has written a letter to the agent of the confederate loan, in which he states that he has long been a resident of the county, and has received a land warrant for services in the war of 1812; but being too old for active service, he now desires to present a horse to a cavalry company, and he also authorizes the agent to draw upon him for $500, to be paid out of his next crop, for the use of the confederacy. The paragraph is headed "Patriotic Liberality of a Colored Man." There is no intimation that he is a "negro," or a "nigger," or even a "boy;" but he is spoken of as "a real *bona fide* colored man, long well known in this community, who, by his correct and honest deportment, has gained the esteem of all who know him." There is nothing said about forcing the negro to work upon entrenchments, as there would have been, probably, if he had had no property. Yet it is possible he had his fears on the subject, and lest he might lose all his property, made a virtue of the necessity. Negroes are sometimes shrewd.

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The United States Constitution is "a covenant with death, and an agreement with hell."

☞ "What order of men under the most absolute of monarchies, or the most aristocratic of republics, was ever invested with such an odious and unjust privilege as that of the separate and exclusive representation of less than half a million owners of slaves, in the Hall of this House, in the chair of the Senate, and in the Presidential mansion? This investment of power in the owners of one species of property concentrated in the highest authorities of the nation, and disseminated through thirteen of the twenty-six States of the Union, constitutes a privileged order of men in the community, more adverse to the rights of all, and more pernicious to the interests of the whole, than any order of nobility ever known. To call government thus constituted a Democracy is to insult the understanding of mankind. . . . It is doubly tainted with the infection of riches and of slavery. There is no name in the language of national jurisprudence that can define it—no model in the records of ancient history, or in the political theories of Aristotle, with which it can be likened. It was introduced into the Constitution of the United States by an equivocation—a representation of property under the name of persons. Little did the members of the Convention from the Free States imagine or dream what a sacrifice to Moloch was hidden under the mask of this concession."—JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor. Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind. J. B. YERRINTON & SON, Printers.

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Refuge of Oppression.

LETTER FROM ALABAMA.

MARION, Alabama, June 20, 1861.

Editors Journal of Commerce:

* * * * Assured that our cause is just, and that we are fighting in defence of our homes and families, we will spend our last dollar and our last drop of blood before we will submit to the North. Do not misunderstand us. We mean that we will never reenter the old Union,—no, nor form a *new* Union (whatever guarantees may be offered us) with the North, upon any terms. Concede our absolute independence, and we desire peace above all things. But we will not wear the Northern yoke under any conditions whatever. You cannot conquer us, any more than we could conquer you. We can send, if it be necessary, man for man, with the North; and we can do so with far less inconvenience, as the negroes make our crops for us. We have no fears of servile insurrection. Our slaves are contented, and cared for as no other laboring population on the globe is cared for. They know that their masters are their best friends, and they know the hollowness of Abolition professions. We can send into the field half a million of men, unequalled as material for armies. Almost every man of them has been accustomed to the use of the rifle from early boyhood, and is a good rider. This we can do, and not only raise all the food we need, but also nearly three millions of bales of cotton. But this is not all. We could *repeat!* Yes, we could send another half million of men; and still raise enough to live on, and *some* cotton to sell. Can the North do as much, or do it without certain ruin? Cotton is the great source of our prosperity; but we can *live* without raising more than what we wear ourselves. Even this we are willing to come to, rather than yield. The North must not only conquer us—if it can—but must *annihilate* us. Nothing less will suffice. We are prepared to see our plantations devastated, our families murdered, and our country reduced to a desert; prepared to see our race extinguished and our enemies in possession of our fair heritage; prepared for everything but *submission*.

Judge for yourselves what kind of resistance you are likely to encounter from men animated by such a spirit. We are sending our best men to the war, men who have everything at stake—character, position, wealth. I do not doubt that Northern men are brave. But they are not fighting for home and all that makes life dear, as we are. Surely, intelligent men at the North cannot long remain under the delusion that the South is "aggressing" upon the North. We seek only our own things; we ask but to be let alone. Prove, as much as you please, that *you* "have a Government." But it is not ours. *We* have a Government, too—a Government which exists by the only rightful title, that of the consent of the governed. Our people pay ready and cheerful obedience to a Government chosen freely by themselves, and with a unanimity almost unexampled in the history of revolutions. It is a Government of the Constitution and of the laws. Our President does not claim the prerogative of suspending the *habeas corpus*, nor of disobeying the solemn decisions of the courts, nor has he ever set the military above the civil power. If he should attempt such outrages, we are not the people to submit to them. We ask no "higher law" than the Constitution. But if, by a righteous retribution, you have lost your own liberty in trying to subject us to your yoke, it is no concern of ours. Let us alone, and you shall have—all we claim the right to give—our best wishes for your deliverance from burdens such as neither we nor our fathers were able to bear.

I will not protract this communication, already too long, by any details respecting the *cotton* subscriptions for our *fifty million loan*. Suffice it to say, that there is every prospect that the Government will obtain at least a million of bales in exchange for its bonds. The army supplies, too, will be furnished in the same way. Many of our planters offer half their cotton and corn crop. Some offer everything above necessary expenses. And if loans will not suffice, they are ready to *give* whatever Government may require, and whenever it chooses to ask. We feel that our *all* is at stake, and we are ready to sacrifice all. The *embargo* was a bad stroke of policy for the Northwest. They have lost their best customers, without injuring us at all.

When I am tempted to think hardly of the North, I call to mind your own noble endeavors in the cause of truth and peace and freedom. I dwell also upon the pieces of "A. B. J.," "J. M. B.," and many others of your correspondents, who have battled so nobly against prejudice and fanaticism. For the sake of such spirits, I try to think well of all—at least, to hope that all will learn of them.

Yours truly, S. C. D.

THE PEACE RESOLUTION OFFERED BY GOV. SEYMOUR.

We publish in another column, the brief peace resolution with its preamble, offered in the House of Representatives of this State, by ex-Gov. Thomas H. Seymour, on the 3d of July. We ask for them an attentive consideration by our readers.

The Republican papers have assailed this resolution, as well as the preamble that precedes it; and they are quite profuse in branding it "traitorous." If an effort to save the Union and the government of the United States, by constitutional measures, in a peaceful way, is traitorous, then this resolution is traitorous. But if such an effort is patriotic, then Gov. Seymour's resolution is patriotic. Of Gov. Seymour's own views, it is not necessary for us to speak, for we publish a sketch of his remarks, submitted to the Legislature when he offered the resolution. No man in the community has more heartfelt desire to preserve the Union than Gov. Seymour. No man entertains more patriotic sentiments than he. But if he believes that a war between the free and slave States of the Union, is calculated to break down the Constitution, and sever the Union forever, and so expresses himself, is his love of country and his patriotism to be questioned? Indeed, if he offers a proposition to settle our difficulties, as they have in the earlier days of the Republic been honorably settled, without bloodshed, is he, for that act of peace, to preserve the Union, a "traitor"? Shame upon the men and the presses who make such a charge!

But what is his proposition? The preamble gives briefly the reasons why the resolution is submitted. It says a third of the sovereign States have withdrawn from the Union. It is true. Do you say they cannot withdraw? They *have* withdrawn—wrongfully, if you please. The fact is so. The effort to compel their return has assumed the proportions of civil war. We all know this is true. The people everywhere feel it. We at the North believe they are wrong in seceding: they believe they are right. We believe that they did not have sufficient cause for secession or revolution: they believe they had. Shall two-thirds of the country, then, force the views of the other third up to the precise point of their own ideas upon these questions? This cannot be done. The two-thirds may beat the one-third in battle, and thus make them more embittered. This will not make their views harmonize with those of the victors. As all, then, have a common interest in the welfare of the country, and all have equal rights, is it not best for all to conciliate, and settle the questions at issue in a peaceable manner? This idea would be carried out practically, by offering the Crittenden Compromise. It is not dishonorable, and it is in no way injurious to the North.

Gov. Seymour's resolution offers that plan of adjustment. And it protests against any interference by warlike movements with the institution of slavery. It appears to us that no true-hearted Union man, no real conservative freeman, who cherishes a regard for the Constitution and the Union, can object to either of these propositions.

We look upon the parrot cry of "traitor," "traitor," raised by a certain class of men, every time that some old and tried friend of the Union lisps a word in favor of any other settlement to preserve the Union, save by the sword and through blood, as disgraceful rather than patriotic.—*Hartford Times.*

Selections.

TREASONABLE PUBLICATIONS.

Rebel newspapers, in time of war, ought to be suppressed by the strong arm of the people, if not otherwise, as well as rebel flags. The flouting of such a flag in the face of loyal citizens is no more insulting to the community, than for such a paper to continue pouring out treason by the column, day after day, to encourage and stimulate an unholy rebellion against the government. The suppression of such a publication in a summary manner would not infringe upon the "freedom of the press," because the press has no more right to inculcate treason than it has to encourage and applaud arson, assassination, burglary or highway robbery. The press, in its boasted freedom, has no such right. If you find a vagrant picking a friend's pocket, a burglar entering a friend's house, an incendiary firing a neighbor's dwelling, you will, without stopping for law, precepts, constitutions or bills of rights, stop his depredations at all hazards! So in case of treason, and the preachers and apologists of treason.

We are now in the midst of a war, big with the fate of human freedom and liberal government. Brave men are imperiling their lives to suppress a rebellion that seeks to undermine the very pillars of civil liberty, and we insist that loyal citizens are not required to sit unmoved, and see audacious rebels at their base work all around them, spreading noxious and traitorous principles broadcast over the land, misrepresenting the government, exulting over its disasters, applauding the successes of its enemies, and glorying in a fancied prospect of its final overthrow. Self-protection is the first law of nature—the "higher law"; and a treasonable newspaper, conducted with the ability which characterizes the New York *Daily News*, is much more dangerous in a loyal community than a score of treasonable individuals. Why should we suppress a pirate flag on our waters, and at the same time protect a pirate newspaper on shore? The question of the freedom of the press is not involved in the suppression of a traitorous public journal.

In this connection, we may be permitted to remark that we have misjudged the loyal people of this city, if some of the Aldermen who gave their votes and their influence to continue official patronage to a press sustained by Southern subscriptions, which advocates secession treason, and prompts the reckless rebels of the South to spill the blood of our patriotic brothers and friends who have obeyed the call of our country, and marched forth to its defence,—do not bring down upon their heads a scorching rebuke in the just indignation of the people, when they shall again make an appeal for popular suffrage. The *Daily News* is constantly scattering the firebrands of treason and disunion with an unsparing hand, and yet it is retained as a "corporation paper," and is supported from our city treasury to the extent of $20,000 a year! It is within the power of the Aldermen now to wipe out this shameful reproach. If they fail to do it promptly, let them not complain if their loyal constituents class them with the enemies of our country, and treat them accordingly.—*N. Y. Atlas.*

WHAT GUARANTEE?

Suppose for a moment that it were possible for the Government and the people of the country to agree to some pact with the Rebels, to make some bargain with them to bribe them back to allegiance, to complete some compromise with a view to the termination of this rebellion. What guarantee is there that the leaders of Southern sentiment would prove true to their agreement; would, after we had bowed ourselves anew to them, lay down their arms; would carry out the conditions upon which they should induce us to debase ourselves, and throw away the moral strength with which the Union and its supporters are now clothed as with a garment?

Suppose a compromise made, whether by direct treaty with the Rebel chiefs, through the medium of a National Convention, through the spontaneous passage of "new guaranties to slavery" by the National Congress, or in any other manner best calculated to make it binding upon the Southern leaders, and to surround it with an especial solemnity. They would agree to disband their troops, to surrender the forts they have seized, to return the money and arms they have confiscated, to submit in all respects to the Constitution and the laws.

But what would such an agreement be worth? It is not three years since Davis made a tour of New England, and indulged in the most superlative eulogies of the Union. There is not one of these Rebel leaders who has not, by his adherence to secession, violated the most solemn oaths of fidelity to the United States. They have broken the common obligations of loyalty, and the oaths prescribed in every State for every official, to obey the Constitution of the Union. They have trampled on the pledges of honor, added to the religious vows, by which soldiers are bound to their flag, and representatives and privy councillors to their Government. They have made mockery of every bond which can inspire confidence among men, and have defied the universal sentiments which induce even barbarians to observe plighted faith. They have proven false to the maxims of simple honesty, and have turned their backs on all the obligations of commercial honor. What pledge can they give which they have not already violated? To what divinity can they appeal whom they have not already dishonored?

Or shall we rely on the fact that their interests will induce the Rebels to fulfill any new compact which they may frame? They have as palpably gone counter to the dictates of prudence in their rebellious vagaries, as they have to the code of commercial honesty, of personal honor, of religious obligation. They have brought on themselves the burdens of war in a reckless endeavor to rob themselves of the blessings of the most beneficent of Governments. They have chosen despotism, limitless taxation, anarchy, ruin in all its forms, instead of a free Government which they themselves controlled—as mild as favor could suggest, and with taxation little more than nominal, so kind, and so generous, that they knew only the blessings, none of the burdens of authority. Yet against this they rebelled. Before we can rely again on their regard for their own interests, we must have proof that they have become once more true to themselves.

One of the direct effects of the Southern rebellion is, that no confidence can be placed in Southern pledges. Was not Floyd under oath to be true to the Union? Was not Twiggs held by every tie to the flag entrusted to him to maintain? Did not John Tyler act as President of a Peace Convention to cover up his work in pressing Virginia out of the Union? Has a spark of honesty or honor glimmered out of the dark level of their turpitude and baseness? The Rebels of the South can give no guarantees of fidelity which can be accepted. Their own character, as well as the honor and duty of the Government, forbids that any bargain, any compromise should be made with them.

A compromise which shall lower the standard of the Government, which shall be false to the sentiment of the North, which shall concede "new guaranties to slavery," which shall fail to punish the robbery and treason and murder which have marked the rebellion, will be a substantial defeat of the National Government. Is this not an obvious fact? Grant that these conspirators shall impose their policy on the Union; concede that they shall dictate our legislation and policy; allow them to continue to use the National Government as an instrument for their own purposes, and they will possess the real fruits of victory.

Surely, the Government, with a half million of men at its back, cannot contemplate the idea of such a surrender to Jeff. Davis and his minions. Surely the country which has risen like a strong man for the maintenance of popular institutions, will not accept so submissively the rule of the sword. For whatever less than the full enforcement of the Constitution and laws throughout the Union shall be accepted as a settlement—whatever less than the punishment of rebellion—whatever less than the restoration of the Union's flag to every flagstaff along the Potomac and the Mississippi and the Gulf—will be so much conceded to the bayonets and the artillery of the Rebel army. The Government cannot treat at all until the weapons and standards of revolt are laid down, without seeming to yield to force that which it has denied to reason.

And any arrangement made with these conspirators under arms would be a premium upon rebellion, an invitation to every disappointed faction to appeal from the ballot to the arbitrament of the bullet. Suppose we are trimmers enough, suppose there is in us cowardice sufficient, to fail of the duty which Providence has imposed upon the American people. Suppose the dollar stands out so near our vision as to cover everything else. It behooves us simply as misers, as cowards, as trimmers, to beware lest a nominal settlement shall, while striking down the strength of the Government, make rebellion both perpetual and all-pervading.—*Oneida Weekly Herald.*

HENRY WARD BEECHER ON THE WAR AND NEGRO CATCHING.

We take the following from a sermon preached by Mr. Beecher, on Sunday, to the members of the Brooklyn Phalanx:—

"Some people ask if this is to be a crusade of emancipation? No, it is not. I hate slavery intensely—as much as any other man. I detest it. Slavery of a white man or a black man, of the needle of the factory, of the shop, of the plantation. I love the family of man. I believe every man has a right to his liberty, his own freedom. Liberty is the birthright of every man, yet yours is not an army of emancipation. Why? Because the fifteen States of the South are guaranteed security in their property, and we have no right by force to dispossess them of that property. But, while we send down armies to quell insurrection, to keep the peace and crush out rebellion, the slaves avail themselves of the chance to cut and run, that is their lookout—not ours. (Laughter.) It is no intention of ours; but if, as a natural consequence, liberty follows, I shall be glad of it. I believe that before the judgment seat of God, white and black will be alike; still, we do not go South to free the slaves. While, however, we do not go South for that, we do not go South to be anybody's nigger catcher.

So far as I am concerned, I would see my arm wither in its socket, and my flesh perish in corruption, before I'd lift one finger or stir one foot towards sending a slave back to bondage. When the Fourteenth Regiment was at Washington, three dusky fugitives came into their camp, and a file of men were ordered by General Sanford to take them—where? Not to freedom, but back to their master, and their master gladly accepted them, and departed without taking the oath of allegiance. (Cries of 'shame.') Now if I'd been Colonel, Lieutenant-Colonel, Adjutant and Major rolled into one, I would have said, 'Boys, there's the bush, and if you get there before I do, you are good fellows;' and I think they would succeed, for I should suddenly become lame. (Laughter.) Many people fear that if the slaves should gain their freedom, they would swarm at the North. Don't you believe it. The black face was made to kiss the sun, and the North Pole is not suited to the skin of the blacks. Under heat that would wilt you, the negro begins to feel quite spruce, and can work with glee where you and I would melt. And I believe Canada, in five years, would be emptied of her black population, and a colored face in New York would be a curiosity.

Well, what else will be done? I know that at present it doesn't look as though the South would ever love us very much, but they will. I have seen, in a village, a big, blustering bully, who for days has been blazing about the streets, making everybody fear him, until all at once he comes upon some little plucky, gritty chap, who, galled by his manner, suddenly pitches into him, and thoroughly thrashes him. Instantly, and curiously, the bully changes. He's happy, jolly, kind, good-natured, and singularly pleasant. He's like flax, which, you know, is never good for anything till it's been whipped. (Laughter.) So I think no men can be better than the Southern men will be after they have been whipped; and it won't be hard to whip them, either. Thus far they have played an undertaker's part. They have dug graves and fought out of them, but whenever our men have had a fair show at them, the Southerners have run away—scampered like sheep. Let us hear no talk of peace. We can have no peace. When victory furls our regimental banners, we shall have peace, but not till then. The South will find that they are not half so smart as they think they are, and you are smarter than ever. It's time to stop their talk of whipping us. They say one South Carolinian can whip five Yankees. Well, perhaps they could, if they had the same chance at the Yankees that he has at his darkies. Otherwise, I can't see it. A great light of information is to break upon them in this regard.

You *are* smarter than they. The men in the armies of the North are accustomed to work; the muscles of their arms are like whipcords, and their bones will strike fire upon flints; and they will, man to man, make a better fight than the Southerners, who have not the health that comes to the farmers and the mechanics of the North. This is spoken of in no boastful spirit. But suppose there were no difference in this respect, our army to theirs would be as two to one. General Scott was right to wait until he gets such a holt in his hand that they won't want but one thunderbolt. When they have felt the Northern blow, they would be done boasting and gasconading. When the 'greasy mechanics' and 'mudsills' had their hands about the throats of these bombastic fellows for a while, they would command their respect. The war was not made to deprive the South of any rights. All we asked was, that she should not pull down the Stars and Stripes—the American eagle should nowhere be impeded in his flight from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from the lakes to the gulf."

EDWARD EVERETT.

Like Douglas, Everett has been sacrificed to the South, and none of his friends feel more than he the unseemly conduct of his associate, Bell, on the Presidential ticket—the superannuated dotard with whom our polished statesman allied himself. He merits the name of a good patriot, and no man living has done so much work for the nation that may be called patriotic rather than partisan, as Edward Everett. He is a kind-hearted, exemplary, conscientious man; and although having none of the grit of Douglas, he is, in his own way, very decided in his purposes, certainly needing no little steadfastness to sustain him in his conservative position among the hosts of radicals about him. He, like Douglas, is to be respected for not wishing to make the welfare of the nation secondary to the slave question, and for daring to oppose that narrow and destructive form of abolitionism that has been from the beginning disloyal to our nation, and ready to sell the country anywhere, at home or abroad, to the fanciers of its fanaticism. His Southern proclivities have been far beyond ours, and he has met the usual lot of Northern politicians who have relied on such favor. It is well that he lives to do justice to himself and his betrayers, and to say such wise and uncompromising words as appear in his two recent papers on the crisis. His oration at New York on the Fourth will, I believe, be worthy of him, and will, we hope, have the true ring against all treason against the country, and all base compromises in the service of traitors. A little honest anti-slavery from his lips would be refreshing, and without asking him to saddle the nation with the problem whose solution is by our laws and usages mainly left to the States, how stirring would be one of his graphic pictures of the relative workings of the two systems of labor, and the destinies of them both! Why do not our public men say with one voice, that whilst we leave slavery to the action of the States within constitutional limits, we cannot permit it to overthrow our republican government; and whenever it persists in being thus revolutionary, it shall be brought to an end? The distribution of civil powers leaves to the States as much jurisdiction as possible; and herein our fathers were wise, and we follow them in our general policy towards the slave system. But revolution establishes new conditions, and calls for new safeguards of public order. The political power of the Slave Oligarchy is probably already broken, and the nation waits to see how far the institution itself must be assailed. It needs no prophet to declare that if the Slave Power continues long to threaten our capital, it will be marked for destruction, being indicted as a dangerous nuisance, and as such abated. We are safe, as a nation, with a homogeneous population in our Border States, especially in Virginia. If this State continues, at farthest, for one year its present attitude, the law of self-preservation will justify our Government in making that State homogeneous with us—freeing the slaves as articles contraband of war, without going to the length of universal proscription, or doing all the work in reserve for future State jurisdiction and moral suasion elsewhere. The nation must and will be preserved, and we are false to ourselves and to our country, if we allow this crisis, with all its cost of blood and treasure, to pass without an effectual check to the oligarchy of slaveholders, who, as such, have been, if not the authors, certainly the ready tools of the conspirators who are striving to destroy the Government, and make over our liberty to any clique or dynasty, domestic or foreign, who will secure the highest price to cotton and negroes. This nineteenth century is passing, and our America is yet to show that the heroism of the eighteenth century is not a mere tradition. You see, dear *Inquirer*, that I am still at work upon the old issue. A little bird sings to me to go out again among the haycocks, and I obey. What bird shall sing to us the destiny now to open as we approach the festival of our nationality, when Congress meets, and the great nation gathers in every city and village to celebrate its birth-day? Fifteen years more, and the century comes round. July 4th, 1776, is to have a significant answer from July 4th, 1876. I venture to predict that the Declaration of Independence will mean more in the State of Virginia than it ever has meant since the author was laid in his grave, and his people built his monument, and trampled upon his principles.

In closing, I would suggest to you and your readers a plain and solid ground of compromise on our national troubles. Let it be the platform of the Old Constitution. Let all the States who will, stand on that; let the seceding States claim the protection of its lawful authorities, and let all traitors be dealt according to its provisions. Any new compromise made in the interests of rebellion and despotism should be spurned as an act of treason.—*Correspondent of Christian Inquirer, Fairfield, Ct.*

NEW REIGN OF TERROR IN TENNESSEE.

Mr. H. P. Straight, who resides in the neighborhood of this village, and is a cousin of the Mr. Straight, of Cincinnati, so summarily driven out of Montgomery, Ala., a few months ago, has fifteen relatives now in Salem, Marion county, Illinois, who have been compelled to flee from their homes in Solon, White county, Tenn., at the peril of their lives, for no crime but that of loyalty to the Union. Among the number are his parents, between sixty and seventy years of age, (his father being described as a "white-haired old man,") and several helpless children.

The Straights emigrated from Ashtabula county in this State, to Tennessee, some years before the existing rebellion broke out, and had there accumulated considerable property, which has now fallen into the hands of the traitors. They are represented as industrious, intelligent and high-minded, and their unfortunate experience affords a new and most striking illustration of the barbarizing influences of the slave system.

Mr. Straight's brother-in-law writes from Hamilton county, Ill., immediately after the arrival of the exiled party in that State, as follows:—

"It is under extraordinary circumstances I address you from Illinois, but the spirit of rebellion that begun in South Carolina, has extended far enough North to embrace Tennessee, and there is a Reign of Terror such as was never witnessed on this continent before. The people have certainly gone mad. A great many families have been driven away. Among them was Mr. Wadsworth (formerly postmaster) and Mr. Hitt. They have hung several Union men, born in Tennessee. They threatened us with a halter for some time, before we would leave. We finally had to go, leaving everything but our clothes and bedding. Your father and Allen had ten acres of corn planted, twenty-five bushels of potatoes planted, sixteen acres of oats, good gardens, &c., seven good cows, young stock, sheep, hogs, &c. It is bad enough. Our means are nearly exhausted, and we shall have to stop.

Yours, &c., E. R. ALLYN."

Mr. Straight's sister also writes from the same county:—

"*Dear Brother*,—You will be surprised when you see the post-mark on this letter, and learn that we are north of Mason and Dixon's line, and still going northward. I think you know why we are here. We are eating our dinner under an oak tree. Father and mother, tired out, are lying on the ground asleep. You will hear more from us soon.

Your sister, ANNA E. STRAIGHT."

The following letter from the same writer shows the danger from which the party fled, and the destitute condition in which they arrived in Salem, Ill. We understand that Mr. Straight's father has some debtors in this section, and trust that, on reading it, they will feel the necessity of immediate payment:

"JUNE 23d, 1861.

Dear Brother and Sister,—I once more address a few lines to you, to let you know that we have stopped, for a short time. Father wishes me to say to you that he is now penniless, and he wishes to know if there is any prospect of his ever getting anything from ——. He would like to get some money to buy him a little home, if it is no more than a house and garden spot. . . . . He needs it as bad as he ever will. We had to leave everything to the Southern Confederacy. We could not stay in such a place. We have no cow, no money, no provisions, and, if we should be sick, we should suffer.

Mr. Covill has gone back to Thompson. If they did not kill him on the road, he can tell you how we left things. We have one chair, and that is all the furniture we have; no stove, no table,—nothing. We had just got our house well furnished, and had to leave everything without getting a cent for anything.

They are hanging men that were born and raised in Tennessee, because they were Union men. They set a day to come up to our house, and hang Allen and George, and had got their company organized, when it rained, and raised the water, so that they could not get there. . . . There were four families who came in two wagons—Allen's, Edmond's, Charley's and father's—in all, fifteen. We could only bring our beds and clothing, and hardly that. You know nothing of the excitement South. . . .

From your sister, ANNA E. STRAIGHT.

Address Salem, Marion Co., Illinois."

We are told that the Mr. Covill above mentioned has arrived in Thompson with an ox-team,—all the property he was able to save from the traitors, and with which he made his exit from the Southern Confederacy. He succeeded in getting safely out of Tennessee and through Kentucky, only by representing at every stopping-place, that he was moving to the next township. As might naturally be expected, he has a very unfavorable opinion of Southern institutions, and is opposed to all compromise with traitors.—*Jeffersonian (Ohio) Democrat.*

HOW THE NORTHERNERS ESCAPE.

We have seen a letter from Mr. A. G. Mathews, artist of this city, describing a tedious and cruel walk he made to escape the secessionists, all the way from Texas to Illinois. At the time the State of Alabama seceded, Mr. Mathews was a resident of that State, where he was employed as a teacher of a school. As he was ordered to join the rebel army, or else submit to a heavy fine, he left the locality, and went to Texas, to remain till the spring. But he found Texas very soon as hot a place as Alabama had been, and he then resolved to make his escape to a land of freedom. Wonderful as it may appear, he travelled on foot from Houston county, Texas, to Ironton, Missouri, sleeping in woods and swamps, traversing prairies and mountain ranges, and suffering alternately from the ravages of vigilance committees and vermin. Mr. Mathews left Texas in the last week of April, and reached Ironton about the 24th of May, whence he was taken, foot-sore, exhausted and penniless to Chicago, by the kindness of railroad officers.

At Chicago, he gave this account of his journey to the editor of the *Tribune*:—

"When the news of the bombardment of Sumter reached Houston county, the hostility to persons of Northern birth became so virulent that Mr. Mathews deemed an early departure essential to his personal safety. When this was followed by the news of President Lincoln's proclamation, he was required to join the rebel army instanter, or take his chances in what they denominated a court martial. He determined to do neither, and thereupon, with the north star for his beacon, and the night for his leave-taking, commenced his long and wearisome march for the free States. What with frequent bewilderment in the woods, and more frequent dodging and retreating to escape vigilance committees, Mr. Mathews thinks he must have travelled fully eight hundred miles before reaching an atmosphere where he could safely say that he was born on this side of Mason and Dixon. At Archidelphia, Arkansas, he was tried for the offence of travelling northward, and after escaping from the majority of the jury, by means of a tax receipt and a favorable notice in a Texan paper, he was taken in hand by the minority, and threatened with hanging in true Arkansas style. He managed to elude them in the night, and secrete himself in one of the mountain-ranges north of that place. A short time previous to his escape, three persons, hunting for cattle in the woods southwest of Archidelphia, were hung by a band of regulators, merely because in their terror they became confused, and were unable to give such an account of themselves as would be satisfactory to their captors. Trackless woods and swamps, deep rivers and heavy rains, continual arrests and persecutions, were his portion during the whole of the journey, until he reached the Missouri line.

In many parts of Arkansas, Mr. Mathews found Union men, and in some places (Batesville, for instance,) they were in the majority. These persons lived in perpetual terror, and were longing for nothing so much as a sight of a column of Federal troops to reinstate the supremacy of the laws.

The price of corn in that part of Texas where Mr. Mathews lived, was between three and four dollars per bushel, and all their supplies came from New Orleans by way of Shreveport. Among the poorer classes, there was great suffering for the necessaries of life, and he believes that in spite of all that is being done to increase the production of grain at the South, the blockade at Cairo will starve out the rebellion.

Is there a reign of terror at the South? Apply to Mr. Mathews for an answer, and read it in his wan features, his swollen feet, his crippled limbs, his dilapidated clothing, and his shattered health."

A letter from Mr. Mathews to his brother in this city adds:—

"My body is covered with the most distressing sores, caused by the bites of poisonous insects, the wounds enlarged and irritated by being obliged to wear and sleep in clothing saturated with perspiration, rain and swamp water; but they are now commencing to heal. Mr. Medill (editor of the Chicago *Tribune*) kindly furnished me with means for the present. . . . When Alabama seceded, I was obliged to join the rebel ranks or be very heavily fined. So I immediately left, and went to Texas to stay until spring. A. E. MATHEWS."

The Washington *Star* gives the following account of outrages upon loyal men in Prince William Co., Virginia:—

"Citizens of the lower part of Prince William county are hourly making their way to Alexandria, some by boat and others on foot, to escape seizure, and God knows what afterwards, at the hands of the secessionist companies. Bands and gangs of them are scouring the country with lists of its voters against the ordinance of secession in hand, seizing and hurrying off towards Manassas Junction such of the supporters of the Union as they are able to catch. Among those residing between Occoquan and Dumfries, whom they have taken and carried off, are George Williams, John Hutchinson, William Maddox and Edward Bond.

Samuel Harrison, William Upton, Isaac Redmond, John Upton, Wesley Bland, William Harrison, Frank Gray and Robert Burch have, among others, been run off by them. Most of those last named escaped in one boat, their pursuers being so near at hand as that, ere they got out of their reach, they (the secessionists) fired some fifty shots after them, which were returned with seventeen shots in all—two or three of them being from a large ducking gun loaded with heavy shot, that made them scamper off, finally.

Such a reign of terror as the proceedings of these terrorists have inaugurated in Prince William, was never before seen in Virginia. Their object is, doubtless, to compel the Unionists to take up arms against the United States. They are mostly very poor, but, nevertheless, very patriotic men; and all of them that have escaped the clutches of their pursuers, swear vengeance against them. Their families, left behind, are utterly penniless, and unprovided with the commonest necessaries of life."

A young man who has reached Cairo, after a perilous flight from Memphis, where he was imprisoned, and daily expected to be hung for the crime of being a Northerner, tells the following, among other incidents:—

"About one week after his confinement, the Recorder of the city, I. M. Dickenson, sent for him, for the purpose, as he stated, 'of expressing his profound regret that it was not in his power to hang him.' And from his seat in court he denounced him as 'a damned abolitionist, who should not be allowed to live an hour. Had I the power,' said the learned jurist, 'I would cut your ears off, and nail you to the door of my court-room, and probably I shall have the pleasure yet.' This is the man who has just been elected Justice of the fifth civil district of Memphis, one of the most important offices in the city."

He describes some of the outrages inflicted on Unionists in the following words:—

"These indignities were of daily occurrences, and to some they went further, and indulged every species of cruelty—shaving the head and whipping being regarded as a slight punishment by any one who desired to remove North. Nor is this all. In more than fifty instances, during my confinement, men were taken before the Vigilance Committee, and no one knows what became of them. They never came from that building alive; and there are now more than that number confined there, of whom their friends will never hear again. Their acts are all secret, and there is no concern felt for men charged with being tinctured with abolitionism, so that no one cares; and thus they go on in their wholesale murdering with impunity."

A German, named Haywood, was tarred and cottoned in New Orleans, a few days since, for having joined several military companies, and then refusing to accompany any to the seat of war.

There is no end to the category of Southern outrages and atrocities of every kind.

ILLINOIS ABOLITIONISTS ARRESTED.

We learn that two men were arrested at Chappel Hill, on Monday, who were Abolitionists, and who said they were from Illinois. They were sent here as secret agents for the purpose of finding out whether the "strong Union party" of which the Lincolnites have heard so much, as still existing in Texas, was really so. They were detected conversing with a negro woman, by a gentleman, who, after they had left, questioned her regarding the conversation, when she told him that they were trying to induce her to leave her master, and go to the North. They were arrested, but vigorously denied the charge of being Abolitionists, and ever holding any conversation with the negro. Their trunks were searched, however, and, lo what a sight! They were filled with "Helper's Impending Crisis"!

Seeing it useless to make any further denial of their true character, they made a clean breast of it, and acknowledged the facts as above stated. They were asked if they had met any Union men in their travels through Texas, to which they answered in the negative—said they had been considerably disappointed. Their object was to get up a rebellion among the slaves. They were escorted to the woods, but we do not know what became of them, though we more than suspect that the Helper doctrine, in their case, at least, has reached "its crisis."—*Hemstead (Texas) Courier, June 26th.*

EXCITING SCENE AT FLUSHING.

The celebration of the Fourth of July at Flushing—a beautiful suburb of New York—gave rise to an unusual and exciting scene. An immense concourse of people assembled in a grove to listen to an oration by Theodore Tilton. The chairman was John H. Lawrence, well known as a prominent Democrat and Bank President in this city. On taking the chair, he made a brief address, preliminary to introducing the orator of the day, in which he went out of his way to utter an invective against men professing anti-slavery opinions; mentioning, with manifest bitterness, a class of persons whom he stigmatized as "misguided abolitionists, fanatics, and agitators."

Mr. Tilton, apparently taking no notice of the gratuitous discourtesy, not to say insult, which had thus been cast upon him in the face of several thousand people, (to whom his anti-slavery opinions must have been well known,) proceeded for a full hour's length in a discussion of various aspects of the present condition of public affairs, when, suddenly turning toward Mr. Lawrence, he said—"I feel bound, in good conscience, before I sit down, to pick up the gauntlet of criticism which you threw at my feet, at the beginning of the hour;" and, immediately quoting Mr. L.'s abuse of the Abolitionists, added—"The shadow which you thus launched from your high chairman's seat upon those men, dropped midway upon *me!* I stand at this moment covered and darkened with it, not only in your presence, but by your hand. And yet, sir, I accepted not unkindly the severest word you spoke, for you honored me only too highly by the unexpected compliment of such reproach. I know of no nobler work for any man, not even, sir, for such a man as you—certainly not for such a man as I—than to give one's hand and heart, and brain to the cause of the poor, the down-trodden and the oppressed. Nor, sir, can you point me, even with your own finger, to any nobler fame in history than that of a man like Wilberforce, who "went up to Heaven bearing 800,000 broken fetters in his hands." So far as your words were a censure only upon *me*, I have forgotten them already; they vanished away like the breath with which they were uttered; but so far as those words brought obloquy upon many better men than I—men of true hearts, of pure lives, of noble aims—men of genius, of learning, of eloquence—nay, sir, men of whom the world is not worthy—I can only say, in reply, Would to God that by taking to myself a share of their reproach, I might win to myself a share of their honor! Tell me, sir, have you ever heard of the legend of St. Humbert? After the good saint had been buried a hundred years, his coffin was opened, and a branch of laurel, that had lain in burial with him all the century, was taken from his ashes in perfect green, unfaded as if newly plucked, fresh as if wet with morning dew! Perhaps, sir, when these men, whom you seek to load with dishonor, shall come to their graves to be buried, their laurels will, in like manner, be buried with them; but I believe the hand of Impartial History, before the end of a hundred years, will reach down gently into their graves, and lift their laurels into resurrection, to bloom green and perennial before all the world!"

At these words, the entire audience rose to their feet, and shouted with spontaneous applause. The chairman also sprang to his feet, and exclaimed—"Since the gentleman has avowed himself an Abolitionist, I must leave the chair"—and immediately quitted it, retiring at once from the platform.

Mr. Tilton said to the audience, "I charge you, good people, to remember, for my sake, that your chairman was exiled from this platform by no word from my lips which ought to have fallen unkindly upon his ear." The applause which followed this statement assured the speaker that he had gained what the chairman had lost, the sympathy of the entire multitude.

But, just at this moment, another episode occurred, which kindled the general feeling into still greater and almost indescribable enthusiasm. Sitting in a carriage near the platform, with his family, was the Hon. Luther C. Carter, ex-member of Congress—a venerable, white-haired man—who, as the audience had thus been deserted by their chairman, stepped gracefully down from his carriage, ascended the steps of the platform, and took his seat in the vacant chair! The outburst of applause at this bit of gallantry was thrilling. The orator, turning to the new presiding officer, bowed and remarked—"I need not say, sir, how I thank you for bringing your gray hairs to lend honor to a young man. I remember how it is written, 'A hoary head is a crown of glory!'" Amid a storm of applauding voices the speaker then turned again toward the audience—the entire multitude of whom were still standing—and seeing that the highest possible climax of the occasion had been reached, drew his oration immediately to a close, adding only a few words prophetic of the reign of universal freedom, and took his seat amid prolonged cheers.—*Anti-Slavery Standard.*

CAN THE REBELS EVER AGAIN BE TRUSTED?

Under this head, the *Atlantic Monthly* for July very sensibly remarks as to the absurdity of again trusting the treacherous and rebellious South:—

"Take the seceded States upon their own showing, and it is absurd to suppose that they can ever resume their former standing in the nation. Are there any stronger oaths than their generals have broken, any closer ties to honesty than their financiers have spurned, any deeds more damning than their legislatures have voted thanks for? No one supposes that the individual traitors can be restored to confidence, that Twiggs can redye his reputation, or any deep sea-soundings fish up Maury's drowned honor. But the influence of the States is gone with that of their representatives. They may worship the graven image of President Lincoln in Mobile; they may do homage to the ample stuffed regimentals of Gen. Butler in Charleston; but it will not make the nation forget. Could their whole delegation resume its seat in Congress to-morrow, with the three-fifths representation intact, it would not help them. Can we ever trust them to build a ship or construct a rifle again? No time, no formal act, can restore the past relations, so long as slavery shall live. It is easy for the Executive to pardon some convict from the penitentiary; but who can pardon him out of this sterner prison of public distrust which closes its disembodied walls around him, moves with his motions, and never suffers him to walk unconscious of it again? Henceforth, he dwells as under the shadow of swords, and holds intercourse with man only by courtesy, not confidence. And so will they."

HOW THINGS ARE DONE IN GEORGIA AMONG THE NEGROES.

The following is an extract of a business letter lately received in New York city:—

"We are all for the war here, and when the North *subjugates* the South, there will be none left living; our women will fight; all we are sorry for is that your folks don't come along, and give us a chance at them. We will show them that we all have *sand* in our gizzards. I will make out a list of blanks, &c., and send you so soon as I have time. I expect to leave in a few days for Virginia. I take with me three of my negro men, who will die by me. We are raising two regiments of negroes to act as guerrillas in Virginia, and Lincoln's tribe had best keep a good look out, for they swear vengeance against him and his crew; they say Lincoln can't fool them. We hung seven men in this place a few days since, and there are several more to hang. Traitors had better keep away."

Judging from the number of niggers that are daily escaping in Virginia to the United States encampments and to Pennsylvania, Virginia can't be a very eligible State just now to take Georgia niggers to. The two nigger regiments that the Georgia man talks of might take up a quickstep march without waiting for the music, and not halt when ordered.

"We hung seven men in this place a few days since, and there are several more to hang," says the Georgia letter writer. These summary hangings are going on daily throughout all of the seceding States. Men are hung without judge or jury, and with as little ceremony as if they were nothing but so many "blind puppies, fifteen to the litter." And such papers as the Louisville *Courier*, while looking upon these atrocities with complacency and satisfaction, shriek aloud that the laws are outraged and the Constitution subverted, if the officers of the Government presume to enter the house of a notorious Virginia traitor and spy without knocking, and take possession of the written evidences of his treason.—*Louisville Journal.*

The Liberator.

No Union with Slaveholders!

BOSTON, FRIDAY, JULY 19, 1861.

DOES THE CONSTITUTION PROVIDE FOR SECESSION?

On the 22d of January, 1833, Mr. Calhoun submitted a series of resolutions to the Senate of the United States, in which he denied that "the people of these United States, taken collectively as individuals, are now, or ever have been, united on the principle of the social compact, and, as such, are now formed into one nation or people, or that they have ever been so united in any one stage of their political existence," asserting that the Union, of which the "constitutional compact is the bond," is "a union *between the States* ratifying the same."

On the 16th of February, Mr. Calhoun spoke in defence of his resolutions, and was replied to by Mr. Webster, not only in accordance with historical verity, but in a manner so masterly and overwhelming as to carry popular enthusiasm to its utmost height.

The object of Mr. Calhoun, in urging his disorganizing doctrine, was Slave Sovereignty under the guise of State Sovereignty. It was not the democratic but the oligarchic principle that he had in view, though he affected to fear the establishment of a consolidated government at Washington as the result of the postulate, that the Union was of the people, by the people, and for the people, and therefore designed to endure to the latest generation.

What are the motives and aims of the Southern Secessionists, in the course they are pursuing, no intelligent person doubts. They seek the extension and perpetuity of chattel slavery on an illimitable scale, and, consequently, the overthrow of all free institutions. The perfidy of which they have been guilty—the numberless outrages they have perpetrated—the enormous thefts and robberies they have committed, without even a blush—these are ineffaceably recorded upon the page of history, and indicate a thoroughly demoralized state of society.

Strange—almost incredible to say, there are some at the North, even in the Anti-Slavery ranks, who, while condemning much that the Secessionists have done, insist upon the right of secession, *ad libitum*, on the part of any and every State! They claim that this is one of those inalienable rights which are set forth as self-evident in the Declaration of Independence, and for the vindication of which its signers pledged their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor!

It seems to us that nothing can be more fallacious than such reasoning; nothing more unjust to the memories of those who framed, and the people who adopted, the existing national government.

Let us turn to the Declaration, and see what ideas they expressed on the subject.

(1) "All men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

(2) "To secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed."

(3) "Whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness."

So far, all who reject the despotic principle are agreed.

Let us next turn to the Constitution of the United States. By whom was it (in popular language) ordained and established? By "the people of the United States"—by one people, not by many—thus absorbing all sectionalism, and providing for no separation. Disclaiming infallibility, they made provision for the amendment of the Constitution, to any extent—at the same time, decreeing it to be the supreme law of the land, any thing in any State Constitution or laws to the contrary notwithstanding.

Whether, therefore, the Secessionists of the South make their appeal to the Constitution or to the Declaration of Independence, they find no warrant for their course, but, on the contrary, the strongest condemnation; for they have no wrongs to show or redress. Every act of theirs has been steeped in villany, and an indignant world will condemn them to everlasting infamy.

"But who are you," it may be retorted upon us, "who are stoutly denying the right of the South to secede from the Union, and yet, for the last twenty years, have been advocating a dissolution of the Union on the part of the North?—branding the Constitution as 'a covenant with death, and an agreement with hell'!" Our reply is, that the issue we make is a moral one, and based upon eternal justice and the law of the living God; and thus the ground upon which we stand cannot be shaken. For whether the Constitution be of the people, or a compact between the States, its pro-slavery guaranties are inhuman and iniquitous, involving the North in all the guilt of the slave system, and ought to be trampled upon with holy indignation, no matter where such a step may lead, or by what name it may be designated. The highest obedience is due to God; and whatever stands in the way of this is to be met as was the decree of Nebuchadnezzar the king, in regard to his image of gold, by Shadrach, Meschach, and Abed-nego; as was the decree of Darius by Daniel, "that every man that shall ask a petition of any god or man within thirty days, save of the king, shall be cast into the den of lions"; as was the command of Annas the high priest, and his associates, that Peter and John should "not speak at all, nor teach in the name of Jesus," by those intrepid apostles. Abolition Disunionism is, in spirit and purpose, the exact opposite of Southern Secession—being neither wrong in principle nor perfidious in action, but such as fidelity to the "Higher Law" has called for in all ages of the world against organized unrighteousness. We have counselled no appeal to arms; no seizure of the national property; no overthrow of the existing order of things by a bloody revolution; but only a peaceful repudiation of the "covenant with death," because of its inherent immorality.

Now, then, when the Southern Secessionists can show that they have revolted against the national government on the ground of defending their inalienable rights, "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," against a long train of abuses and intolerable oppression, then may they triumphantly appeal to the Declaration of Independence for their defence; or when they can show that they are resisting what they conscientiously believe to be an immoral compact, in the spirit of religious consecration to the God of justice, then—and not till then—may they, and their apologists, claim to find their justification in the ground taken by the American Abolitionists of "No Union with Slaveholders!"

☞ Clarence Butler, Esq., who was recently tarred and feathered at Bastrop, Texas, because he refused to join the ranks of the rebel Secessionists, and narrowly escaped hanging,—the rope having been adjusted round his neck for that purpose,—will deliver two lectures in Allston Hall, in Boston, on Sunday morning and evening next, in which he will trace the history of the Secession Conspiracy through the past six years, and give extended descriptions of Southern life, manners, &c. He is an earnest speaker, a gentleman of education and culture, and a native of England. He will doubtless attract full assemblies.

☞ On Wednesday last was Commencement Day at Cambridge. The exercises throughout were of a very interesting character, and the graduating class acquitted themselves most creditably. The honorary degree of LLD. was conferred upon Gen. Winfield Scott and Gov. John A. Andrew—the announcement being received by the audience with great cheering. The prospects of Harvard are unusually bright.

ENERGETIC THOROUGHNESS vs. COMPROMISE.

After repeated and important successes of the U. S. troops against the rebels in Virginia, the latter, with an impudence not to be paralleled outside the ranks of slavery, sent a flag of truce, asking an armistice of ten days, *in which to make up their minds whether to fight or retreat!* The reply of Gen. Patterson was—"Not a day!"

Whenever negotiation succeeds warfare, in this struggle between the government and the traitors, propositions as absurd and as impudent as the above will be made in behalf of slavery. Oh, that they might meet a negative answer as prompt and decisive as General Patterson's!

The Slave Power loses nothing for want of trying. It steals, without ceremony, what it can lay its hands on. Of things beyond the reach of plunder, it demands, regardless of any limitations of justice. And, when placed in a position which precludes demand, it asks, but asks an amount utterly and preposterously beyond reason. We need Senators, and Representatives, and Cabinet officers, who shall meet each of these, in turn, with the promptness of denial shown by General Patterson. To every deed, word, proposition, or insinuation, coming from the rebels or their sympathizers, urging that, after the war is over, *its cause* be suffered to remain, we ought to hear the instantaneous response, from every person having power in any department of the government—Not a State, not a Territory, of those which have been plundering and outraging the United States, shall again be allowed, standing under our banner, to practise Oligarchy under the guise of Republicanism! Not a fibre of the poisonous root from which this outrageous rebellion has grown must remain to prepare a new growth of corruption and disorder for our children! Since those States (impoverished by their adherence to slavery even before the beginning of the war) *cannot* give indemnity for the past, let them, at the very least, give *security for the future* by the utter abolition of slavery, each throughout its own boundaries, before again being admitted to the exercise of their forfeited privileges!

In former years, we were pleased, as a child with a rattle, by the sound of that euphonious sentence of the United States Constitution which declares—"The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States." A sad experience has taught us that this ambiguous sentence is the defence, not of freedom, but of slavery! That its actual operation, to the citizen of Massachusetts, has been, that if he sends a ship to Charleston or Savannah, he shall be entitled to the privilege of having his colored seaman or steward seized and thrust into jail without pretence of crime, and be further entitled to the immunity of losing his labor and paying his jail-fees! Or that, if he himself travels to either of those cities, he may be entitled to the privilege and immunity of *not* getting his *Liberator* or his *Tribune* through the post-office! of *not* lending his copy of Helper's Impending Crisis to the friend whom he judges to be most in need of it! and of *not* practising the most obvious duty of humanity in aid of a suffering brother who asks it of him! It is time that this 1st paragraph of the 2d section of the 3d Article of the Constitution should be made clearly to say, and incontrovertibly to mean, that no right, or immunity, or privilege, belonging to humanity, justice or righteousness, and thus *justly* enjoyed in a man's own State, shall be withheld from him in any other! It is time that the man who prizes freedom for himself, and wishes it extended to others, should be able to act in conformity with those beneficent ideas in every portion of the country that he calls *his* country! And it is time that the skill of lawyers and Congressmen should be used to maintain and enlarge *this* liberty, rather than that mis-named liberty which claims the right to enslave.

President Lincoln, in defence of right and justice, stretched his newly acquired power a little beyond its technical limits. That part of the nation which still remains loyal honors him therefor, and Congress hastens to confirm his acts and approve his boldness. If Governor Andrew had shown equal zeal when freedom of speech was trodden down in Boston at the commencement of his term of office—if, on the right side, he had ventured to "take the responsibility" to half the extent that others are constantly taking it on the wrong side—or if, when debarred by technicalities from giving his "protection" to the right, he had manfully stepped forward to give it his "countenance"—he would have entitled himself, far more than now, to the honor and reverence of posterity. But the crisis of the struggle for freedom is yet to come; every official servant of the public will yet have the power greatly to help, or greatly to hinder, the success of the right; and every lover of liberty should watch the movements of those public servants, seeking to provide, first, that freedom and justice receive no detriment, and next, that when these shall be victorious, the guardianship of them be not again committed to hands already found unfaithful.—C. K. W.

THOUGHTS ON THE STATE OF THE TIMES.

Worcester, July 11, 1861.

I sometimes wish there were no such thing as logic. It has been the source of endless wranglings in the world, of dissensions, and implacable hatred throughout Christendom, without ever settling a principle for either. Never did I attempt an argument upon any subject that one of apparently equal force did not rise up on the other side, leaving me to retire in confusion confounded, were it not for the decision previously made by my moral sense. This will doubtless prove true of the world in general, and explains why the masses, who can readily perceive a truth, fail to sustain it on its merits alone.

Take the question of war, for example. The instincts of the whole civilized world, from Wm. Lloyd Garrison to Gen. Scott, condemn it as an unnatural and barbarous institution. The only difference between them is, that one makes this moral instinct the supreme controlling power, while the other loses sight of it in the various subtleties and perplexities the intellect suggests. So of slavery. The characteristic feature of the Abolitionists, which distinguishes them from all other bodies is, that it subjects every man and institution, whether civil or ecclesiastical, to this simple test: Is slavery right, or is it wrong?

No matter how many arguments we may adduce to show that the path backward to hell through secession lies by the same route as the way forward to heaven through disunion, we cannot get rid of the simple fact, that one means freedom, and the other slavery; and every force brought to bear upon either cannot detract from the virtue of the one or diminish the guilt of the other. I cannot see a particle of analogy between them. Starting from a moral stand-point, it is impossible. Truth acts and suffers; it does not usurp and resort to arms. The theory of Disunion I suppose to be, either to avail itself of that loop-hole of the law which absolves one party from the obligations of a compact when the other violates it; or, by meeting in convention, to assert, according to the principles embodied in the Declaration of Independence, that this government had failed of the end for which it was instituted. It never proposed first to plunder the government, then to rebel against it, and finally insult it by sending commissioners to Washington, after it had forfeited every claim of honor and respect.

Waiving here all discussion of the coercive policy, it is self-evident to everybody, that whatever the South may have said or done, she never meant to secede. It was only a pretext, under cover of which she was aiming at the control of the whole nation, to plant the Palmetto on Bunker Hill, and compel every Northern freeman to fall down and cry out, Great is Slavery, god of the South! In the face of the circumstances, whatever may be our own individual opinions, if Abraham Lincoln had done other than he has, he would have received, as he would have deserved, the execration of mankind for being himself a traitor to the government as well as an enemy to liberty.

Logic is an indispensable element, a sublime function of the human intellect, when confined to its appropriate sphere; a subordinate to the moral perceptions, instead of being suffered to lead them, and does not make us forget the essence in the eagerness to carry out details. Events speak louder than words. We had a right to look to Henry Ward Beecher as the savior of Orthodoxy. His noble impulses, generous sympathies, and the little value he attached to creeds, seemed to point him out as one who would rescue oppressed humanity every where from the tyranny of sect or party, when, lo! a Dr. Cheever, representing the core of the Orthodox Church, without a particle of radicalism in his nature, rises to heaven on the wings of impartial justice as he applies his doctrine of salvation and damnation to slaveholders in common with other sinners, leaving Beecher to grope his way as best he can out of the deplorable labyrinth in which he seeks to atone for suppressing slave insurrections by refusing to serve as "nigger-catcher," if they should chance to get away.

The people meant no good to freedom when they dropped Seward for Lincoln, but the act may prove the salvation of the nation. The world sometimes blunders into a truth, and it is better to accept it with thanksgiving than to condemn it because it was not done intentionally and symmetrically.

I cannot see the justice, policy, or propriety of Mr. Foster, in improving the opportunity, every time we hold an anti-slavery meeting, to call Lincoln a slave-catcher. The circumstances that justified it six months ago do not now exist. We never supposed he would act in that capacity from the mere love of the thing, but because he supposed his obligations to the Constitution were greater than his obligations to God. He was elected President of the United States, pledged to execute the Fugitive Slave Law, and he lost no opportunity to make assurance doubly sure on that point. But he has never been President of the United States. The Republicans were not permitted this last grand halo with which they expected to encircle the closing act of the drama to circumvent the wisdom of the Almighty.

He is the executive only of the will of those States that acknowledge his sovereignty. It is true he talks about preserving the Union and securing to all the States the rights guaranteed by the Constitution, but that question has passed beyond his control, and a mightier than he is shaping his policy. He now represents the government, and that, in times of revolution, never represents the people. Circumstances have conspired to place him in a position never vouchsafed to his predecessors. The world is waiting with breathless interest to crown him with a greater wreath of laurels than ever graced the brow of Washington, the moment he shall lift four million chattels to the dignity of God's own freemen. If, as time rolls on, he shall be so blind to his own interest as to ignore this, "our withers are yet unwrung." But emancipation may come in a very different manner from what we think.

Convictions cannot be forced on any one, they must come naturally. It seems to me, Mr. Foster would adopt a much wiser method if he would hold meetings of his own, and summon the tens of thousands who, he says, believe with him; when, if they are in the right, they would very soon swallow us up. It is inconsistent for him, who long ago announced his intention to secede from us, to make us the mouth-piece of his own peculiar views.

I have heard a great deal of our commercial wealth, but was not aware we had such a surplus of moral wealth that we could afford to export any of it out of the country, until so informed by a motion to that effect in the *Liberator*. Nothing for Wendell Phillips to do here now?—then we'll set him up in Tremont Temple, a silent counteracting influence, so long as Joseph M. Wightman is Mayor of Boston.

Important as it is that the British masses should be kept right, it is far more important that our own masses should be kept where they ought to be. England will come round right, if we do our duty. If we take care of the slave, God will take care of us. Neglecting that, no power on earth can save us. It is a question of moral strength on our own soil. It would be well for us, as a nation, to pause before censuring her because she does not at once perceive the moral issues involved in the contest, when it took the cannon-shot of Fort Sumter to tear the bandages from our own eyes, and teach us that there is something higher than the cotton interest. S. E. W.

A MOVING SERMON.

FRAMINGHAM CENTRE.

Friend Garrison—Let me chronicle a little episode in my ministry, which took place at Framingham, the Sabbath previous to our glorious gathering on the 4th, in Harmony Grove, at the south part of this pleasant town. On the day mentioned, I consummated an exchange with Rev. S. D. Robbins, and occupied the Unitarian pulpit. In the morning, my theme was founded on Acts 26: 28—"The Christian character and claims." Every thing passed off pleasantly and acceptable.

At the afternoon service, matters somewhat changed.

I had made some preparation, with a few notes, to speak on the "Worth and extent of Christian liberty." My text was 2d Cor., 3: 17: "For where the spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty." I spent some twenty minutes in the consideration of our right, as Protestants, to worship God in the form, manner and name we pleased. This was general, and, of course, created no dissent. I then remarked that it was my purpose to discuss matters of a *national* bearing—the worth of liberty, applied to man as man, the wide world over. I took up the sad condition of our country—the civil war—and remarked that the flag, once ignominious to the lover of universal freedom, and which had been cast out by the South, was to be redeemed and made glorious in waving over four million slaves. At this point, I noticed a movement in some of the pews, and heard the muttering of a voice. I had touched forbidden ground, and was unconsciously—for which fact I am glad—disturbing gentlemen of the Bell-Everett party. One of these rose, took his hat in great indignation, and made a stampede for the door. In his haste, he forgot to take the lady by his side; so he returned, and being a man of authority, he promptly bade her follow. Some eight or ten others followed the example of this "gentleman of property and standing." I then remarked that this, to me, was rather novel; that if I were preaching to an *evangelical* congregation, so called, I could better understand this. But I was addressing Unitarians, who professed to believe in the Fatherhood of God and brotherhood of man—people who, I trusted, revered the name of Channing, whose last labor on earth was a prayer for the suffering slave. Could they not bear an application of their own principles? But, however, I remarked, you have the same liberty to retire that I have to speak; hence, I wish that all who do not wish to hear me through will take this opportunity to leave. I waited a moment, and some two or three more left, and I continued and finished my discourse. I congratulated myself that I had preached, for once, a *moving* sermon, and that Framingham Centre, the stronghold of Hunkerism, dull and dead to Anti-Slavery, had been troubled in the right direction. So I thanked God, and took courage.

Wendell Phillips once said, that a good anti-slavery speech in Framingham would be to the churches there like an earthquake. From my experience, as here recorded, I think "One lesson of the hour," from the eloquent lips of Mr. Phillips, would make the remark of the Hibernian prove true, that "great was the earthquake, considering the size of the place."

But we will rejoice that we have a Mecca in that beautiful Grove, to which we repair so joyfully on each returning fourth of July. And when the year of jubilee to the slave comes, none, perhaps, will be more exultant than those who have ministered at the altar where Christ's little ones have been despised, and they could not, or dare not, rebuke the wrong.

> "God of the poor and friendless,
>   Shall this unequalled wrong,
> This agony be endless?
>   How long, oh Lord, how long!
> Shall man set on his brother
>   The iron heel of sin,
> The Holy Ghost to smother,
>   And crush the God within?" G. W. S.

DUTY OF ABOLITIONISTS.

Boston, July 12, 1861.

Dear Sir,—I am fresh from the reading of the soul-stirring speeches made by Mr. Phillips and yourself, at Harmony Grove, on the 4th inst. They have the true ring and spirit—they compass the whole question of the war, and the only rational object it can possibly effect. I write this in my capacity simply as a man and citizen, that I may, in short compass, convey to you the impression which your late meeting made on my mind; expressing the hope that the Society will adopt means to touch and quicken the public mind, at this momentous juncture, to a sense of grave responsibility for this crime of slavery, and, as Mr. Phillips says, in spite of parchments and red-tape, bring it up to a level where it can see, as by noon-day, the *cause* of our woes, to be coupled with a mighty determination to end the war, only by liberating the slave; or, at least, to make it a far-beginning of the end. If the Abolitionists can thus make themselves instrumental in doing something towards this much-desired end, we may hope to see the dawn of a brighter day, fraught with hope and blessing, not only to the slave, but to humanity.

To an impartial observer, the government looks beclouded, purposeless; it wants direction out of the great head and heart of the people. The real meaning of the people, as it lies half conscious, half-uttered, needs to be written in characters of fire over the dome of the capitol, that the "powers that be" may comprehend their mission. The Abolitionist knows his function. I have been satisfied, for some time, that the people must push the government hard, or blood and treasure will be spent in vain. Pray, circulate the documents! Would to God I had a pocket co-extensive with my wishes! How I should like to help you, by way of funds! But I am powerless, like many others these times, of all save sympathy.

One thing more, which it did my soul good to read in your speech, viz.: that emancipation means a great good to the white people of the South. I have never seen this thought so happily enunciated. It should be amplified, and made prominent in every possible way. Love, broad charity for *all*, should give the tone to all abolition speech, and Southern men will see, ere long, that the Northern Abolitionist is really his fastest friend.

I must tell you that a young man came in while I was reading this part of your speech. I seized the occasion to read it to him. It was evidently a new thought to him. I watched the expression of his face, as he attentively listened. An involuntary "Good!" crowned the conclusion of almost every sentence; and when I ended, he said with some surprise, "I want to know if Mr. Garrison talks in that fashion?" I soon found that what he knew of Abolitionists arose through the prejudiced channels everywhere around us. Let us take these young men by the hand, and kindly show them the truth which they have not been permitted to see. Hundreds of thousands, whose attention has been heretofore engrossed with other matters, only need to be met aright, in the present comparative leisure, to be made as marked objects of political grace as even the conservative Everett.

Excuse me for this scrawl. I felt that a word from one, belonging to the rank and file, might even be of use to yourself, by way of showing you that we are waiting for instruction. I have felt the pulse in my own limited circle. There is fire there. It only needs the abolition bellows to blow it into flame.

Yours, sincerely yours, F. J. W.

HAYTIEN EMIGRATION.

The writer knows no question so puzzling to Abolitionists, at this time, as the plan of Haytien emigration.

Except for a brief period of very angry and personal controversy in the *Anglo-African*, there has been little earnest discussion of the subject in the newspapers; and while the *Pine and Palm* presents earnestly the affirmative side of the argument, I have seen no able and candid statement of the negative.

I attach no importance to the flying reports as to the discontent of emigrants. As well as I can judge, the liberal promises of the Haytien Government have been thus far fulfilled, and the machinery of emigration has been remarkably well manged. The whole thing is in the hands of men who sincerely believe in it, not of speculators or politicians, and the experiment will be fairly tried. Will it result for good or evil? is the question.

On the one side, there is the advantage which may inure to the emigrants themselves;—the enlargement of mind to all the colored people from the opening of this new subject of interest and action (just as California has enlarged the horizon of all white Americans); and the grand idea of a powerful African nationality. These are good results which are possible, if not probable.

On the other hand, there are two bad results of the whole scheme which are *certainties*, and which may or may not outweigh all this good.

1. Wherever the emigration excitement goes, it is breaking up, root and branch, all the home-plans and ambitions of the best portion of our colored people,—transferring their aspirations to a different region, and making them regard their life here as merely a necessary evil, to be endured till they get to Hayti. It is thus sweeping off precisely those men and women who were before doing the most to win for their race an honorable position in this community. Now they have, almost instantaneously, given up all hope of that, and thus are helping to weaken and discourage all the rest.

2. In the same way, wherever the emigration project is talked of among whites, it is reviving the old Colonization theory of despair; men fall back on the notion that the prejudice of color is insuperable, and there must be a separation. Pro-slavery or anti-slavery, the same is the effect; and it is certainly very unfortunate. "After all, it is a failure—it is hopless; let us send them to Hayti."

And, be it observed, these bad results are out of all proportion to the actual *extent* of the emigration. It is the mere agitation of the subject, in any community, which does the mischief. Let one family go, and it seems to infect all the rest with the desire to go,—while the whites immediately begin to fancy that it would be very convenient to have them go.

I have always believed that the only way to conquer the prejudice against color was to recognize the actual fact, that the association is inevitable. When Frederick Douglass said of colonization, "We have considered that matter, and decided not to go," it was worth whole volumes of argument. "What can't be cured must be endured"; but the moment you open a new plan of cure, however fallacious, the endurance is apt to vanish. I admit that the emigration looks alluring, but the injury done is a certainty;—and suppose that the hope of good turns out a fallacy—what then?

T. W. H.

Worcester, July 14, 1861.

"The Lesson of St. Domingo." A very interesting historical communication may be found in another page from a Haytian gentleman of fine culture and polished manners—A. Tate, Capitaine de la Garde de S. E. le President d'Haiti—with reference to the bloody struggles between Liberty and Slavery in St. Domingo. Capt. Tate converses easily and fluently in English, as well as in French and Spanish, possesses admirable qualities of mind, and cannot fail to make his sojourn here highly serviceable to the cause of freedom and humanity.

THE CONTRABAND OF WAR DOCTRINE.

Wayland, July 6, 1861.

Dear Garrison,—I sent you sometime back an amended copy of an article, exposing in the first place the imposition practised upon the people by the suppostitious and absurd doctrine set up by Butler and half countenanced by the administration, touching contraband of war. On the part of the former, who is supremely selfish and totally depraved, and so, well prepared to aspire to the first place in such a Republic, it is a tub thrown to the whale, to divert from his *craft* the threshing and flouncing provoked by his inhuman, unmilitary and demagogical spread about lending the Massachusetts troops to cut the throats of our friends, and the enemies of our enemies in this war. On the part of the administration, it is a shuffling and discreditable expedient to stave off the only question of any real importance involved in this mighty and unexampled moral quaking. They do not indorse the doctrine; on the contrary, they give directions which imply repudiation of it, inasmuch as those directions are incompatible with the legal consequences of contraband of war; yet they intimate an approval of the *action* of their subordinate. On the other hand, other subordinates, at other posts and camps, are pursuing a course directly opposite, and soldiers, here and there, without question or reference to or from any quarter, are taking their own more rational, more legal and manly way.

There is no consistency, dignity, justice or decency in the conduct of any of the authorities on this vital subject. The aim of the article to which I have referred is to place it on a true, intelligible and broad foundation, just to the slave, just to the noble spirit of the people and the armies, and not ridiculous in the eyes of Europe. Instead of leaving it to the self-interest, the caprice, the prejudice, or the politics of the possible generals, colonels, captains and lieutenants that may turn up, I make it a matter of settled and universal law and unquestionable right, *under the rules of war*, on the part of the slave, and imperative duty, and indispensable legal obligation on ours.

It is not in respect to slaves only, but also to all the interests affected by the struggle, that the miserable humbug of contraband is working wrong and injury. It is applied with equal looseness and ignorance, or insidiousness and treachery, to trade and intercourse with the enemy. If it be understood that certain articles are contraband of war, it is equally understood that all others are not so, and that continued commerce with the enemy in them is lawful; whereas, by law, no commerce, intercourse, contract or correspondence with a public and national enemy is permitted. But for this shallow and bloody delusion, the traitors could not, in all probability, have kept a formidable army in the field for a single month. Why, the great West, through the Mississippi, and latterly through *neutral*, compromising, contemptible Kentucky, has been supplying the food and whisky, not only of the army, but of a very large portion of both masters and slaves (bating the whisky) for three months! Nothing can be more mad and demoralizing than this supplying strength and energy to traitors for cutting our throats!

Ever yours most truly, D. L. CHILD.

A PIRATICAL SEIZURE.

Newburyport, July 14, 1861.

Dear Friend—I suppose you have seen by the papers, the account of the capture of the schooner Enchantress, of this city. She was owned by Messrs. Benj. Davis, Atkinson Stanwood, John T. Page, E. Manson, E. M. Reed, R. Plumer, E. Evans, J. B. and W. J. Cresy. She was built on our river, of 160 tons burthen, and as good a vessel as ever sailed from this port. Captain Devereux, the commander, is a very capable man—one in whom the owners have entire confidence. She left Boston, bound to St. Jago, and when 150 miles south of Nantucket Shoals, while on his course, came in sight of what he supposed was a French brig, with French colors. From his appearance, Capt. D. supposed he was bound in to New York. As he came along very near to make inquiries, Capt. D. chalked on his quarter what he supposed this Frenchman wanted to ascertain—viz: the longitude. When near enough to throw a biscuit on board, up jumped some one hundred men—the "long-tom" was uncovered—ports were opened—and down came the French flag, and up went the Confederate! As the Enchantress was unarmed, and had a crew of only eight men and boys, what else could the captain do but submit to the one hundred, all armed, and ready for a fight? The E. was a clipper, and the fastest sailer in the States; and, with the least suspicion on the part of the Captain, could easily have sailed the piratical craft out of sight.

Well, what else can we expect? The new Southern Confederacy is founded on the doctrine, that one man has a right to own another; and that being conceded, I do not see that they are any worse for stealing schooners than for stealing men.

The worst thing of the whole is this:—They took the poor fellow who was cook, (a colored man,) and sent him, with two others they took from the other vessels, in the Enchantress, south—to sell into hopeless bondage.

I find nine-tenths of all the people are in favor of the government giving liberty to the bondman, in order to have this disturbing element of slavery settled. But we have a few here, who are with the South: they are descendants of traitors, who furnished the British with aid and comfort, and to day would aid the South to defeat the North, if they were not afraid of their heads. This conflict well never be settled unless we "proclaim liberty throughout all the land, to all the inhabitants thereof." If we can do that, it would be a good investment, in a money-point of view, if from no higher motive: for in ten years, the benefits of free labor would be so apparent, that all would rejoice. That day is coming. When the war began, I did not think it possible for the slave to be released; but as these rebels are so smart in their deviltry, government, in self-defence, may yet heed the voice, "Let my people go, that they may serve me."

Last Sunday, on board this piratical privateer, religious (!) services were held! The Episcopal service was read by the purser, who prayed that God would bless Jeff. Davis and the Southern Confederacy, and prosper them; and that Lincoln and the North might be brought to confusion and shame! Before night, they took a prize—vessel and cargo worth $63,000; and thought God had wonderfully prospered them!

I have increasing faith that our government will cut short its work in righteousness, and we shall yet be a free and happy people.

Yours, truly, LIBERTY.

☞ We regret to perceive that among the sufferers by this capture are our anti-slavery friends Plumer, Stanwood and Page. The same piratical craft that seized the Enchantress took some half a dozen other vessels the same day, and will doubtless imperil the safety of many others. Several vessels, armed for the purpose, have been promply sent out to capture her, if possible.

☞ The Boston Directory, for 1861, has been issued by Adams, Sampson & Co., with their usual punctuality and their usual accuracy. The size of this useful work has necessarily increased year by year, and it now forms an octavo of 700 pages, stuffed as full of valuable information as that space will allow. About 12,000 names have been erased from last year's record, and about 16,000 added; the number of other changes of all sorts in the volume amounts to over 10,000. The "Business Directory" gives a careful classification of arts, trades, professions and employments, showing you at a glance who keeps what things, and where; and to this is added a variety of valuable and interesting information respecting Boston institutions and "notions."

Adams, Sampson & Co. publish Directories of fourteen cities, and keep at their office, (91 Washington street,) all the Directories published in the United States. And they courteously invite all persons to call who are seeking information in their department.

Poetry.

MAIZE AND TOBACCO.

The Indian Corn looked over the fence,
And said to Jim Tobacco,
A full of Tobacco, just ready to burn,
And stretching in lonely pride.

To the broad-leaved neighbor at once he called,
In accents loud and clear,
"I thought you belonged to a summer class,
Pray, what are you doing here?"

So, then, with a haughty air, replied
That plant of power and pelf,
"You are pleased to ask of my business, sir—
What do you do yourself?"

"I feed the manhood and blood and bone
That make me sure strong,
And furnish food for the little ones
That round their table throng."

"I serve in a somewhat loftier sphere,"
The foreign guest rejoined,
"As the chosen friend and companion dear
Of men of wealth and mind.

"I'm the chief delight of the gay young spark;
Or the wise my sway I hold;
I lurk in the hand seven-shelved coffee-cup
In the dowager's box of gold.

"Thousands of hearts at my bidding work;
Millions of cares I raise."
He ceased to speak, and in angry mood
Responded the humbled Maize:

"You're in secret league with dyspeptic ills—
A merciless timber hook!
Thin slends of smoke you pollute the air,
With fumes of alms the land.

"You tax the needy laborer sore;
You quicken the drunkard's thirst;
You enhance the sin—and I wish you'd go
To the place whence you came at first."

THE YOUNG ARTIST.

He sat, his wary tresses folded back,
Where one slight lock of the sun's hot golden tint
Slept in the evening shadow, soft and brown.
Oh, where has wealth so rich an element
As those sil, silvery and graceful locks
That on her large ingenuously part,
Those brow and eyelids, whose clinging fringe of beauty mocks
The chosen tints and skillful touch of art!

The while she drew, her face flushed and wrought
Till, all unknown to him the lifting lashes
Her eyelids dripped with light, as if it were
Dissolving diamonds shed their tints there.
And as the wonderful work grew fair and fair
Still glazed about her mouth the summer smile,
As his own lipps, more further outlined shows
Deep in the domain of the ripe June rose.

But the best charm is still unsaid—among
The charming traits that she her beauty fang
Pure, morning glimmings of eternal truth,
Hallowing to God His lovely gift of youth.
And I, unknown, I, who this one day long
My spirit's pencil vitally would trace
Upon the canvas—I, my soul's sight
The mellow tinting and the shade refined.

And what a study!—as the spirit came
To the fair boy's features, all on fleam
With inspiration, not yet quite unsealed,
But in her frame to be all revealed;
Whose actual beauty has been fitted
The touch of Midas, which turned all to gold,
Was merely to make that hand may do,
If the young artist hoper her spirit true
The high-souled truth and virtue, that look down
With pure contempt upon the great world's frown;
Then will she know what triumphs act may win
When the grand element beauty dwells within—
When the ideal go real in lastest brightness,
Or the ideal beauty thought in clear, transparent
S. A. D.

MUSIC AT A DEATH-BED.

BY MISS M. BIRDIE.

"Sing to me, Alice!" The golden light
Over the hills is fading in night;
Days and weeks had the sufferer lain
Restless and wan on her couch of pain;
Just her breath on the chilling air,
Soft through the valleys the west wind blew,
And the purple crocus modely peep
Out from the lair little garden bed.

"Sing a little year agone,
Sang you the Alps and mount
The wood-doves shone in her cage hand,
Her looks were altered in the breeze blown;
Has heard the singing of the singing plane.
The brook flits today in its fairest white;
And 'tis the evergreen leaves hang
A wreath they wove last a year to-night!

"Sing to me, Alice!" A happy strain—
How they wove last parted years again!
They wait me there on the other shore,
The silent friends who have passed before,
I catch a phrase, through the rippling tide,
Of faces which Death no more shall pale.
"Sing to me, Alice!" A strange strain—
How all who have parted meet again!
Gently, before me the green wood spreads,
Crimson and gold the maple stands
Over the river to smiling and still,
Over the banks of the pine-covered hill,
Over the homes where they lost
Joyfull and fathers are waiting to greet,
All down the street, and the village way,
The golden lines of the sunset lay.

"Sing to me, Alice!" How sweet the strain
Rose on the air in the fall of pain,
Raising her heart from her broken youth,
From the beautiful dreams of love and truth,
To the blessed rest of the spirit clime,
Where none are the unchanging name of time—
Where sorrow, nor parting, nor tears are known,
And the fruit is reaped that in grief was sown.

"AT THE LAST."

"Man goeth forth unto his work, and to his labor, until the evening."—Ps. 104 : 23.

The stream is calmest when it nears the tide,
And flows as resolved at the eventide,
And finds in the calmness and the close of day,
And saints divinest when they pass away.

Morning is lovely, but a hollow charm
Lies in the fading of the evening rule of balm;
And weary man must ever have for best,
The morning sleep to toil, but night for rest.

She comes from Heaven, and on her wings doth bear
A holy fragrance, like the breath of prayer;
Footsteps of angels follow in her train,
To shut the weary eyes of Day in peace.

All things are hushed before her as she draws
Over earth and sky her mantle of repose;
There is a calm, a beauty, and a power,
That morning knows not, in the evening hour.

"Until the evening" we must toil and weep,
Plough life's stern furrow, dig the weedy soil;
Tread with our feet our rough and thorny way,
And bear the burn and burden of the day.

Oh! when our sun is setting may we glide,
Like summer evening, down the golden tide;
And hours labor over, as we pass away,
Sweet starry twilight round our sleeping clay!

LOST LOVE

The sun that shine in the crimson West,
And the stars in the heavens that burn,
And the smiles of the long-lost flowers of Spring,
Again shall to earth return:

But there's a light that from earth departs,
And a flower sweet shall in vain;
And a star of the life that sets in the heart,
Which never will rise again.

The Liberator.

SUMNER AND FREMONT.

There is an old piece of advice, frequently used to check the free, open-hearted utterances and disclosures of innocent childhood, that "the truth is not to be spoken at all times"; and it is too often the case that such counsel is given by those who are the unwilling victims of exposure in acts or things which are not exactly right or proper. Now, if we are to be perfect civil war or rebellion, we find editors and politicians, who, though professedly not in partnership in a great, able to put down rebellion, disavow any agreement with those who would strike boldly at the very foundation of our land, at the very time when we are in trouble for all time; who cannot deny that slavery is the primary and sole cause of our present difficulties, yet would ignore the truth to fight the mere rebel, but disdain to follow those who would combat both the rebel and the cause, and yet, forsooth, they are sure that if the Federal Government confiscates or sets free the slaves, the border slave States will be offended, and go over to the rebel cause. Now, we believe that who can doubt, that of those who sympathize with secession in their very hearts, some would be more, yet more expensive, the more bloody task to subdue wide-spread revolution; and the "peaceful neutrals" are first everybody promises to have taken their stand in a sheep's clothing—for, as the Federal army, from its fearful and heartbreaking retreated, gain in a long marching inactivity to have "neutral" States, those who were Union men before will be Union men now; those who were secessionists will be secessionists now. There certainly was a decided yea or nay in their hearts, and they will now act it out; as the Union men will continue to support the cause of the states, and the consequent prevention of our early happiness and deliverance, and postponing the portent if not ruin of peace, they should have been compelled to rebel themselves at the very start, instead of degrading sympathy by actually contributing to secret plots (many of whose details were already swelling with treason) to "Union men" to listen to plans of treasonable expression, when we had violated no law nor infringed upon any of their rights to compromise about; to listen to propositions to prostitute the Constitution by making it a clearly defined and expressed proslavery document; and finally, under a more superficial plea, actually to secede, be free into slave States.

If, then, the most reliable accounts, from persons who have been driven from the South, we learn that, as a whole, the people are most earnestly united in their cause, it is but most reasonable to believe that the slave-owners, above all others, are foremost in helping it on! Of the 400,000, would not at least 300,000, be slave-owners, and, if, by reason of going secessionists, willing to use or sacrifice every thing rather than to fail? "Thus, the Rebellion, and rebellion, and nothing else; a war waged entirely on their part to demolish free, republican institutions, which are entirely inconsistent with the "Divine" and true, which is despotism itself, and therefore cannot peacefully exist in the same government with free institutions which are Divine, and therefore cannot peacefully exist in the same government with slavery

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"Proclaim Liberty throughout all the land, to all the inhabitants thereof."

"I lay this down as the law of nations. I say that military authority takes, for the time, the place of all municipal institutions, and SLAVERY AMONG THE REST; and that, under that state of things, so far from its being true that the States where slavery exists have the exclusive management of the subject, not only the PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, but the COMMANDER OF THE ARMY, HAS POWER TO ORDER THE UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION OF THE SLAVES. . . . From the instant that the slaveholding States become the theatre of a war, CIVIL, servile, or foreign, from that instant the war powers of CONGRESS extend to interference with the institution of slavery, IN EVERY WAY IN WHICH IT CAN BE INTERFERED WITH, from a claim of indemnity for slaves taken or destroyed, to the cession of States, burdened with slavery, to a foreign power. . . . It is a war power. I say it is a war power; and when your country is actually in war, whether it be a war of invasion or a war of insurrection, Congress has power to carry on the war, and MUST CARRY IT ON, ACCORDING TO THE LAWS OF WAR; and by the laws of war, an invaded country has all its laws and municipal institutions swept by the board, and MARTIAL POWER TAKES THE PLACE OF THEM. When two hostile armies are set in martial array, the commanders of both armies have power to emancipate all the slaves in the invaded territory."—J. Q. ADAMS.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.

Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind.

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Refuge of Oppression.

THE EMANCIPATION LEAGUE.

The evening of to-day is to give us the address of Ex-Governor Boutwell upon "the justice, expediency, and necessity" of emancipating the colored laboring population of the South. Could the subject be looked at, free from the sophistications thrown around it by enthusiasts or interested demagogues, it would be at once seen that the project is one which, if successful, could only avail to free the slaves from labor, and at the same time from means of support. So wild and ruinous a scheme as this would, of course, receive no countenance from rational men, even could it be carried out. But all such men know that it is as much out of the question, as it would be to change the direction of the Alleghany chain from the East to the West of the Great Lakes. Earnest and benevolent, but unreflecting natures may indulge in such a dream, perhaps without any harm to the body-politic. But when wrought to frenzy, by constantly contemplating their object, and by vainly struggling against the obstacles to it, so that all their philanthropy is turned into gall and bitterness, then they do incalculable mischief to social peace and order in the community by which they are harbored, certainly without advancing their cause a hair's breadth. Whenever such a scheme is taken up by the demagogue and used for political purposes, then its real mischiefs become fully apparent, and the conflict is, as in this case, between their own selfishly ambitious purposes and the very organization and administration of the Government of the country. The object proposed by the "Emancipation League," to be expounded by Mr. Boutwell this evening, is in open opposition to the Constitution, and to the declared and loyal policy of the Administration, and is, in all respects, as hostile to the Union as Secession, in its most violent and relentless manifestation.

The doctrine to be enforced by Mr. Boutwell will undoubtedly be—indeed, it appears by the announcement of his subject—that slavery is the cause of the existing national struggle, and therefore slavery must be abolished, in order to bring the conflict to an end. But in fact slavery, it is plain, is not the cause, except so far as it has been forced into the arena by Mr. Boutwell and his confederates. For the period of more than half a century, under the Constitution, the question of slavery was no disturbing element in the affairs of the country, and offered no impediment to its progress and prosperity. It first began to be so when English emissaries (like Thompson, a member of Parliament,) and English money were employed here, to make Southern slavery the means of breaking down the manufactures of the North; and when Garrison and his followers in concert with them created a small faction, which still would have been utterly contemptible but for the fatal hour when the old Whig party was destroyed, by the coalition of its free soil members with the free soil Democracy, in which arrangement Mr. Boutwell himself played so conspicuous a part. This made him Governor of Massachusetts, and Mr. Sumner a Senator of Massachusetts in Congress; and the evil influence and evil example spread, until we are where we are. And to this object Mr. Boutwell has given himself ever since. But for him and others of like disposition, in the Peace Conference at Washington, in February last, who showed the most pertinacious resolution not only to do nothing for peace, but to prevent it, we need have had no war. But as their design was, as now, to push the quarrel against slavery to the utmost extremity, they could not consent to peace, which would have frustrated that object, and with it their own political hopes.

We have thus seen the convulsion of the country, the horrors, trials and sufferings of the dreary, anxious summer. We have seen how far and how gradually, step by step, all such purposes have been compelled to give way, in a political point of view, to the inexorable demands of the case. We have seen how, if the theory of Mr. Boutwell and his compatriots had been insisted on by the Government, the war must have been ended long ago by inevitable separation; and that the struggle and the Government have been sustained, because of the resistance to that theory by all men who seriously regarded the Constitution and loved the Union; and that to this class we owe every hope that we now have of restoring the government of the Union. And yet now, at this late and most inopportune moment, we have in Massachusetts a "League" secretly organized, to widen the breach; and Mr. Boutwell is at length to introduce and commend it to public favor, by showing "the justice, expediency, and necessity of Emancipation." The project is equally impudent, seditious and treasonable. It is unjust, because it violates the constitutional securities of half the people; inexpedient, because it conflicts with the conscientious convictions of more than half the rest; and because insuperable obstacles, both physical and moral, make it impossible in the nature of things; and thus, what is neither just nor expedient cannot be necessary, since nothing is necessary, which we cannot do, and which we ought not to attempt.

In one word, nothing could be more foolish, or more prejudicial to the cause of the country, than the mischievous scheme to be thus inaugurated under the auspices of Mr. Boutwell. Supposing there were any reasonable degree of unanimity in the North, in favor of emancipation, we could do nothing by attempting it, but instantly to give renewed strength to the South. We might thus lose every advantage we now have, and dissolve the Union beyond all hope of recall, and wake up to find, that instead of emancipation, we had made slavery altogether independent of our efforts and our influence, the "corner stone" of another nation, relentless, immovable and perpetual. But in the North there is no such unanimity. Three quarters of its people love the Union, and will, therefore, resist this flagitious scheme.

Some persons have expressed surprise that we should refuse to accept money to insert a notice of the meeting of to-night, and yet should make it still more known by deliberate comments upon it. But our object is to make it as widely known as we can, in its true character, in order to show the noxious character of the plan on foot. We will not aid to give anything of such evil omen the same legitimate currency in these columns which we would give to meetings for honest purposes. The President recently well characterized the Emancipation project as "a John Brown raid on a gigantic scale." In view of the gathering strength and confidence of the country, and of the lately declining hopes and cause of the South, the only serious obstacle to a final and not very far distant restoration of all things is the organized political abolition party, which designing and vicious men in Congress and in the country are endeavoring to interpose to prevent the settlement, and thus to destroy the Union. We have most reason to dread its evil influence in New England; and here every patriotic man must set his face against it, unless he is willing to see it spread and gain a power, which by and by will lead to still harsher experiences. We cannot keep away a certain crowd from such assemblies. But we can at least let them know that we understand them, and give them no direct or indirect countenance. Let the better sense of the community make them feel, that their schemes are looked upon as equally futile and wicked, and they will soon run out, as, in any event, they must in the end.—*Boston Courier.*

THE EMANCIPATION LEAGUE.

The Emancipation League is now in full blast. The furnace is heated ten times hotter than ever, and the whole pack of Anti-Slavery, Abolition devils are at work to make Bedlam appear lovely and inviting. The black spirits who have rebelled against Heaven, and who have been hurled down from their high estate, are busily engaged in their endeavors to decoy the innocent and unsuspecting into their emancipation net. Degradation loves to pull down society to its own level, and is found ready at all times to sneer at virtue, and to rebel against the established order of things. It seeks its own aggrandizement by the substitution of recklessness for sobriety, and in the pulling down of the pillars upon which the social fabric rests. They are the outcasts of society, and the vultures which prey upon a nation's vitals. They are incapable of building up, and can only destroy. It requires a skilful mechanic to plan and construct an edifice, but any ignorant dolt with a crowbar can level it to the ground. So with these miserable demagogues; they cannot construct; they can only destroy. They are not content to abide the will of the Almighty in his great plan of progress and gradual emancipation of mankind from darkness to light. They do not see that progress is a plant of slow growth. They do not see that their efforts tend to clog the wheels of true emancipation of the great mass of the people from despotism to civil and religious liberty. They do not see that the people throughout the world are struggling for constitutional liberty, and that constitutional liberty is in danger upon the American continent, in consequence of secession and emancipation dogmas. Already the nation is involved in civil war, and European governments are threatening us with their fleets and armies. The cities of Boston and New York, where these mischief makers are giving utterance to their treasonable sentiments, are in danger of becoming the abode of the enemies of the American Republic.

These agitators are the opponents of human freedom and of progress; they are the enemies of the slave, and are riveting their chains more firmly than before. They, as well as the disunionists at the South, are alike to be dreaded by the true friends of the Union and the Constitution. The people should turn upon them, and send them into retirement, before they have had time to accomplish their wicked purposes.—*Boston Herald.*

MR. SUMNER'S TRUE POSITION.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 11, 1861.

Prominent Senators and Representatives in Congress are asserting their right and duty to consider everything and to discuss everything, whether relating to war or to peace, to freedom or to slavery. The right is unquestionable, but the duty does not appear so plain. The Senator from Massachusetts, (Mr. Sumner,) whose catch-words are "patriotism," "honor," "bravery," "courage," and "nobility;" who denounces the principles of men in arms for the defence of the Government; while in sight and sound of the enemy's guns, he stands up in the Senate Chamber uttering his denunciations; who charges the foe in columns of brave words, put into leaden type, and worked off upon iron presses, while his old peers in the Senate charge upon the capital and country with iron bayonets and leaden bullets, and brass and iron cannon; who is fierce for more invective and more assaults upon all that for seventy years has made us one government and one people. Even in the burial services of the dead, he mingles his sectional hate and personal wrath.

Such a man will never consent to a peaceful reunion of the States, nor to an equal representation of all the States in the Federal Congress. He deeply wounds the self-sacrificing, loyal Union men of the border States and far South; in every breath he utters, and in every speech he makes, he sets back upon the clock of advancing time the hour-hand of Peace. His presence in the Senate Chamber is a signal of protracted war, renewed sectional hate and offensive intermeddling. Rude in manners and coarse in ideas, there is nothing even in his refined language or classic illustrations to compensate for his rancorous and malignant thoughts. O that Massachusetts, so many years honored by the presence of her Webster in the Senate House of the country, whose history was founded upon the ideas of John Adams and James Otis, whose battles were fought by her Warrens, should be thus maligned by one who, in the words of one of her own sons—"having neither the wisdom of Ulysses for the council, nor the courage of Achilles for the battle, with the gray hairs of Nestor, is perpetually playing the part of the snarling Thirsites."

If Massachusetts were to-day represented in the spirit of her early Revolutionary men, or in the spirit in which so many thousands of her sons have rushed to the defence of the country, Mr. Sumner, as a long-standing enemy of the Constitution and the Union, would be sent back to Boston, and there sandwiched between Slidell and Mason, within the casements of Fort Warren. These three men are each old acquaintances here, and each old enemies of the Government, the Union and the Constitution; and the only difference between the extremes is, that the Senator from Boston remains in council here to fight the Government, and men and institutions belonging to it, from its foundation, while the others fled from its service to render more available aid to those in arms against it. It is at worst a successful sentiment of treason, in the one case, where the guilty party is rewarded for his offence from the public treasury, and the bolder act of open treason, in the other case, for which the offender is justly arrested and imprisoned.

If it be really treason "to give aid and comfort to the enemy," there are but few worse enemies of constitutional liberty between Boston Bay and the Gulf of Mexico, than Charles Sumner of Massachusetts. These are unpleasant words to write from the Capitol of the country in a time of civil war; but when the Government is struggling for its very existence, and is assailed by a whole confederacy of domestic enemies, and by so many sympathizers from abroad,—when unity of purpose and action is absolutely necessary for a successful victory of our arms, they are demanded; while all loyal men will fight for the Government and for the Constitution, under the flag of the country, none, who are faithful to all these, will raise any other standard. Negro Emancipation at the South—except as a purely war measure against rebellion—and the principles of Abolition at the North, where there are no slaves, form no part of a legitimate warfare for the restoration of the Union.—*Editorial correspondence N. Y. Express.*

Selections.

THE SHIP OF STATE BOUND FOR TARSHISH.

Extract from a Sermon, preached in the First Congregational Church in Sandwich, (Mass.) Nov. 21, 1861, by Rev. Henry Kimball. Text—Jonah, i. 7, 11—15.

Who is the Jonah that testifies to us of himself, "I know that for my sake this great tempest is upon you"? *Is* it Abolitionism? I know this is the accredited cause of all the mishaps and national calamities of thirty years' standing. But what is its sin? Is it wicked to be an *Abolitionist?* What is there in this hated term which should make it a reproach to bear it? What is Webster's definition for this hideous monster? He tells us that an Abolitionist is "one who favors the immediate emancipation of slaves." This is his crime: loving his neighbor as himself. For who is there who would not favor his *own immediate* and *instantaneous* emancipation? For loving his neighbor's liberty as *well* as he does his own, he is hated of all men, and the target for the infuriated mob, and is to be held answerable for all the blood shed upon the "sacred soil," as well as all the carnage and expectant woes of this age and nation. This, then, is the poor Jonah who has fled from the presence of the Lord. Is cowardice a peculiarity of Abolitionism? Yet, was not Jonah a moral coward, who dared not preach to Nineveh its sins, and warn of judgments? Are Abolitionists peculiarly notorious for their unwillingness to speak out? When did Abolitionists ever take ship for Tarshish? Yes, for this sin of loving a hated race; for unwillingness to keep still while the whip is lifted over four millions of human beings in this land of liberty; because they cannot so stifle conscience and imbrute their nature as to call such an institution divine, patriarchal, biblical, Christian, apostolic and humane, all the calamities of this war are to be visited upon them! Fling overboard all those who entertain ideas hostile to slavery, and where would you find Christian sailors to man the ship of State? Abolitionism, and humanity, and Christianity, and love for a world perishing, are so linked together, that if one goes overboard, all must follow. As the leader of a sheep-fold, going over London bridge, for fright leaps into the Thames, and all the flock follow him, so do all the organized forces follow, as of one flock, the leading force of Christianity, its humanity. Christianity, deprived of its philanthropy, is a shell without the kernel—a corpse. So, then, we cast lots, and we cannot spare the one who is a friend to *all* men.

It is plain to any one, that the guilty Jonah in the hold of the vessel must be that trembling culprit which confesses, yea, boasts now before all the world, its power to raise and rule unto ruin the storm which is now raging. What is that power which has made and unmade Presidents ever since we of the free North basely compacted in the National Convention for the formation of our inglorious Constitution, to catch and deliver up to life-long bondage the blood-tracked victim at bay by Southern bloodhounds? Who have been our masters for all time within the recollection of any soul here? What has divided presbyteries, tract societies, associations, churches, put brethren at variance, used the Bible to bolster up all its declining villanies, and perverted the temple of God into a temple of discord? What system of iniquity has corrupted judges, burned out all the patriotism over one half this nation, and terribly blighted all the rest; written decay and sterility upon all the fair plains of its wide domains; worn out the fertility of the richest natural soil of this heritage of man; stopped the free utterances of its own devotees; made freedom of thought and conscience a reproach; established a censorship over the press, a gag upon the pulpit, and visited a felon's fate upon any man who dared be a whole Christian in accordance with the golden rule of love to all men? What is it that has torn asunder wife and husband, son and father, daughter and mother—yea, the babe from the breast, and sold it into bondage for life? What has made a human soul a thing of sale—made concubinage no crime, and adultery a right? What is it, in short, that has poisoned the morals of whole sections, and blighted the freshness of all our land? Tell me what it is that has done this?—has struck down Senators while doing their duty to the State—has made the legislative halls of our nation a bar-room of obscenity, of abuse, of brawling and bludgeoning? What serpent has coiled itself slowly but silently around the liberties of our nation, and is now giving it the death strangle? What arm is now uplifted to commit the crime of matricide as the grand finale of all its crimes, the summing and sublimation of all its villanies, in one act, to close the scene? *This is the Jonah.* Need I speak more of "American slavery, the vilest that ever saw the sun, the sum of all villanies"? Verily, it is fleeing from the presence of the Lord? This is our Jonah. And now what shall we do with the cause of all this fearful storm that howls along the sky, and makes the timbers of State creak and groan and tremble,—that brings down upon us all the thunders of offended Heaven? And what shall we do with our Jonah, now that we have found him?

Behold, in *our* storm, how the men on board the ship of State avoid the issue! Jonah is still protected, still nourished by our bounty; still down in the hold of the ship is slavery. Why, our armies seem far more ready to catch fugitives than to destroy the evil which is the cause of all our misfortunes. So we conserve our Jonah. Doubtless, they of the Tarshish-bound vessel thought by hard rowing they might reach land, and then the evil might be removed and saved. Oh, we are so economical, we must save the fare! Just like this policy is the buying up all the slaves. The colonization scheme—Oh, what hard rowing has there been here for these thirty years past! We cannot bear to waste and lose forever our Jonah. But there is always one termination to all such compromises. The longer we row, the more do we waste our wares, until there is nothing left but an empty ship, and the crew and Jonah together all to go down to the bottom at last. When we have wasted our fair soil, spoiled all its products, assumed a debt of two thousand million dollars, had our armies cut in pieces, poured out the noblest blood of the North, worn out the patience of all other nations; when they are just ready to interfere, and take our liberties from us forever,—then, and not till then, perhaps, we shall begin to see what true policy is. So long as there is a bale of cotton on board that is left to be pitched into the briny deep, we cannot spare our Jonah. I suppose there is not a sane man living who would deny that the overthrow of slavery would finish this war as well as bring down all rebeldom; and yet, because we have compacted in 1789 to catch their slaves, we keep an army of four hundred thousand men to protect slavery for a set of rebels that shoot down our soldiers in the very act of upholding the Constitution!

Perhaps we shall learn ultimately, when our forces are all spent, and we sink down exhausted in our vain attempts to baffle Providence, that, if we would cure the disease, we must cut away the cancer. This, doubtless, was in the minds of the crew who rowed so hard to reach land. They had contracted with Jonah to carry him to Tarshish, and *they must fulfil their agreement.* Notwithstanding Jonah's advice, "Take me up, and cast me forth," they keep on rowing hard for the land. The truth was, Jonah was *God's* "contraband," and they had no right with him. They had no business but to let go God's property. They were bound to rid themselves of him at once, or suffer shipwreck for all. Just so when our people agreed to protect slavery, to harbor it, to endure its presence one moment on board the ship of State, they made an unlawful contract, "a covenant with death, and an agreement with hell," and, in the sight of Heaven's "higher law," an unconstitutional one. If I agree to steal a purse or a person, I am doing an unconstitutional act, and the first duty I owe is to break the agreement. So those who promised to protect slavery will always be in the storm, until they break their guilty promise, and repent of their sin.

Like the crew of the ship which bore the prophet of Nineveh, we next come to prayer, and no sooner do we call upon the Lord, and complain that he is bringing innocent and guilty men to shame, than He shows us our duty to clear ourselves of this guilt; and then, nerved by the spirit of prayer, under the approval of a clear conscience, and with the consent of the cause of all the trouble itself, we address ourselves to an unwelcome duty, and we take up Jonah, and cast him forth into the sea, and the sea ceases from its raging.

GEN. BUTLER'S EXPEDITION---PROCLAMATION OF GEN. PHELPS.

General Butler's expedition has landed safely at Ship Island, Mississippi. Immediately after landing his command, Brigadier General Phelps, commander of the troops, issued the following proclamation, which was publicly read for the first time on Wednesday evening in the saloon of the Constitution:—

HEADQUARTERS MIDDLESEX BRIGADE,
Ship Island, Miss., Dec. 4, 1861.

To the Loyal Citizens of the Southwest:

Without any desire of my own, but contrary to my private inclination, I again find myself among you as a military officer of the Government. A proper respect for my fellow-countrymen renders it not out of place that I should make known to you the motives and principles by which my command will be governed.

We believe that every State that has been admitted as a slave State into the Union, since the adoption of the Constitution, has been so admitted in direct violation of that Constitution.

We believe that the slave States which existed as such at the adoption of our Constitution are, by becoming parties to that compact, under the highest obligations of honor and morality to abolish slavery.

It is our conviction that monopolies are as destructive as competition is conservative of the principles and vitalities of Republican government; that slave labor is a monopoly which excludes free labor and competition; that slaves are kept in comparative idleness and ease in a fertile half of our arable territory, while free, white laborers, constantly augmenting in numbers from Europe, are confined to the other half, and are often distressed by want; that the free labor of the North has more need of expansion into the Southern States from which it is virtually excluded, than slavery had into Texas in 1846; that free labor is essential to free institutions; that those institutions are naturally better adapted and more congenial to the Anglo-Saxon race than are the despotic tendencies of slavery; and finally, that the dominant political principles of this North American continent, so long as the Caucasian race continues to flow in upon us from Europe, must needs be that of free institutions and free government. Any obstructions to the progress of that forming government in the United States must inevitably be attended with discord and war.

Slavery, from the condition of a universally recognized social and moral evil, has become at length a political institution demanding a political recognition. It demands rights to the exclusion and annihilation of those rights which are insured to us by the Constitution; and we must choose between them which we will have, for we cannot have both. The Constitution was made for free men, not for slaves. Slavery as a social evil might, for a time, be tolerated and endured; but as a political institution, it becomes imperious and exacting, controlling like a dread necessity all whom circumstances have compelled to live under its sway, hampering their action, and thus impeding our national progress.

As a political institution, it could exist as a coordinate part only of two forms of government, in the despotic and the free, and it could exist under a free government only when public sentiment, in the most unrestricted exercise of a robust freedom, leading to extravagance and licentiousness, had swayed the thoughts and habits of the people beyond the bounds and limits of their own moderate constitutional provisions. It could exist under a free government only when the people in a period of unreasoning extravagance had permitted popular clamor to overcome public reason, and had attempted the impossibility of setting up permanently, as a political institution, a social evil which is opposed to moral law.

By reverting to the history of the past, we find that one of the most destructive wars on record, that of the French Revolution, was originated by the attempt to give political character to an institution which was not susceptible of political character. The church, by being endowed with political power, with its convents, its schools, its immense landed wealth, its associations, secret and open, became the ruling power of the State, and thus occasioned a war of more strife and bloodshed, probably, than any other war which has desolated the earth.

Slavery is still less susceptible of political character than was the church; it is as fit at this moment for the lumber room of the past as was in 1793 the monastery, the landed wealth, the exclusive privilege, etc., of the Catholic Church in France.

It behooves us to consider, as a self-governing people, bred, and reared, and protected in the habits of self-government, whether we cannot, whether we ought not to revolutionize slavery out of existence, without the necessity of a conflict of arms, like that of the French Revolution.

Indeed, we feel assured that the moment slavery is abolished, from that moment our Southern brethren, every ten of whom have probably seven relatives in the North, would begin to emerge from a hateful delirium. From that moment, relieved from imaginary terrors, their days become happy, and their nights peaceable and free from alarm; the aggregate amount of labor under the new stimulus of fair competition becomes greater day by day; property rises in value; invigorating influences succeed to stagnation, degeneracy and decay; and union, harmony and peace, to which we have so long been strangers, become restored, and bind us again in the bands of friendship and amity as when we first began our national career under our glorious government of 1789.

Why do the leaders of the rebellion seek to change the form of our ancient government? It is because the growth of the African element of your population has come at length to render a change necessary! Will you permit the free government under which you have thus far lived, and which is so well suited to the development of true manhood, to be altered to a belitting despotism, in order to adapt it to the necessities of ignorant slaves and the requirements of their proud, aristocratic owners? Will the laboring men of the South bend their necks to the same yoke that is united to the slave? We think not. We may safely answer that the time has not yet arrived when our Southern brethren, for the mere sake of keeping Africans in slavery, will abandon their long cherished free institutions, and enslave themselves.

It is the conviction of my command, as a part of the national forces of the United States, that labor, manual labor, is inherently noble; that it cannot be systematically degraded by any nation without ruining its peace, happiness and power; that free labor is the granite basis on which free institutions must rest; that it is the right, the capital, the inheritance, the hope of the poor man everywhere; that it is especially the right of five millions of our fellow-countrymen in the slave States, as well as the four millions of Africans there; and all our efforts, therefore, however small or great, whether directed against the interference of governments from abroad, or against rebellious combinations at home, shall be for free labor.

Our motto and our standard shall be, here and everywhere, and on all occasions—Free Labor and Workingmen's Rights. It is on this basis, and this basis alone, that our magnificent government, the asylum of the nations, can be perpetuated and preserved.

J. W. PHELPS,
Brig. Gen. of Volunteers Commanding.

The proclamation has not yet been sent over to the Secessia, but Gen. Phelps proposes to promulgate it there as soon as he can obtain conveyance.

THE HERALD AND PUBLIC MEETINGS.

"It is understood," said *The Herald* of a day or two ago, alluding to the lecture of Mr. Wendell Phillips, advertised to be delivered this *evening*, "that he intends to pitch into the American Government, and praise that of England in relation to the Trent business." We presume that paper will follow up this lie to-day by others just as absurd and just as base. The *Herald* never lets an opportunity escape, great or small, by which it may help its friends, the Secessionists. It has a forlorn hope that there is yet force enough in the name "Abolitionist" to conjure a mob by. By a mob it will hold out aid and comfort to rebels; by a mob it hopes to concentrate all the treason of the city; out of one mob it hopes may grow many, and out of many mobs a continued state of riot when there may be again a chance of securing the triumph of traitors and of taking New York out of the Union. It uses the name of Phillips only as an incentive to disorder, that treason may make some headway.

It may be that there are a few persons—they cannot be many, notwithstanding the large number of its readers who buy the sheet, not because they care what it says, but because they think their neighbors do—it may be that there are still a few persons under the influence of a journal whose suppression, were its power at all commensurate with its circulation, would be more imperatively called for than the taking of any Southern city. Let such persons remember the record of the *Herald* for only a little more than half a year. It is a Secession sheet of the most malignant type. It advocated the adoption of the Secession Constitution only about eight months ago. That Constitution it declared to be "AN IMPROVEMENT" upon the Constitution adopted by our Fathers in 1789. It declared it to be "*especially necessary* that the conservative masses of this metropolis *should take the lead* in indorsing the Constitution which the Confederate States of the South have adopted, and of SIGNIFYING THEIR WILLINGNESS TO ACQUIESCE IN THE SAME." All these facts we have stated before, and more than once, and *never yet has the Herald ventured to say that it has changed its opinions.* It is silent under the repeated charges made against it, by this and other journals, of its treason. It DARE not enter upon its defence. Reckless and bold as it is, it knows that there is a point where public patience will hear and forbear no longer; where even its unparalleled insolence as the great public Zany, the privileged Fool of the public press, who is tolerated because he raises a laugh, will not save it; it is wise enough to know that, if it claims any virtue, or disclaims any vice, and asks that its character be considered seriously, it is ruined from that moment. Therefore it dare not answer when arraigned for treason. A traitor everybody knows it is, and for its life it will not venture to assume that it is of any consequence whether it is or not. It is ruined if it pretends to any character. It contents itself with being the mouth-piece of the vilest and most ignorant, satisfied that through such instrumentalities it may sometimes perpetrate the mischief it always longs for.

It is for this reason that the *Herald*, when peculiarly devilish, endeavors to get up a public meeting, or to incite a riot in one got up by other people. It wants a riot now at Mr. Phillips's lecture, in the interest of Secession, just as at the fall of Sumter it endeavored to get up a public meeting *in opposition to the Government*, and in sympathy with the South, that the attack upon Sumter might be made the occasion *of the Secession of New York City*, as it had proposed and urged for weeks before. We know that it is denied that the *Herald* ever made a call for such a meeting. We do not know whether the denial is made because it is hoped that nobody will take the trouble to verify the fact, or whether steps were taken, in the suppression of an edition of the paper, to make it difficult to verify it; but this we do know, that in the number for Monday, April 15, 1861, now before us, in an article on the fall of Sumter, the *Herald* says: "We again call upon our fellow citizens of this island, irrespective of creed or party, to meet together in an earnest consultation upon the ways and means of peace. *The Government . . . . . may yet recoil before them.*" In the same article it says, by way of creating a panic, and bringing out the vilest and most violent elements to rule such a meeting—"We fear that there is something more than empty bravado in the late speech of the Southern Secretary of War at Montgomery, *promising the occupation of the City of Washington by the Confederate States authorities* VERY EARLY IN MAY." This, be it remembered, was when the Federal flag lay trailing in the dust in Fort Sumter, shot down by Rebels, on Monday, the 15th of April, 1861. "Where," said the same paper, the day before, on Sunday, the 14th, in allusion to the same terrible affair that so shook this nation—"where is our Christianity, our civilization, our beautiful system of States and sections late united and happy? All involved in a *horrid civil war.* Where is this to end? In a republican system like that of Mexico and Central and South America, or in an imperial Government like that of Russia or Louis Napoleon? Who can answer?" Such was the *Herald's* estimate of the character of the American people—that they are incapable of self-government, and must sink into anarchy, or unfit for it, and must, therefore, be brought under a despotism. So it called loudly, the next day, for a public meeting, which it hoped would compel the Government to "RECOIL" from defending its honor and the property of the nation. Had such a meeting been held, the *Herald* would have called upon its constituents, the mob, to take possession of it, and use it on behalf of Jeff. Davis and his fellow-conspirators, just as he calls upon the same class now, and for the same reason, to mob Mr. Phillips.—*New York Tribune.*

SECRETARY SMITH.

If the sayings of the Hon. Mr. Smith, Secretary of the Interior, at the Prentice banquet, are correctly reported, there is not much to choose between him and his predecessor, the Hon. Mr. Thompson. The following is the dispatch referring to the banquet and Mr. Smith:—

"WASHINGTON, Nov. 20, 1861.

"At the supper to George D. Prentice by Mr. Forney last night, Secretary Cameron reiterated his opinion that, as a last resort, *we ought to arm every man who desires to strike for human liberty.* Secretary Smith protested that the Administration contemplated no such policy. Slaves escaping from the rebels might be received as they had been hitherto within the lines of the army, but it was not intended to arm them. If twenty millions of freemen could not, single-handed, subdue the rebellion, it would be a disgrace to them, *and they ought to give up the contest.*"

So, then, Mr. Smith would rather see the Union destroyed than permit a loyal negro to strike for human liberty! It is certainly amazing that a State which has poured out so much blood, and won such high distinction in this war as Indiana—a State which has evinced such devotion to the Union cause—should be represented in the Cabinet by a man who is more concerned about the "rights" of rebel slaveholders than he is for the success of the loyal arms. Some time after the battle of Bull Run, where Secretary Cameron's brother was slain, and, we believe, after the battle of Wilson's Creek, where the glorious Lyon fell, Secretary Smith went up to New England, and made a strong pro-slavery speech. He seemed to be laboring under the impression that John Tyler's [illegible] Congress, where he humbl[illegible] himself and his constitu[illegible] was still gr[illegible] away in Willard's ball room, and th[illegible] [illegible]mith) was somehow mortgaged to the same b[illegible]ating position which he then took. We, in common [illegible]-tenths of the Republicans in the Northwest, thought that President Lincoln greatly erred when he invited Mr. Smith instead of Mr. Colfax to a seat in his Cabinet; and now we know it.

Let us see what is the practical operation of Mr. Smith's policy. We have waged war eight months in strict accordance with his principles, and what have we gained? Big Bethel, Bull Run, Wilson's Creek, Lexington, and Ball's Bluff! True, we have achieved a success at Port Royal, but it is a [illegible] which promises happy results only by the applica[illegible] of Secretary Cameron's principles. Secretary Smith would turn all its fruits into Dead Sea apples. According to his plan of conducting the war, we ought to make it as bloody and expensive as possible *on our own side*, rather than strike a decisive blow at the cause of the war, slavery. Four millions of negroes, whose inclinations are shown to be loyal wherever our armies go, are driven, coerced, flogged into the service of the rebels. Their labor feeds the rebel army. They constitute as essential a part of the forces arrayed against the Union as Jeff. Davis, his Cabinet, his Congress, his Generals, and his soldiers, or all combined. To meet these forces we have collected an army and navy of 550,000 men, and have gone into an expense of a million dollars per day. If we simply detach the slave population from the rebel service, we shall reduce their available strength one half, which would be equivalent to adding a quarter of a million of soldiers to our own side, or subtracting a half million of dollars per diem from our expenses. But if we adopt Secretary Cameron's plan, and put a musket into the hand of every man who will strike for Union and liberty, the rebellion will crumble of its weight and weakness. Mr. Smith would make the war long, bloody and costly, and peculiarly dangerous, in order to preserve slavery. Mr. Cameron, and those who think with him, would have it short, decisive and economical, causing no more bloodshed to the loyal soldiers, and bringing no more desolation to loyal households, than absolutely necessary to accomplish the end. Finally, Mr. Smith would give up the whole contest, and see the fabric reared by George Washington shattered in ruins, rather than strike down the accursed institution which Washington in his last will and testament reprobated, and which has brought war and desolation upon the country which calls him its father.—*Chicago Tribune.*

A PROSCRIPT.

In his recent letter to Fernando Wood, Caleb Cushing proclaims himself "a proscript for opinion's sake." This attempt at securing a martyr's claim for sympathy is worthy the impudence and unscrupulousness of the man. Caleb Cushing a proscript! The man who but a few weeks before he penned those lines had been chosen a member of the Legislature of Massachusetts by the suffrages of his townsmen; the man who has contrived during the greater part of his life to keep in the majority, and who has shared freely in the honors of the parties to which he has belonged; the man who has been an Abolitionist, a Whig, and a Breckinridge Democrat, and is now trying to play the patriot, and seeking in vain to secure the confidence of the people whose sentiments he has so long bitterly opposed, whom he has so grossly abused and insulted for holding opinions different from his own! The very claim shows that the man is unworthy of the confidence he seeks to inspire; that his retirement to private life, however reluctant on his part, is a deserved retribution for his reckless and unprincipled political course.

A proscript! The theory of our government, in fact, of all governments is, that the majority must rule; that is, that the principles and views entertained by the greatest number in regard to political topics, must characterize the action of the government. The minority may not like it, but they must submit. Their only recourse is to change public sentiment, and to bring the majority over to their side. Where there is a division of sentiment, there must be a minority, and this minority must not expect that it shall control affairs. Its members may be able and patriotic men, but they must remain in private life simply because they do not represent the predominant opinion. But for them to complain of being proscripts is as absurd as it is mean, cowardly and contemptible. In the alternate strife of parties, the prominent men of all must be confined to private

ife, and excluded from public station. They are very apt, of course, to think the country is going to the dogs, but some how or other the world gets along, and it is found that the progress of human events is very little dependent on individuals for its success.

Caleb Cushing is now in the position of the men upon whom he has delighted to heap odium, and whom he has virulently misrepresented for so many years. The anti-slavery men of the country have long been "proscripts" according to Mr. Cushing's definition. They have enjoyed no office; they have been treated with malignity and contempt by those who are now in treason against the nation and their sympathizers. But they have kept their souls in patience. They have labored year after year to effect a change in public opinion. They have not sought by revolution and treason to attain their ends, but have relied on free discussion and the influence of [illegible] to the reason for ultimate [illegible] have succeeded. The reins [illegible] have been placed in their hands. [illegible] the democrats, especially those who [illegible] offices have been whining about "pro[illegible] complaining because they were at [illegible] to vacate the pleasant places they [illegible] enjoyed. Such conduct deprives them [illegible] claims to sympathy. Their complaint is entirely false in point of fact, and it stirs our contempt to see men raising such lamentations over the loss of places. We have respect for one who bears defeat manfully, but only contempt for those who do nothing but whine and lament.

It is worth noticing that Caleb's idea of "proscription" is precisely the same as that on which the Southern rebellion is founded. The South has long controlled the government. Those who have been in the minority have peaceably submitted. But the moment the tables were turned, the South raises the cry of "proscription." It is excluded, it says, from its share in the administration of the government. It knows that the opinion that has brought about this change renders it hopeless that slavery shall ever again be the controlling power of the American republic. Not acknowledging the duty of the minority to submit, a duty and a practice, the violation of which is inconsistent with any established government, it takes up arms and seeks to overthrow the government which it can no longer administer. This is the legitimate result of the carrying out of this doctrine of proscription. Caleb Cushing shows, by enunciating it, that his principles and his sympathies are entirely with the rebels of the slave States, and that he is unworthy of the slightest confidence or respect on the part of the people of the free States.—*New-Bedford Standard.*

ELECTION OF MR. OPDYKE TO THE MAYORALTY OF NEW YORK.

As a Republican triumph, Mr. Opdyke's election has some importance, though not as significant as might have been wished. Still it is no unimportant thing for the reformers to have an opportunity of showing the value of their policy and principles by [illegible] experiment, and in contrast with those of their opponents. Mr. Opdyke, in answer to the attack made on him by the New-York *Herald*, that he was an abolitionist of the Greeley, Cheever and Garrison stamp, said he was not an abolitionist, but that his opinions were correctly set forth by Judge Cowles at the ratification meeting. Though regretting that he should feel called upon to make this disavowal, we were somewhat relieved on referring to the Judge's speech. In it he remarks that although we are not fighting for the direct purpose of emancipating the slaves, he believed in using all the powers of the government and all the means it can command. He would use the slaves as quickly as he would use any other possession of the rebels; would properly wrest the slave from their hands, and use him to sustain and uphold our government:—

"What—when this unholy war shall have been brought to a close, and rebellion been made to hide its head in dishonor and in shame—what shall then be the condition of the slave who has helped to fight the battle of constitutional liberty, may be safely left, if government so decrees, to be determined by the exigency of then passing events. That such a slave will be rendered back against his will to bondage, neither George Opdyke, nor you, nor I believe. (Enthusiastic and prolonged applause. 'Can't do it.') The inexorable logic of circumstances—the eternal laws of [illegible] and justice, would forbid it. These are the [illegible] views which [illegible] upon by our government [illegible] it is prepared not to announce them now. [illegible] less than this is just to our gallant [illegible], or just to the slave. (Applause.) We would wage no war of emancipation as such, or for that sole object. But while and as long as this rebellion rages, we will wrest from the rebels slaves used and employed for the promotion of treason, and use them, if need be, as fighting defenders of constitutional liberty. (Great applause.) If, in thus using the slave to suppress treason, the necessary or inevitable subsequent result shall prove to be that slaves' future freedom, treason, not loyalty, will be answerable for the result. The motto of our candidate through this war will be: 'Live the Republic, though slavery perish' (applause); but never that other sentiment, which seems to run through the late speech of his competitor: 'Live slavery, though the Republic perish.'"

This utterance from the lips of Abraham Lincoln would set the nation in an ecstacy of delight, and alter the whole policy of the war; would instantly restore Gen. Fremont to his rightful field, the western department, and empty Missouri of traitorous hordes. This sentiment from the lips of Congress and the Commander-in-Chief would have set every slave in the rebel States free, and given us a jubilee more glorious than was ever known in Jewish history; the double jubilee of a rebellion crushed, four millions of slaves forever freed, and a nation saved. This sentiment, now finding utterance in Congress and in the order of Secretary Seward to Gen. McClellan, inspires our hopes and fires our devotion to liberty and our land. May Mr. Opdyke never retract these sentiments, and show that he is no farther removed from the abolitionists.—*American Baptist.*

THE ABOLITIONISTS AND THE REBELS.

Some say, the Abolitionists are as much to blame as the rebels. It is true, they have been for years warning the nation to put away her sins; without friends of freedom, there would be no opposition—of course not. This was the language of the Scribes and Pharisees of old; a pestilent fellow, a son of discord; away with him! crucify him! he it is that stirs up this trouble! What they said was true. If there had been no Jesus, there would have been no fuss at that time. Jesus and his agitating disciples were as necessary to stir up the row, as Judas and the chief priests; one is as famous as the other; yet history ascribes their deeds to very different motives. By their fruits ye may know which to follow. Massachusetts, the hot-bed of Abolitionism, is the abode of the most intelligent, freest, happiest, and noblest men and women on the earth. Nowhere else are life, property, and personal security, so perfect.

South Carolina, the most perfect specimen of the Slave Power, where no Abolitionists have ever been produced, is, on the contrary, the abode of the vilest, most turbulent, meanest, and most effeminate race in America.—*Old Soldier's Advocate, Cleveland.*

LOYAL SLAVEHOLDERS.

Great sacrifices must be made for their benefit; they are all-important in the eyes of many. Now, why should a slaveholder's property be any more sacred than a freeman's property? Every farm and every other species of property must suffer by this war; why not let its disadvantages and burthens fall on slaveholders just as much as others? But where will you find a thorough loyal slaveholder? We have heard of hen's teeth and of white blackbirds, but we never could conceive of any man sustaining and aiding a system calculated to make men tyrants, and yet be a true friend to a Government based upon universal freedom. Our Government has sent thousands of arms to Kentucky and Missouri for the loyal citizens to defend themselves with; it is now well known that at least three-quarters of these very arms are in the hands of secessionists. Loyal slaveholders? Heaven save us from them! Every voluntary slaveholder will pitch where he can make the most out of his slaves. Such are like young hungry turkeys. Who has not observed a flock of loyal turkeys light on a fence, and observe with care to see on which side were the most grasshoppers? Oh, what loyalty!—*Old Soldier's Advocate.*

☞ Gen. Fremont has at length found a competent defender. Philip Dorsheimer, Jr., a member of his staff, is to prepare a series of papers for the *Atlantic Monthly*, giving a full history of the Missouri campaign. Mr. Dorsheimer is a writer of first-rate ability, and personally conversant with Gen. Fremont's course in Missouri.

The Liberator.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, DECEMBER 27, 1861.

NOTICE TO DELINQUENT SUBSCRIBERS.

Though by the terms of the *Liberator*, payment for the paper should be made in advance, yet it has not only not been insisted upon, but an indulgence of thirteen months has hitherto been granted delinquent subscribers, before proceeding (always, of course, with great reluctance) to erase their names from the subscription list, in accordance with the STANDING RULE laid down by the Financial Committee. But, in consequence of the generally depressed state of business, this indulgence will be extended from January 1, 1861, to April 1, 1862, in cases of necessity.

SEND IN THE PETITIONS!

☞ Now that Congress is in session, and various propositions have already been submitted to it on the subject, let there be no unnecessary delay in forwarding emancipation petitions to that body. Send them directly to the proper Senators and Representatives from the various States and Districts. They will, of course, go free of postage. Already, large numbers, numerously signed, from various parts of the country, have been presented in both houses of Congress, and promptly referred to appropriate committees. The aggregate promises to be commanding. Send them in!

☞ A petition for emancipation has been received at this office, headed by C. M. ALLEN, *without the name of the town* from which it came. Will any one give us the residence of the signers?

THE WAR.

LECTURE BY WENDELL PHILLIPS, ESQ.

AT THE COOPER INSTITUTE, NEW YORK.

The large hall of the Cooper Institute, New York, was crowded on Thursday evening of last week, to listen to a lecture on the Rebellion by Wendell Phillips, of Boston. The rumors which had been afloat in the city—propagated by those who at heart favor the Rebels in their nefarious attempt at disrupting the Government—that a riot would ensue upon the appearance of Mr. Phillips, put the police upon their guard, and a strong deputation, under the supervision of Superintendent Kennedy, was within the body of the hall to quell any symptoms of disturbance. They were conspicuous at the entrances and in different parts of the hall. Two powerful metropolitans stood on the platform on each side of the speaker, and Mr. Kennedy, the superintendent of police, sat at one side.

Oliver Johnson called the meeting to order, and announced that Theodore Tilton would lecture in that hall on the next Wednesday evening, and that Wm. Lloyd Garrison, of Boston, would soon be invited to give the public his views of the war in this place—(Cries of "Bravo," and applause.)

Dr. H. A. Hartt, of Dr. Cheever's church, introduced the speaker as follows:

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: Wendell Phillips of Boston is a national man, and needs no introduction or eulogy from me. For more than a quarter of a century, he has stood up before the country as an able and eloquent expounder of great ethical principles. Unconnected with Church or State, yet a Christian and a patriot, he has devoted himself to the advocacy of the natural, political, and religious rights of man. [Applause.] Without commission from the nation, or authority from any ecclesiastical court, yet announced by God and inspired by his spirit, he has proclaimed essential, fundamental and eternal truths, which accredited priests and sages have repudiated and despised. Gifted with genius and fortune, and all the aids by which he might easily have attained the highest positions and offices in [illegible], he has deliberately chosen to identify himself with the cause of a poor, despised and [illegible] race of strangers; although he knew that, by inevitable consequence, he would become an object of incessant persecution and reproach. In an age of materialism, in the midst of a popular sentiment which insisted upon the toleration and support of a cruel and infamous system of oppression, he has had the courage to be the steady champion of the inherent worth and dignity of man; to place him in his true position, infinitely above all considerations of commerce, policy, Unions, Constitutions and Governments, and to demand for him the recognition of his inalienable rights. In the spirit of that divine affirmation, that "the Sabbath was made for man, and not man for the Sabbath," he has maintained that Government was made for man, and not man for Government. (Cheers.) He appears here now, as ever, the brilliant orator, to cast around the cause of justice and humanity the clearness of more than Grecian eloquence; now, as ever, for man and his rights above the Union and above the Constitution; but now, as never before, for the Union and the Constitution, (loud applause,) because he believes that out of the terrible ordeal through which they are passing, they shall come forth purified from every stain, and thenceforth and forever be for man and his rights. (Cheers.)

WENDELL PHILLIPS came on the stage amid loud applause, and when he rose, was received with three cheers. He said:—

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—It would be impossible for me fitly to thank you for this welcome; you will allow me, therefore, not to attempt it, but to avail myself of your patience to speak to you, as I have been invited to do, upon the war.

I know, ladies and gentlemen, that actions—deeds, not words—are the fitting duty of the hour. Yet, still, cannon think in this day of ours, and it is only by putting thought behind arms that we render them worthy, in any degree, of the civilization of the nineteenth century. (Applause.) Besides, the Government has two-thirds of a million of soldiers, and it has ships sufficient for its purpose. The only question seems to be, what the Government is to do with these forces; in what path and how far it shall tread. You and I come here to-night, not to criticise, not to find fault with the Cabinet. We come here to recognize the fact, that in moments like these, the statesmanship of the Cabinet is but a pine shingle upon the rapids of Niagara, borne which way the great popular heart and the national purpose direct. It is in vain now, with these scenes about us, in this crisis, to endeavor to create public opinion; too late now to educate twenty millions of people. Our object now is to concentrate and to manifest, to make evident and to make intense, the matured purpose of the nation. We are to show the world, if it be indeed so, that democratic institutions are strong enough for such an hour as this. Very terrible as is the conspiracy, momentous as is the peril, Democracy welcomes the struggle, (applause,) confident that she stands like no delicately-poised throne in the old world, but, like the pyramid, on its broadest base, able to be patient with national evils,—generously patient with the long forbearance of three generations,—and strong enough when, after that they reveal themselves in their own inevitable and hideous proportions, to pronounce and execute the unanimous verdict—Death! (Sensation.)

Now, gentlemen, it is in such a spirit, with such a purpose, that I come before you to-night to sustain this war. Whence came this war? You and I need not curiously investigate. While Mr. Everett on one side, and Mr. Sumner on the other, agree, you and I may take for granted the opinion of two such opposite statesmen—the result of the common sense of this side of the water and the other—that Slavery is the root of this war. (Applause.) I know some men have loved to trace it to disappointed ambition, to the success of the Republican party, convincing 300,000 nobles at the South, who have hitherto furnished us the most of the Presidents, Generals, Judges and Ambassadors we needed, that they would have leave to stay at home, and that twenty millions of Northerners would take their share in public affairs. I do not think that cause equal to the result. Other men before Jefferson Davis and Governor Wise have been disappointed of the Presidency. Henry Clay, Daniel Webster and Stephen A. Douglas were more than once disappointed, and yet who believes that either of these great men could have armed the North to avenge his wrongs? Why, then, should these pigmies of the South be able to do what the giants I have named could never achieve? (Applause.) Simply because there is a radical difference between the two sections, and that difference is slavery. A party victory may have been the *occasion* of this outbreak. So a tea chest was the occasion of the Revolution, and it went to the bottom of Boston harbor on the night of the 16th of December, 1773; but that tea-chest was not the cause of the Revolution, neither is Jefferson Davis the cause of the rebellion. (Applause and laughter.) If you will look upon the map, and notice that every slave State has joined or tried to join the rebellion, and no free State has done so, I think you will not doubt substantially the origin of this convulsion.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, you know me—those of you who know me at all—simply as an Abolitionist. I am proud and glad that you should have known me as such. (Applause.) In the twenty-five years that are gone—I say it with no wish to offend any man before me—but in the quarter of a century that has passed, I could find no place where an American could stand with decent self-respect, except in constant, uncontrollable and loud protest against the sin of his native land. (Applause.) But, ladies and gentlemen, do not imagine that I come here to-night to speak simply and exclusively as an Abolitionist. My interest in this war, simply and exclusively as an Abolitionist, is about as much gone as yours in a novel when the hero has won the lady, and the marriage has been comfortably celebrated in the last chapter. (Laughter and applause.) I know the danger of political prophecy,—a kaleidoscope of which not even a Yankee can guess the next combination,—but for all that, I venture to offer my opinion, that on this continent, the system of domestic slavery has received its death-blow. (Loud and long-continued applause.) Let me tell you why I think so. Leaving out of view war with England, which I do not expect, there are but three paths out of this war. One is, the North conquers; the other is, the South conquers; and the third is, a compromise. Now, if the North conquers, or there be a compromise, one or the other of two things must come—either the old Constitution or a new one. I believe that, so far as the slavery clauses of the Constitution of '89 are concerned, it is dead. It seems to me impossible that the thrifty and pains-taking North, after keeping 600,000 men idle for two or three years, at the cost of two million dollars a day; after that flag lowered at Sumter; after Baker and Lyon and Ellsworth and Winthrop and Putnam and Wesselhœft have given their lives to quell the rebellion; after our Massachusetts boys, hurrying from ploughed field and workshop to save the Capitol, have been foully murdered on the pavements of Baltimore,—I cannot believe in a North so lost, so craven, as to put back Slavery where it stood on the 4th of March last. (Cheers.) But if there be reconstruction without those slave clauses, then in a little while, longer or shorter, Slavery dies—indeed, on any other basis but the basis of '89, she has nothing else now to do but to die. On the contrary, if the South—no, I cannot say conquers; my lips will not form that word—but if she balk us of victory, the only way she can do it is to write Emancipation on her own banner, and thus bribe the friends of liberty in Europe to allow its aristocrats and traders to divide the majestic Republic whose growth and trade they fear and envy. Either way, the slave goes free. Unless England flings her fleets along the coast, the South can never spring into separate existence, except from the basis of negro freedom; and I, for one, cannot yet believe that the North will consent again to share his chains. Exclusively as an Abolitionist, therefore, I have little more interest in this war than the frontiersman's wife had in his struggle with the bear, when she didn't care which whipped. (Laughter and applause.) But before I leave the Abolitionists, let me say one word. Some men say we are the cause of this war. Gentlemen, you do us too much honor! (Cheers and laughter.) If it be so, we have reason to be proud of it; for in my heart, as an American, I believe this year the most glorious of the Republic since '76. (Great applause.) The North, craven and contented until now, like Mammon, saw nothing even in heaven but the golden pavement; to-day she throws off her chains. We have a North, as Daniel Webster said. This is no epoch for nations to blush at. England might blush, in 1620, when Englishmen trembled at a fool's frown, and were silent when James forbade them to think; but not in 1649, when an outraged people cut off his son's head. Massachusetts might have blushed a year or two ago when an insolent Virginian, standing on Bunker Hill, insulted the Commonwealth, and then dragged her citizens to Washington to tell him what they knew about John Brown; but she has no reason to blush to-day when she holds that same impudent Senator an acknowledged felon in her prison fort. (Uproarious applause.) In my view, the bloodiest war ever waged is infinitely better than the happiest slavery that ever fattened men into obedience. (Cheers.) And yet I love peace. But it is real peace; not peace such as we have had; not peace that meant lynch law in the Carolinas and mob law in New York; not peace that meant chains around Boston Court-House, a gag on the lips of statesmen, and the slave sobbing himself to sleep in curses. No more such peace for me; no peace that is not born of justice, and does not recognize the rights of every race and every man. (Loud cheering.)

Some men say they would view this war as white men. I condescend to no such narrowness. I view it as an American citizen, proud to be the citizen of an empire that knows neither black nor white, neither Saxon nor Indian, but holds an equal sceptre over all. (Loud cheers.) If I am to love my country, it must be lovable; if I am to honor it, it must be worthy of respect. What is the function God gives us—what is the breadth of responsibility he lays upon us? An empire, the home of every race, every creed, every tongue, to whose citizens is committed, if not the only, then the grandest system of pure self-government. DeTocqueville tells us that all nations and all ages tend with inevitable certainty to this result, but he points out, as history does, this land as the Normal School of the Nations; set by God to try the experiment of popular education and popular government, to smooth all obstacles, discover all dangers, guard against all perils, facilitate the progress, help forward the hopes and the steps of the race. Let us see to it, that with such a crisis and such a past, neither the ignorance, nor the heedlessness, nor the cowardice of Americans forfeits this high honor, won for us by the toils of two generations, given to us by the blessing of Providence. It is as a citizen of the leading State of this Western continent, vast in territory, and yet its territory nothing compared with the grandeur of its past and the majesty of its future—it is as such a citizen, that I wish for one to find my duty, express as an individual my opinion, and aid thereby the Cabinet in doing its duty under such responsibility. It does not lie in one man to ruin us, nor in one man to save us, nor in a dozen. It lies in the twenty millions, in the thirty millions, of thirty-four States.

Now, how do we stand? In a war—not only that, but a terrific war—not a war sprung from the caprice of a woman, the spite of a priest, the flickering ambition of a prince, as wars usually have; but a war inevitable; in one sense, nobody's fault; the inevitable result of past training, the conflict of ideas, millions of people grappling each others' throats, every soldier in each camp certain that he is fighting for an idea that holds the salvation of the world—every drop of his blood in earnest. Such a war finds no parallel nearer than that of the Catholic and Huguenot of France, or than that of Aristocrat and Republican in 1790, or of Cromwell and the Irish, when victory meant extermination. Such is our war. I look upon it as the commencement of the great struggle between the hidden aristocracy and the democracy of America. You are to say to-day whether it shall last ten years or seventy, as it usually has done. It resembles closely that struggle between aristocrat and democrat which began in France in 1790, and continues still. While it lasts, it will have the same effect on the nation as that war between the blind loyalty, represented by the Stuart family, and the free spirit of the English Constitution, which lasted from 1660 to 1760, and made England a second-rate power almost all that century.

Such is the era on which you are entering. I will not speak of war in itself—I have no time; I will not say with Napoleon that it is the practice of barbarians; I will not say that it is good. It is better than the past. A thing may be *better*, and yet not *good*. This war is better than the past, but there is not an element of good in it. I mean, there is nothing in it that we might not have gotten better, fuller and more perfectly in other ways. And yet it is better than the craven past, infinitely better than a peace which had pride for its father and subserviency for its mother. Neither will I speak of the cost of war, although you know that we never shall get out of this one without a debt of at least two or three thousand millions of dollars. For, if the prevalent theory prove correct, and the country comes together again on any thing like the old basis, we pay Jeff Davis's debts as well as our own. Neither will I remind you that debt is the fatal disease of Republics, the first thing and the mightiest to undermine Government and corrupt the people. The great debt of England has kept her back in civil progress at least a hundred years. Neither will I remind you that when we go out of this war, we go out with an immense disbanded army, an intense military spirit embodied in two-thirds of a million of soldiers, the fruitful, the inevitable source of fresh debts and new wars; I pass by all that; yet lying within those causes are things enough to make the most sanguine friends of free institutions tremble for our future. I pass those by. But let me remind you of another tendency of the time. You know, for instance, that the writ of *habeas corpus*, by which Government is bound to render a reason to the Judiciary before it lays its hands upon a citizen, has been called the high-water mark of English liberty. The present Napoleon, in his treatise on the English Constitution, calls it the gem of English institutions. Lieber says that *habeas corpus*, free meetings like this, and a free press, are the three elements which distinguish liberty from despotism. All that Saxon blood has gained in the battles and toils of two hundred years are these three things. But to-day, Mr. Chairman, every one of them—*habeas corpus*, the right of free meeting and a free press—is annihilated in every square mile of the Republic. We live to-day, every one of us, under martial law. The Secretary of State puts into his bastile, with a warrant as irresponsible as that of Louis, any man whom he pleases. And you know that neither press nor lips may venture to arraign the Government without being silenced. At this moment one thousand men, at least, are "bastiled" by an authority as despotic as that of Louis—three times as many as Eldon and George III. seized when they trembled for his throne. Mark me, I am not complaining. I do not say it is not necessary. It is necessary to do anything to save the ship. (Applause.) It is necessary to throw everything overboard in order that we may float. It is a mere question whether you prefer the despotism of Washington or that of Richmond. I prefer that of Washington. (Loud applause.) But, nevertheless, I point out to you this tendency because it is momentous in its significance. We are tending with rapid strides, you say *inevitably*—I do not deny it; *necessarily*—I do not question it; we are tending toward that strong Government which frightened Jefferson, toward that unlimited debt, that endless army. We have already those alien and sedition laws which, in 1798, wrecked the Federal party, and summoned the Democratic into existence. For the first time on this continent, we have passports, which even Louis Napoleon pronounces useless and odious. For the first time in our history, Government spies frequent our great cities. And this model of a strong Government, if you reconstruct it on the old basis, is to be handed into the keeping of whom? If you compromise it by reconstruction, to whom are you to give these delicate and grave powers? To compromisers? Reconstruct this Government, and for twenty years you can never elect a Republican. Presidents must be so wholly without character or principle, that two angry parties, each hopeless of success, contemptuously tolerate them as neutrals. Now, I am not exaggerating the moment. I can parallel it entirely. It is the same position that England held in the times of Eldon and Fox, when Holcroft and Montgomery, the poet, Horne Tooke and Frost and Hardy went into dungeons, under laws that Pitt executed, and Burke praised—times when Fox said he despaired of English liberty but for the power of insurrection—times which Sydney Smith said he remembered when no man was entitled to an opinion who had not £3,000 a year. Why! there is no right—do I exaggerate when I say that there is no single right—that Government is scrupulous and finds itself able to protect, except the right of a man to slaves! (Laughter.) Every other right has fallen now before the necessities of the hour.

Understand me, I do not complain of this state of things; but it is momentous. I only ask you that out of this peril you be sure to get something worthy of the crisis through which you have passed. No Government of free make could stand three such trials as this. I only paint you the picture, in order, like Hotspur, to say, "Out of this nettle, danger, be you right eminently sure that you pluck the flower, safety." (Applause.) Standing in such a crisis, certainly it commands us that we should endeavor to find the root of the difficulty, and that now, once for all, we should put it beyond the possibility of troubling our peace again. We cannot afford, as Republicans, to run this risk. The vessel of state—her timbers are strained beyond almost the possibility of surviving. The tempest is one which it demands the wariest pilot to outlive. We cannot afford, thus warned, to omit anything which can save this ship of state from a second danger of the kind.

Well, what shall we do? The answer to that question comes partly from what we think has been the cause of this convulsion. Some men think—some of your editors think—many of ours, too—that this war is nothing but the disappointment of one or two thousand angered politicians, who have persuaded eight millions of Southerners, against their convictions, to take up arms and rush to the battle-field—no great compliment to Southern sense. (Laughter.) They think that if the Federal army could only appear in the midst of this demented mass, the eight millions will find out for the first time in their lives that they have got souls of their own, tell us so, and then we shall all be piloted back, float back, drift back into the good old times of Franklin Pierce and James Buchanan. (Laughter.) Well, there is a measure of truth in that. I believe that if a year ago, when the thing first showed itself, Jefferson Davis, and Toombs, and Keitt, and Wise, and the rest, had been hung for traitors at Washington, and a couple of frigates anchored at Charleston, another couple in Savannah, and half a dozen in New Orleans, with orders to shell the cities on the first note of resistance, there never would have been this outbreak—(applause)—or it would have been postponed at least a dozen years; and if that interval had been used to get rid of slavery, we never should have heard of the convulsion. But you know we had nothing of the kind, and the consequence is, what? Why, the bewildered North has been summoned by every defeat, and every success, from its workshops and its factories, to gaze with half-opened eyes at the lurid heavens, until at last, divided, bewildered, confounded, as this 20,000,000 were, we have all of us fused into one idea, that the Union meant Justice—shall mean Justice—owns down to the Gulf, and we will have it. (Applause.) Well, what has taken place meanwhile at the South? Why, the same thing. The divided, bewildered South has been summoned also out of her divisions by every success and every defeat, (and she has had more of the first than we have,) and the consequence is that she, too, is fused into a swelling sea of State pride, Northern hate—

> "Unconquerable will,
> And study of revenge, immortal hate,
> And courage never to submit nor yield."

She is in earnest, every man, and she is as unanimous as the Colonies were in the Revolution.—In fact, the South recognizes more intelligibly than we do the necessities of her position. I do not consider this a secession. It is no secession. I agree with Bishop General Polk—it is a conspiracy, not a secession. There is no wish, no intention, to go peaceably and permanently off. It is a conspiracy to make the Government do the will and accept the policy of the slaveholders. Its root is at the South, but it has many a branch in Wall street and in State street. (Cheers.) It is a conspiracy, and on the one side is every man who still thinks that he that steals a brother is a gentleman, and he that makes his living is not. (Applause.) It is the aristocratic element which survived the Constitution, which our fathers thought could be left under it, and the South to-day is forced into this war by the natural growth of the antagonistic principle. You may pledge whatever submission and patience of Southern institutions you please, it is not enough. South Carolina said to Massachusetts in 1835, when Edward Everett was Governor, "Abolish free speech—it is a nuisance." She is right—from her stand-point it is. (Laughter.) That is, it is not possible to preserve the quiet of South Carolina consistently with free speech: but you know the story Walter Scott told of the Scotch laird, who said to his old butler, "Jock, you and I can't live under this roof." "And where does your honor think of going?" So free speech says to South Carolina to-day. Now I say, you may pledge, compromise, guarantee what you please. The South knows it is not your purpose—it is your character that she dreads. It is the nature of Northern institutions, the perilous freedom of discussion, the flavor of our ideas, the sight of our growth, the very neighborhood of such States, that constitutes the danger. It is like the two vases launched on the stormy sea. The iron said to the crockery, "I won't come near." "Thank you, thank you," said the weaker vessel; "there is as much danger in my coming near you." This the South feels; hence her determination; hence, indeed, the imperious necessity, that she should rule and shape our Government, or of sailing out of it. I do not mean that she plans to take possession of the North, and choose our Northern Mayors, though she has done that in Boston for the last dozen years, and here till this fall. But she conspires and aims to control just so much of our policy, trade, offices, presses, pulpits, cities, as is sufficient to ensure the undisturbed existence of slavery. She conspires with the full intent so to mould this Government as to keep it what it has been for thirty years, according to John Quincy Adams—a plot for the extension and perpetuation of slavery. As the world advances, fresh guarantees are demanded. The nineteenth century requires sterner gags than the eighteenth. Often as the peace of Virginia is in danger, you must be willing that a Virginia Mason shall drag your citizens to Washington, and imprison them at his pleasure. So long as Carolina needs it, you must submit that your ships be searched for dangerous passengers, and every Northern man lynched. No more Kansas rebellions. It is a conflict between the two powers, Aristocracy and Democracy, *which shall hold this belt of the continent.* You may live here, New York men, but it must be in submission to such rules as the quiet of Carolina requires. That is the meaning of the oft-repeated threat to call the roll of one's slaves on Bunker Hill and dictate peace in Faneuil Hall. Now, in that fight, I go for the North, for the Union.

In order to make out this theory of "irrepressible conflict," it is not necessary to suppose that every Southerner hates every Northerner, (as the *Atlantic* urges.) But this much is true: some 300,000 slaveholders at the South, holding two thousand millions of so-called property in their hands, controlling the blacks and befooling the seven million of poor whites into being their tools, into believing their interest is opposed to ours—this order of nobles, this privileged class, has been able for forty years to keep the Government in dread, dictate terms by threatening disunion, bring us to its verge at least twice, and now almost to break the Union in pieces. A power thus consolidated, which has existed seventy years, setting up and pulling down parties, controlling the policy of the Government, and changing our religion, and is emboldened by uniform success, will not burst like a bubble in an hour. For all practical purposes, it is safe to speak of it as the South: no other South exists, or will exist, till our policy develops it into being. This is what I mean. An Aristocracy rooted in wealth, with its net-work spread over all social life, its poison penetrating every fibre of society, is the hardest possible evil to destroy. Its one influence, FASHION, is often able to mock at Religion, Trade, Literature and Politics combined. One half the reason why Washington has been and is in peril—why every move is revealed and checkmated—is, that your President is unfashionable, and Mrs. Jefferson Davis is not. Unseen chains are sometimes stronger than those of iron, and heavier than those of gold.

It is not in the plots, it is in the inevitable character of the Northern States that the South sees her danger. And the struggle is between these two ideas. Our fathers, as I said, thought they could be left, one to outgrow the other. They took gunpowder, and a lighted match, forced them into a stalwart cannon, screwed down the muzzle, and thought they could secure peace. But it has resulted differently: the cannon has exploded, and we stand among fragments.

Now, some Republicans and some Democrats—not Butler, and Bryant, and Cochrane, and Cameron—not Boutwell, and Bancroft, and Dickinson, and others—but the old set (laughter)—the old set say to the Republicans, "Lay the pieces carefully together in their places; put the gunpowder and the match in again (laughter); say the Constitution backward instead of your prayers, and there will never be another rebellion!" (Cheers and laughter.) Now, I doubt it. (Cheers.) It seems to me that like causes will produce like effects. If the reason of the war is because we are two nations, then the cure must be to make us one nation, to remove that cause which divides us, to make our institutions homogeneous. If it were possible to subjugate the South and leave slavery where it is, where is the security that we should not have another war in ten years? Indeed, such a course invites another war, whenever demagogues please. I believe the policy of reconstruction is impossible. And if it were possible, it would be the greatest mistake that Northern men could commit.—(Cheers.) Peace with an unchanged Constitution would leave us to stand like Mexico, States married not matched; chained together, not melted into one; foreign nations aware of our hostility, and interfering to embroil, rob and control us. We should be what Greece was under the intrigues of Philip, and Germany when Louis XIV. was in fact her dictator. We may see our likeness in Austria, every fretful province an addition of weakness; in Italy, twenty years ago, a leash of angry hounds. A Union with unwilling and subjugated States, smarting with defeat, and yet holding the powerful and dangerous element of slavery in it, and an army disbanded into laborers, food for constant disturbance, would be a standing invitation to France and England to insult and dictate, to thwart our policy, demand changes in our laws, and trample on us continually.

Reconstruction is but another name for the submission of the North. It is her subjection under a mask. It is nothing but the confession of defeat. Every merchant, in such case, puts every thing he has at the bidding of Wigfall and Toombs in every cross-road bar-room at the South. For, you see, never till now did anybody but a few Abolitionists believe that this nation could be marshaled one section against the other in arms. But the secret is out. The weak point is discovered. Why does the London press lecture us like a schoolmaster his seven-years-old boy? Why does England use a tone such as she has not used for half a century to any power? Because she knows us as she knows Mexico, as all Europe knows Austria,—that we have the cancer concealed in our very vitals. Slavery left where it is, after having created such a war as this, would leave our commerce and all our foreign relations at the mercy of any Keitt, Wigfall, Wise or Toombs. Any demagogue has only to stir up a pro-slavery crusade, point back to the safe experiment of 1861, and lash the passions of the aristocrats to cover the sea with privateers, put in jeopardy the trade of twenty States, plunge the country into millions of debt, send our stocks down fifty per cent., and cost thousands of lives. Reconstruction is but making chronic what now is transient. What that is, this week shows. What that is, we learn from the tone England dares to assume toward this divided Republic. I do not believe reconstruction possible. I do not believe the cabinet intend it. True, I should care little if they did, since I believe the Administration can no more resist the progress of events than a spear of grass can retard the step of an avalanche. But if they do, allow me to say, for one, that every dollar spent in this war is worse than wasted, every life lost is a public murder, and that any statesman who leads these States back to reconstruction will be damned to an infamy compared with which Arnold was a saint, and James Buchanan a public benefactor. (Slight disturbance in the rear part of the hall, cries of "Put him out," &c.) I said reconstruction is not possible. I do not believe it is, for this reason: the moment these States begin to appear victorious, the moment our armies do anything that evinces final success, the wily statesmanship and unconquerable hate of the South will write "Emancipation" on her banner, and welcome the protectorate of a European power. And if you read the European papers of to-day, you need not doubt that they will have it. Intelligent men agree that the North stands better with Palmerston for minister than she would with any minister likely to succeed him. And who is Palmerston? While he was Foreign Secretary, from 1848 to '51, the British press ridiculed every effort of the French Republicans—sneered at Cavaignac and Ledru Rollin, Lamartine and Hugo—while they cheered Napoleon on to his usurpation, and Lord Normansby, then minister at Paris, the 3d of December grasped the hand still wet with the best blood of France, congratulating the Despot on his victory over the Reds, applying to the friends of Liberty the worst epithet that an Englishman knows. This last outrage lost Palmerston his place; but he rules to-day—though rebuked, not changed.

The value of the English news this week is the indication of the nation's mind. No one doubts now, that should the South emancipate, England would make haste to recognize and help her. In ordinary times, the government and aristocracy of England dread American example. They may well admire and envy the strength of our Government, when, instead of England's impressment and pinched levies, patriotism marshals six hundred thousand *volunteers* in six months. The English merchant is jealous of our growth: only the liberal middle classes really sympathize with us. When the other two classes are divided, this middle class rules. But now, Herod and Pilate are agreed. The aristocrat, who usually despises a trader, whether of Manchester or Liverpool, as the South does a negro, now is secessionist from sympathy as the trader is from interest. Such a union, no middle class can checkmate. The only danger of war with England is, that as soon as England declared war with us, she would recognize the Southern Confederacy, immediately, just as she stands, slavery and all, as a military measure. As such, in the heat of passion, in the smoke of war, the English people, all of them, would allow such a recognition even of a slaveholding empire. Indeed, the only way, the only sure way, to break this Union, is to try to save it by protecting slavery. "Every moment lost," as Napoleon said, "is an opportunity for misfortune." Even if we have no war with England, let another eight or ten months be as little successful as the last, and Europe will acknowledge the Southern Confederacy, slavery and all, as a matter of course. War with England ensures disunion. When England declares war, she gives slavery a fresh lease of fifty years. Further, any approach toward victory on our part, without freeing the slave, gives him free to Davis. So far, the South is sure to succeed, either by victory or defeat, unless we anticipate her. We shall never conquer the South without her trying emancipation. Do you suppose that Davis, and Beauregard, and the rest, mean to be exiles, wandering contemned in every great city of Europe, in order that they may maintain slavery and the Constitution of '89? They, like ourselves, will throw everything overboard before they will submit to defeat—defeat from Yankees. I do not believe, therefore, that reconciliation is possible, nor do I believe the Cabinet have any such hopes. Indeed, I do not know where you will find the evidence of *any* purpose in the Administration at Washington. (Hisses, cheers, and laughter.) If we look to the West, if we look to the Potomac, what is the policy? If, on the Potomac, with the aid of twenty Governors, you assemble an army, and do nothing but return fugitive slaves, that proves you competent and efficient. If, on the banks of the Mississippi, unaided, the magic of your presence summons an army into existence, and you drive your enemy before you a hundred miles farther than your second in command thought it possible for you to advance, that proves you incompetent, and entitles your second in command to succeed you. (Tremendous applause, and three cheers for Fremont.)

Looking in another direction, you see the Government announcing a policy in South Carolina. What is it? Well, Mr. Secretary Cameron says to the General in command there, "You are to welcome into your camp all comers; you are to organize them into squads and companies; use them in any way you please, but there is to be no general arming." That is a very significant exception. You recollect in Charles Reade's novel, *Never too Late to Mend*, (a very good motto,) the heroine flies away to hide from the hero, announcing that she never shall see him again. Her letter says, "I will never see you again, Edward. You, of course, won't come to see me at Mrs. Young's, at No. 126 Bond street, (laughter,) between 11 in the morning and 4 in the afternoon, because I shan't see you." (Laughter.) So Mr. Cameron says there is to be no general arming, but I suppose there is to be a very particular arming. (Laughter.) But he goes on to add, This is no greater interference with the institutions of South Carolina than is necessary, than the war will cure. Does he mean he will give slaves back when the war is over? I don't know. All I know is, that the Port Royal expedition proved one thing—it laid forever that ghost of an argument, that the blacks loved their masters—it settled forever the question whether the blacks were with us or with the South. My opinion is, that the blacks are the key of our position. (A voice—"That is it.") He that gets them wins, and he that loses them goes to the wall. (Applause.) Port Royal settled one thing—the blacks are with us, and not with the South. I know nothing more touching in history, nothing that art will immortalize and poetry dwell upon more fondly—I know no tribute to the Stars and Stripes more impressive, than that incident of the blacks coming to the water side with their little bundles, in that simple faith which had endured through the long night of so many bitter years. They preferred to be shot rather than be driven from the sight of that banner they had so long prayed to see. And if that was the result when nothing but General Sherman's equivocal proclamation was landed on the Carolinas, what should we have seen, if there had been 18,000 veterans with FREMONT, the statesman soldier of this war, at their head, (loud applause,) and over them the Stars and Stripes, gorgeous with the motto, "Freedom for all, freedom forever"? If that had had gone before them, in my opinion they would have marched across the Carolinas, and joined

Brownlow in East Tennessee. (Applause.) The bulwark on each side of them would have been 100,000 grateful blacks; they would have cut this rebellion in halves, and while our fleets fired salutes across New Orleans, Beauregard would have been ground to powder between the upper millstone of McClellan, and the lower of a quarter million of blacks rising to greet the Stars and Stripes. (Great cheering.) McClellan may drill a better army—more perfect soldiers. He will never marshal a stronger force than those grateful thousands. That is the way to save insurrection. He is an enemy to civil liberty, the worst enemy to his own land, who asks for such delay, or perversion of government policy, as is sure to result in insurrection. Our duty is to save these four millions of blacks from their own passions, from their own confusion, and eight millions of whites from the consequences of it, ("Hear, hear!") and in order to do it, we nineteen millions of educated, Christian Americans are not to wait for the will or the wisdom of a single man—we are not to wait for Fremont or McClellan—the Government is our dictator. It might do for Rome, a herd of beggars and soldiers, kept quiet only by the weight of despotism—it might do for Rome, in moments of danger, to hurl all responsibility into the hands of a dictator. But for us, educated, thoughtful men, with institutions modelled and matured by the experience of two hundred years—it is not for us to evade responsibility by deferring to a single man. I demand of the Government a policy. I demand of the Government to show the doubting infidels of Europe that Democracy is not only strong enough for the trial, but that she breeds men with brains large enough to comprehend the hour, and wills hot enough to fuse the purpose of nineteen millions of people into one decisive blow for safety and for Union. (Cheers.) You will ask me how it is to be done. I would have it done by Congress. We have the power.

When Congress declares war, says John Quincy Adams, Congress has all the powers incident to carrying on war.* It is not an unconstitutional power; it is a power conferred by the Constitution; but the moment it comes into play, it rises beyond the limit of Constitutional checks. I know it is a grave power, this trusting the Government with despotism. But what is the use of government, except just to help us in critical times? All the checks and ingenuity of our institutions are arranged to secure for us men wise and able enough to be trusted with grave powers—bold enough to use them when the times require. Lancets and knives are dangerous instruments. The use of surgeons is, that when lancets are needed, somebody may know how to use them, and save life. One great merit of democratic institutions is, that resting, as they must, on educated masses, the government may safely be trusted, in a great emergency, with despotic power, without fear of harm, or of wrecking the State. No other form of government can venture such confidence without risk of national ruin. Doubtless the war power is a very grave power; so are some ordinary peace powers. It was a grave power in 1807, in time of peace, when Congress abolished commerce; when, by the embargo of Jefferson, no ship could quit New York or Boston; and Congress set no limit to the prohibition. It annihilated commerce. New England asked, "Is it constitutional?" The Supreme Court said, "Yes." New England sat down and obeyed. Her wharves were worthless, her ships rotted, her merchants beggared. She asked no compensation. The powers of Congress carried bankruptcy from New Haven to Portland; but the Supreme Court said, it is legal, and New England bowed her head. We commend the same cup to the Carolinas to-day. We say to her that, in order to save the Government, there resides somewhere despotism. It is in the war powers of Congress. That despotism can change the social arrangements of the Southern States, and has a right to do it. Every man of you who speaks of the emancipation of the negroes allows it would be decisive if it were used. You allow when it is a military necessity, we may use it. What I claim is, in honor of our institutions, that we are not put to wait for the wisdom or the courage of a General. Our fathers left us with no such miserable plan of government. They gave us a government with the power, in such times as these, of doing something that would save the helm of State in the hands of its citizens. (Cheers.) We could cede the Carolinas. I have sometimes wished we could shovel them into the Atlantic. (Applause and laughter.) We can cede a State. We can do anything for the time being; and no theory of government can deny its power to make the most unlimited change. The only alternative is this: Do you prefer the despotism of your own citizens, or of foreigners? That is the only question in war. (Cheers.)

Now, this Government, which abolishes my right of *habeas corpus*—which strikes down, because it is necessary, every Saxon bulwark of liberty—which proclaims martial law, and holds every dollar and every man at the will of the Cabinet—do you turn round and tell me that this same Government has no power to stretch its bands across the Potomac, and root up the evil which for seventy years has troubled its peace, and now culminates in rebellion? I maintain, therefore, the power of the Government itself to inaugurate a policy; and I say, in order to save the Union, do justice to the black. (Applause.)

I would claim of Congress,—in the exact language of Adams, of the "*government*,"—a solemn act abolishing slavery throughout the Union, securing compensation to loyal slaveholders. As the Constitution forbids the States to make and allow nobles, I would now, by equal authority, forbid them to make slaves or allow slaveholders.

This has been the usual course at such times. Nations, convulsed and broken by too powerful elements or institutions, have used the first moment of assured power,—the first moment that they clearly saw and fully appreciated the evil,—to cut up the dangerous tree by the roots. So, France expelled the Jesuits, and the Middle Ages the Templars. So, England in her great Rebellion abolished Nobility and Established Church; and the French Revolution gave to each child an equal share in his deceased father's lands. For the same purpose, England in 1745 abolished clanship in Scotland, the root of the Stuart faction; and we in '76 nobles and all tenure of estates savoring of privileged classes. Such a measure supplies the South just what she needs—capital. That sum which the North gives the loyal slaveholder, not as acknowledging his property in the slave, but a measure of conciliation,—perhaps an acknowledgment of its share of the guilt,—will call mills, ships, agriculture into being. The free negro will redeem to use lands never touched, whose fertility laughs Illinois to scorn, and finds no rival but Egypt. Such a measure binds the negro to us by the indissoluble tie of gratitude—the loyal slaveholder by strong self interest—our bonds are all his property—the other whites, by prosperity, they are lifted in the scale of civilization and activity, educated and enriched. Our institutions are then homogeneous. We grapple the Union together with hooks of steel,—make it as lasting as the granite that underlies the continent.

People may say this is strange language for me—a Disunionist. Well, I was a Disunionist, sincerely, for twenty years. I did hate the Union, when Union meant lies in the pulpit and mobs in the street, when Union meant making white men hypocrites and black men slaves. (Cheers.) I did prefer purity to peace; I acknowledge it. The child of six generations of Puritans, knowing well the value of Union, I did prefer disunion to being the accomplice of tyrants. But now, when I see what the Union must mean, in order to last; when I see that you cannot have Union, without meaning justice; and when I see twenty millions of people, with a current as swift and as inevitable as Niagara, determined that this Union shall mean justice, why should I object to it? (Loud applause.) I endeavored honestly, and am not ashamed of it, to take nineteen States out of this Union, and consecrate them to liberty; and twenty millions of people answer me back, "We like your motto, only we mean to keep thirty-four States under it." (Cheers.) Do you suppose I am not Yankee enough to buy Union when I can have it at a fair price? (Applause and laughter.) I know the value of Union; and the reason why I claim that Carolina has no right to secede is this; we are not a partnership; we are a marriage. and we have done a great many things since we were married in 1789 which render it unjust for a State to exercise the right of revolution, on any ground now alleged. I admit the right. I acknowledge the great principles of the Declaration of Independence, that a State exists for the liberty and happiness of the people, that these are the ends of government, and that when government ceases to promote those ends, the people have a right to remodel their institutions. I acknowledge the right of revolution in South Carolina; but at the same time, I acknowledge that right of revolution only when Government has ceased to promote those ends. Now we have been married for seventy years. We have bought Florida. We rounded the Union to the Gulf. We bought the Mississippi for commercial purposes. We bought Texas for slave purposes. Great commercial interests, great interests of peace have been subserved by rounding the Union into a perfect shape; and the money and sacrifices of two generations have been given for this purpose. To break up that Union now is to defraud us of mutual advantages relating to peace, trade, national security, which cannot survive disunion. Why did we buy Texas? Why have we allowed the South to strengthen herself? Because she said that slavery within the girdle of the Constitution would die out through the influence of natural principles. She said: "We acknowledge it to be an evil; but at the same time it will end by the spread of free principles, and the influence of free institutions." And the North said: "Yes; we will give you privileges on that account, and we will return your slaves for you." Every slave sent back from a Northern State is a fresh oath of the South that she would not secede. Our fathers trusted to the promise that this race should be left under the influence of the Union, until in the maturity of time the day should arrive when they would be lifted into the sunlight of God's equality. I claim it of South Carolina. By virtue of that pledge, she took Boston, and put a rope around her neck in that infamous compromise which consigned to slavery Anthony Burns. I demand the fulfilment on her part even of that infamous pledge. Until South Carolina allows me all the influence that nineteen millions of Yankee lips, asking infinite questions, have upon the welfare of those four millions of bondmen, I deny her right to secede. (Applause.) Seventy years has the Union postponed the negro. For seventy years has he been beguiled with the promise, as she erected one bulwark after another around slavery, that he should have the influence of our common institutions. I claim it to-day. Never, with my consent, while the North thinks that the Union can or shall mean justice, shall those 400,000 South Carolina slaves go beyond the influence of Boston ideas. That is my strong reason for clinging to the Union. This is also one main reason why, unless upon most *imperative* and *manifest* grounds of need and right, South Carolina has no right of revolution; none till she fulfils her promise in this respect.

I know how we stand to-day, with the frowning cannon of the English fleet ready to be thrust out of the portholes against us. But I can answer England with a better answer than William H. Seward can write. I can answer her with a more statesmanlike paper than Simon Cameron can indite. I would answer her with the stars and stripes floating over Charleston and New Orleans, and the itinerant Cabinet of Richmond packing up archives and wearing apparel to move back to Montgomery. (Great applause.) There is one thing, and only one, that John Bull respects; and that is, success. (Applause.) It is not for us to give counsel to the Government on points of diplomatic propriety; but I suppose we may express our opinion, and my opinion is that if I were the President of these thirty-four States, while I was, I should want Mason and Slidell to stay with me. (Great laughter and applause.) I say then, first as a matter of justic to the slave, we owe it to him; the day of his deliverance has come. The long promise of seventy years is to be fulfilled. The South draws back from the pledge. The North is bound, in honor of the memory of her fathers, to demand its exact fulfilment, and in order to save this Union, which now means justice and peace, to recognize the rights of 4,000,000 of its victims. This is the dictate of Justice. Justice, which at this hour is craftier than Seward, more statesmanlike than Cameron; Justice, which appeals from the cabinets of Europe to the people; Justice, which abases the proud and lifts up the humble; Justice, which disarms England, saves the slaves from insurrection, and sends home the Confederate army of the Potomac to guard its own hearths; Justice, which gives us four million of friends, spies, soldiers in the enemy's country, planted each one at their very hearth-sides; Justice, which inscribes every cannon with "Holiness to the Lord," and puts a Northern heart behind every musket; Justice, which means victory now and peace for ever. To all cry of demagogues asking for boldness, I respond with the cry of "Justice, immediate, absolute Justice!" And if I dared to descend to a lower level, I should say to the merchants of this metropolis, demand of the Government a speedy settlement of this question. Every hour of delay is big with risk. Remember, as Gov. Boutwell suggests, that our present financial prosperity comes because we have corn to export in place of cotton; and that another year, should Europe have a good harvest, and we an ordinary one, while an inflated currency tempts extravagance and large imports, general bankruptcy stares us in the face. Do you love the Union? Do you really think that on the other side of the Potomac are the natural brothers and customers of the manufacturing ingenuity of the North? I tell you, certain as fate, God has written the safety of that relation in the same scroll with justice to the negro. The hour strikes. You may win him to your side; you may anticipate the South; you may save twelve millions of customers. Delay it, let God grant McClellan victory, let God grant the Stars and Stripes over New Orleans, and it is too late.

Jeff. Davis will then summon that same element to his side, and twelve millions of customers are added to Lancashire and Lyons. Then commences a war of tariffs, embittered by that other war of angered nationalities, which are to hand this and the other Confederacy down for twenty-five or thirty years, divided, weakened and bloody with intestine struggle. And what will be our character? I do not agree with Edward Everett, in that very able and eloquent address which he delivered in Boston, in which he said one thing worth his life—he, the compromiser—that if in 1830, 1831, nullification, under Jackson, had been hung, instead of compromised, we never should have had Jeff. Davis. (Loud applause) I agree with him, and hope we shall make no second mistake of the kind. But I do not agree with him in the conclusion that these nineteen States left alone, would be of necessity a second-rate Power. No. I believe in brains, and I know these Northern men have more brains in their right hands than others have in their heads. (Laughter and cheers.) I know that we mix our soil with brains, and that, consequently, we are bound to conquer. Why, the waves of the ocean might as well rebel against our granite coast, or the wild bulls of the prairies against man, as either England or the South undertake to stop the march of the nineteen free States of this continent. (Applause.)

It is not power that we should lose, but it is character. How should we stand when Jeff. Davis had turned that corner upon us—abolished slavery, won European sympathy, and established his confederacy? Bankrupt in character—outwitted in statesmanship. Our record would be, as we entered the sisterhood of nations—"Longed and struggled and begged to be admitted into the partnership of tyrants, and they kicked them out!" And the South would spring into the same arena, written on her brow—"She got rid of what she thought gainful and honest, in order to gain her independence!" A record better than the gold of California, or all the brains of the Yankee.

Righteousness is preservation. You, who are not Abolitionists, do not come to this question as I did—from an interest in these four millions of black men. I came on this platform from sympathy with the negro. I acknowledge it. You come to this question from an idolatrous regard for the Constitution of '89. But here we stand. On the other side of the ocean is England, holding out, not I think a threat of war—I do not fear it—but holding out to the South the intimation of her willingness, if she will but change her garments, and make herself decent—(laughter)—to accept her under her care, and give her assistance and protection. There stands England, the most selfish and treacherous of modern Governments. (Loud and long-continued cheers.) On the other side of the Potomac stands a statesmanship, urged by personal and selfish interests, that cannot be matched, and between them they have but one object—it is in the end to divide the Union.

Hitherto the negro has been a hated question. The Union moved majestic on its path, and shut him out, eclipsing him from the sun of equality and happiness. He has changed his position to-day. He now stands between us and the sun of our safety and prosperity, and you and I are together on the same platform—the same plank—our object to save the institutions which our fathers planted. Save them in the service of justice, in the service of peace, in the service of liberty; and, in that service, demand of the Government at Washington that they shall mature and announce a purpose. That flag lowered at Sumter, that flight at Bull Run, will rankle in the heart of the Republic for centuries. Nothing will ever medicine that wound but the Government announcing to the world that it knows well whence came its trouble, and is determined to effect its cure, and, consecrating the banner to liberty, to plant it on the shores of the Gulf. (Great applause.) I say, in the service of the negro—but I do not forget the white man, the eight millions of poor whites, thinking themselves our enemies, but who are really our friends. Their interests are identical with our own. An Alabama slaveholder sitting with me a year or two ago, said:

"In our Northern counties they are your friends. A man owns one slave or two slaves, and he eats with him, and sleeps in the same room—(they have but one)—as much as your hired man eats at the table with you. There is no difference. They are too poor to send their sons North for education. They have no newspapers, and they know nothing but what they are told by us. If you could get at them, they would be on your side, but we mean you never shall."

In Paris, there are one hundred thousand men whom caricature or epigram can at any time raise to barricade the streets. Whose fault is it that such men exist? The Government's; and the government under which such a mass of ignorance exists deserves to be barricaded. So with the Government under which eight millions of people exist, so ignorant that two thousand politicians and a hundred thousand aristocrats can pervert them into rebellion, deserves to be rebelled against. In the service of those men I mean, for one, to try to fulfil the pledge my fathers made when they said, "We will guarantee to every State a republican form of government." (Applause.) A privileged class, grown strong by the help and forbearance of the North, plots the establishment of aristocratic government in form as well as essence,—conspires to rob the non-slaveholders of their civil rights. This is just the danger our national pledge was meant to meet. Our fathers' honor, national good faith, the cause of free institutions, the peace of the continent, bid us fulfil this pledge—insist in using the right it gives us to preserve the Union.

I mean to fulfil the pledge that free institutions shall be preserved in the several States, and I demand it of the Government. I would have them, therefore, announce to the world what they have never done yet. I do not wonder at the want of sympathy on the part of England with us. The South says, "I am fighting for slavery." The North says, "I am not fighting against it." Why should England interfere? The people have nothing on which to hang their sympathy.

I would have Government announce to the world that we understand the evil which has troubled our peace for seventy years; we know well its character. Democracy, unlike your governments, knows that it is strong enough to let evils work out their own death—strong enough to face them when they reveal their proportions. It was in this sublime consciousness of strength, not weakness, that our fathers recognized the admitted evil of slavery, and tolerated it until the viper we thought we could safely tread on, at the touch of disappointment, starts up a fiend reaching to the heavens; but our cheeks do not blanch. Democracy accepts the struggle. After this forbearance of three generations, confident that she has power yet to execute her will, she sends her proclamation down to the Gulf—Freedom to every man beneath the stars, and death to every institution that disturbs our peace, or that threatens the future of the Republic! (Applause.)

(1) "Sir, in the authority given to Congress by the Constitution of the United States to *declare war*, ALL THE POWERS INCIDENTAL TO WAR are, by necessary implication, conferred upon the GOVERNMENT of the United States. . . . There are two classes of powers vested by the Constitution of the United States in their Congress and Executive government: the powers to be exercised in time of peace, and the powers incident to war. That the powers of peace are limited by provisions within the body of the Constitution itself; but that the powers of war are limited and regulated only by the laws and usages of nations, and are subject to no other limitation. . . . I do not admit that there is, *even among the peace powers of Congress*, no such authority; but IN WAR, there are many ways by which CONGRESS NOT ONLY HAVE THE AUTHORITY, BUT ARE BOUND TO INTERFERE WITH THE INSTITUTION OF SLAVERY IN THE STATES. . . . . When the Southern States are the battle-field between Slavery and Emancipation, Congress may sustain the institution by war, or perhaps ABOLISH IT by treaties of peace; and they will not only possess the constitutional power so to interfere, but THEY WILL BE BOUND IN DUTY TO DO IT, *by the express provisions of the Constitution itself*. From the instant that the slaveholding States become the theatre of a war, *civil, servile, or foreign*, from that instant *the war powers of Congress extend to interference with the institution of slavery*, IN EVERY WAY BY WHICH IT CAN BE INTERFERED WITH. . . . With a call to keep down slaves, in an insurrection and a civil war, comes a full and plenary power *to this House* and *to the Senate* over the whole subject. It is a war power. Whether it be a war of invasion or a war of insurrection, Congress has power to carry on the war, and must carry it on, according to the laws of war; and by the laws of war, an invaded country has all its laws and municipal institutions *swept by the board*, and martial law takes the place of them. This *power in Congress* has, perhaps, never been called into exercise under the present Constitution of the United States."—[*Speeches of John Quincy Adams in the U. S. House of Representatives*, 1836—1842.

WAR WITH ENGLAND—ITS SPIRIT.

The Mexican war began and ended in the service of slavery. The North was dragged into it by Southern tyrants. In the sacred name of liberty—for the "extension of the area of freedom"—Mexico was dismembered, and robbed of the fairest portion of her dominions, at the instigation and in behalf of these unscrupulous wretches. This identical Slave Power, after the lapse of fifteen years, bent on the same ends, not only assumes the shape of rebellion against the most benign government on earth, but by every means within its reach, it seeks to involve us in another foreign war, in comparison with which the first was only pastime. By a union of the English navy with its own military strength, it aims to remove the only obstacle to its ambition, by the conquest of the free North. American self styled aristocracy rests on African slavery; English aristocracy on the over-taxed and over-governed industrious masses;—of different origin, but kindred in spirit and creed. All heaven was made for a few saints like themselves; the entrance to the same straight and narrow, because few go in thereat. Hell, broader and deeper, was designed for the mass of mankind, and its approach therefore is broad, and crowded with travellers. These few were created by express design of the Almighty to rule and ruin *here*, that they may be the more readily exalted *there*; but the great mass of mankind, the same Almighty designed to be trampled in the dust *here*, the better to be damned *there*. This is the creed of the despot, but he is careful not to formally record it in his books. Both English and Southern despotism hate the people, and while they rule *down*, they also mean to rule *out* the American Republic, the great stumbling-block to the success of their inhuman plans. Southern despotism, sometimes called "democracy," the growth of less than a century, is now on the brink of the grave. In its agony, it stretches out its arm over the sea, and begs its elder brother to snatch it into life. The proffer, so tempting, if accepted, *may* engulph them both in a common ruin. If so, let all the world say amen, and take courage!

It is not cotton, it is not corn, it is not the "music of the dollar's chink," just now, greedy as England is; it is not the infraction of international law. English aristocracy is the growth of centuries. Its all-grasping ambition has by slow and steady pace won to itself power, wealth and renown. It takes no back tracks, but holds on. It yields only to superior force, never to the dictates of reason or justice. Slavery of the people is its corner-stone, with its accustomed ignorance and degradation, and so it hates all effort to restore mankind to its original, native rights, which come through freedom. It therefore hates American republicanism, because its great animating soul lies in respect for man as man; because it believes through culture to make the most of all rational human power. To the true Republican, or better, the true Democrat, or better still, the true Christian—all one and identical, when righty interpreted—all human beings, with all their powers and faculties, are held to be divine in origin and destiny.

On this continent, these principles have been planted. They have both taken root and germinated. In the soft air, amid the dew and rain from the sweet heavens, they are now pushing up into life to yield both leaf and fruit for the healing of the nations. All these and here, on this side the Atlantic, are now in course of experiment. It has its drawbacks, to be sure, but its march is onward. Tyrants across the water as well as at home know all this, and dread its power.

Slaveholding secessionists, then, it seems, and English aristocrats, do not like republics, and so they propose to enter into an alliance to put the free people of these United States down; and they mean to have at least nine millions of the black and white victims of the "institution," together with the great mass of the honest English people, misused and trodden upon—they mean to have their help.

Not so, say some. The English *people* are all right. They hate our slavery and love our liberty. They rejoice at our prosperity. True; but who and what are the people, without knowledge, and cheated and hoodwinked by tyrants? As well may the loyal men of the North say, the *people* in the South love the Union, and would fight for it if they could; but a handful of as arrant tyrants as ever cursed Greek or Jew use them only to abuse. Tyrants, with their minions, never fight for ideas. They are destructives ever. The one aspires to perpetual dominion—the other, witlessly to abridge its own freedom and to rivet its own chains.

Are we, then, through the rascally representations of lying emissaries in the pay of traitors, to be dragged into a war with England? We are; so says the English newspaper press, which, like our own, is daily introduced to the secrets of the Cabinet! And what is to be done to us? The blockade is to be broken, Northern ports are to be blockaded, the Southern Confederacy to be recognized, our naval and commercial marine is to be swept from the seas, we are to be threatened on the Northern frontier by English troops, and Southern armies are to overcome us and complete our destruction. All finished up, England is to be the mistress of the seas in a more emphatic sense than ever, a new empire, mighty and majestic, is to arise out of the South, with slavery for its corner-stone, and the North is to be held, it is presumed, as a conquered province. But it may be in this, as in other cases, that the war will hardly come up to the high-sounding phrase of the manifesto. Pray, what are we to be doing all this time? First of all, the rebellion will engage a more serious attention than hitherto. It must be no longer a mere boxing match with gloves. Not sods, but stones. To catch the "misguided brethren," and compel them, against their wills, to "swear a prayer or two," while they trample the Constitution under their feet, and then let them go, will not do. It is very expensive. It makes large tax bills. But there is a cheaper and better way than this. It is to strike rebellion under its fifth rib. This will be a quick remedy, and, if cautiously administered, not a violent one. England may then open or seal the ports hermetically, if she can; it is all the same to us. Not a bale of cotton or bushel of corn will she get by this process; and she may work at it ten years, if she can, while we make money by the operation. A few years' grass growing in our city thoroughfares would be a less evil than the extremes of wealth and poverty now so common, and we should have less occasion to contrast stupendous piles of brick and mortar—the erections, in too many cases, of a vulgar pride—with a multitude of starvelings, who can get no honest work. If in the end we are saddled with a national debt, we will bear it at least as well as the nations of Europe. If it is bad to be too far in debt, it is worse to be too far out and above-board. If the spendthrift and bankrupt are to be deprecated, so also should the meanly rich and selfish.

Blockade either the ports of the South or England, and they go to decay. The South lives by raising the raw cotton, England by its manufacture—nearly exclusive interests; and when the gates are closed through which they go to market over the sea, then they are powerless. Both powers are dependent on a large marine. Not so with the North. Foreign commerce is with us but comparatively an incident now, whatever it may once have been. The bulk of what comes water-borne to our shores, we could easily dispense with, and find ourselves healthier and wiser thereby. The seaboard would suffer, but the great interior would be stimulated to its highest productive capacity. Easy and cheap subsistence, and a rational degree of prosperity, would be open to all. Fortunately for us, if we are to have a foreign war, we have a diversity of callings, and find our true independence in our own abundant resources.

This is supposing the worst to happen to our seaports. No blockade, however, can be so effectual as to stop the egress of the privateer; in which case, where is English commerce? Nor can England stop the creation of a navy among us—and what then? No one courts a foreign war at this juncture. At any time, it is but a sad and terrible necessity. The government and people will join hands in due apology if any government agent has unjustly clashed with the rights of a neighboring nation. They will be peaceably inclined, and open to conviction; but if, on a candid consideration, it should be felt that we have done no wrong, then should no threat or open declaration of war, even, deter us. But, come weal or woe in such a war, when all shall be over, it will take many generations to efface the conviction, that whether in the character of her present "neutrality," or by lending her power and influence to the base attempts of conspirators at the reconstruction of American society on a slave-basis, or by seizing the opportunity presented by our present embarrassments to strike a blow at the hopes of freedom and happiness not only of a single nation, but of mankind—England is not only mean, but criminally selfish.

In the next quarter of a century, if we are prosperous as in times past, there will be upwards of seventy millions of people here. This prospective greatness of a Republic, and that the *first* power among the nations, disturbs the dreams of John Bull. To become a whipstick in the bands of this wretched man-stealing traitor of the South is surely a great business for proud old England; another instance as foolish as it would be flagrant of "vaulting ambition overleaping itself."

W.

☞ Though the tone of the English press is decidedly pugnacious, and the popular feeling there appears to be hot and blustering, and though Gen. Scott has suddenly returned home from France in the steamship Arago, yet we do not believe that England and America will come to blows on this question.

ESSEX COUNTY A. S. SOCIETY.

The Quarterly meeting of the Essex County Anti-Slavery Society was held at the Silsbee Street Chapel, Lynn, on the afternoon and evening of Sunday, Dec. 15th.

The meeting was called to order by the President, C. L. Remond, at half-past 2 o'clock. Prayer was offered by the Rev. Samuel Johnson, and a chapter from Joshua, pertinent to the times, was read by Mr. Garrison.

On motion of James N. Buffum, Esq., W. L. Garrison, Jr., was chosen Secretary *pro tem.*, and a Finance Committee, consisting of Messrs. Buffum and Merrill, and Miss Maria Page, was appointed.

The President, in opening, referred to the past experience of the Society. Their work, which had been so valuable in the past, was by no means ended. Never were the efforts of anti-slavery men more needed than now. The times demanded earnest action. He closed by cordially inviting all to speak who should feel moved to.

The following resolutions were presented by Mr. Pillsbury:—

Resolved, That while we rejoice in all the assurances of the advancing state of public sentiment on the subject of Southern slavery, we still deem the mission of the Abolitionists *unaccomplished*, so long as a slave wears a chain, or a nominally free colored man is subjected to any proscription, political, educational, or ecclesiastical, on account of his complexion.

Resolved, That slavery is the sin and crime to-day, which it has ever been; and is the sin of the North as well as of the South; and the present fearful collision between the North and South is but a penalty for that sin, and a just retribution on the Northern States for long complicity in the greatest crime of all the ages—and without waiting for that meanest of all motives to emancipation, "A MILITARY NECESSITY," it is the duty of the North, both government and people, immediately to *repent* of the sin by blotting our slavery forever out of existence, *as an act of justice, of humanity, and of obedience to God*, whatever consequences might attend so sublime an act.

The meeting was then addressed, in an earnest and able manner, by William Lloyd Garrison and Parker Pillsbury, whose remarks were received with strong demonstrations of approval by a large audience.

In the evening, the chapel was again well filled with a deeply interested audience, and the same speakers again delivered highly impressive and stirring speeches, preceded by a brief but eloquent address by the President. It is believed that an excellent impression was made, favorable to the cause of immediate and universal emancipation. Many signatures were appended to the Anti-Slavery Memorial to Congress, and a collection of more than eighteen dollars taken up in aid of the cause.

CHARLES LENOX REMOND, *President.*
LYDIA M. TENNY, *Secretary.*

THE TWENTY EIGHTH
NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY SUBSCRIPTION ANNIVERSARY.

The time for the ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION ANNIVERSARY again draws nigh, and we look forward to it with pleasure, as the means of meeting familiar, friendly faces, and listening to earnest words of counsel and encouragement. Some say that other agencies are now in such active operation, that "the old Abolitionists," as they are called, can well afford to rest upon their oars, while others carry forward their work to its completion. We cannot view the subject in this light. Our mission is the same now that it was thirty years ago. Through many and strange changes, we have slowly but steadily advanced toward its fulfilment; but there are many indications that our work is not yet in a state to be safely left to other hands. We have been, and we must still be, a fire to warm the atmosphere of public opinion. More than a quarter of a century ago, the fire was kindled with generous zeal, and year after year it has been fed with untiring industry and patience. Not all the cold water that politicians, merchants, and ecclesiastical bodies could throw upon it has sufficed to extinguish the flame, or even to prevent it from spreading. The moral thermometer can never again fall to the old freezing point. In view of this, we thank God, and take courage. But who that observes passing events, and reflects upon their indications, can arrive at the conclusion that the fire is no longer needed?

It is true that blood and treasure are lavishly expended to put down a most wicked and sanguinary rebellion, the proclaimed purpose of which is to extend and perpetuate SLAVERY. But the government of the United States manifests, in every possible way, a vigilant carefulness to protect the claims of Slavery, and politicians are continually announcing that the war has nothing to do with the cause of the war. There are now very few slaveholders who condescend to profess allegiance to the government; yet, small as is the remnant of that powerful and unprincipled oligarchy, they still appear to govern the counsels of the nation. The honest expression of THE PEOPLE'S wishes is required to be suppressed, lest the utterance should prove offensive to this arrogant minority, so long accustomed to rule the majority. The people are full of generous enthusiasm for their country. If the polar star of a great idea were presented to them, they would follow it with eager courage through suffering and death. But it seems to be the aim of politicians to create a fog so dense that neither star nor sunlight shall glimmer through it to guide the millions, who are longing to be led in the right direction.

Is *this* a time to let the sacred fire smoulder on the altar of freedom? On the contrary, there has never been a time when it was more necessary to watch it with vigilance, and feed it with untiring activity.

We, Abolitionists, still have unwavering faith that "a straight line is always the shortest, in morals as well as in mathematics." Politicians are always in need of being convinced of this obvious truth; and they are peculiarly in need of it now. Let us, then, continue to work for the good old cause in every way that is consistent with our own conscientious convictions. Let us meet together, that our hearts may be cheered and our hands strengthened for whatsoever work the God of the oppressed may call upon us to do.

All those who have faith in the principles of freedom, all who believe that the effect of righteousness would be peace and security for our unhappy country, are cordially and earnestly invited to meet us at the usual time and place in Boston, in January next. [Particulars hereafter.]

Contributions, and expressions of sympathy, from friends at home or abroad, in person or by letter, will be most thankfully received; for we have great need of both at this most momentous and trying crisis.

L. Maria Child,	*Mary Willey,*
Mary May,	*Ann Rebecca Bramhall,*
Louisa Loring,	*Sarah P. Remond,*
Henrietta Sargent,	*Mary E. Stearns,*
Sarah Russell May,	*Sarah J. Nowell,*
Helen Eliza Garrison,	*Elizabeth Von Arnim,*
Anna Shaw Greene,	*Anne Langdon Alger,*
Sarah Blake Shaw,	*Eliza Apthorp,*
Caroline C. Thayer,	*Sarah Cowing,*
Abby Kelley Foster,	*Sarah H. Southwick,*
Lydia D. Parker,	*Mary Elizabeth Sargent,*
Augusta G. King,	*Sarah C. Atkinson,*
Mattie Griffith,	*Abby Francis,*
Mary Jackson,	*Mary Jane Parkman,*
Evelina A. Smith,	*Georgina Otis,*
Caroline M. Severance,	*Abby H. Stephenson,*
Elizabeth Gay,	*Abby F. Manley,*

Katherine Earle Farnum.

THE INDEPENDENT. Rev. Dr. Bacon, Rev. J. P. Thompson, and Rev. Dr. Storrs have retired from the editorship of the *Independent*. They have edited the paper ever since it was started, thirteen years ago. Henry Ward Beecher is now to be its editor. Dr. Leavitt and Theodore Tilton still retain their editorial connections with the paper.

☞ We print this morning the lecture of Wendell Phillips on the war, delivered last evening in the Cooper Institute to an overflowing audience. In spite of the incendiary appeals of the *Herald*, the audience was one of the most orderly we have ever seen, and the sentiments of the speaker awakened such enthusiastic responses as were hardly to have been expected in the city of New York. Mr. Phillips regards the negro as the key of our position. Whichever side takes the negro by the hand will win in the contest. Justice eventually triumphs. If we do not free the blacks, and avail ourselves of their services, Jeff. Davis assuredly will achieve success and Southern independence.—*New York Tribune, Dec. 20th.*

☞ The speech here referred to by the *Tribune* we give entire in our present number, as revised and corrected by Mr. Phillips. It has all that terseness of thought and expression, masterly ability, and rare eloquence, which so uniformly characterize Mr. P's public addresses, and will be read, of course, with absorbing interest. Its length necessarily excludes our usual variety of matter, and all details of the various military conflicts in Missouri and Kentucky, which in every instance have resulted in the discomfiture of the rebels.

☞ A lady who left Savannah on the 24th ultimo, and whose statements are entitled to the fullest credit, says that there was the greatest terror in that city when the news of the Federal victory at Port Royal became known. Everybody ran off who could run, and every one carried as much as he or she could take. The lady says:—

"A number of the wealthiest citizens removed every valuable movable thing in their houses to some place in the country, and placed combustible material in the rooms, preparatory to firing them as soon as the Yankees landed. Cotton was sent inland as fast as it could be carried. But the Yankees did not land, no movement was made toward Savannah, and the senses of brave Southrons began to come back to them. They telegraphed to different points of their danger, and in a few days there were 17,000 troops in the city; the fort was reinforced, the batteries manned, new works of defence erected, and preparations made to give the Yankees a warm reception when they made their appearance. The women got over their fright, and after an absence of five days in the country, Miss A. returned with her friends to the city. The slaves of Savannah expressed very great fear of the Yankees, and ran away with the women and children, except such as were kept in town by their masters. At Beaufort, all the good slaves went away with the whites, only the vicious ones remained in the place. One slave-owner, who made up his mind to leave Beaufort very suddenly, called all his slaves together, and asked how many of them would go with him. Out of over a hundred, but ten refused to go. *He took them to the back yard, and deliberately shot every one of them.*"

GEN. HUNTER'S PLATTE COUNTY POLICY. A Committee of the citizens of Platte county, (Mo.) visited Gen. Hunter on Monday, the 2d. The General said to them: "Tell the Trustees of Platte county, that unless they give up Gordon and his gang, and break up every rebel camp, *I shall send Colonel Jennison over there with orders to burn every house in the county. I am getting tired of the whole subject.*"

Committee—Will you put that in writing?
Gen. Hunter—"I will."

That brief interview satisfied Platte county, and the policy indicated will satisfy Kansas and the country.—*Chicago Tribune.*

DETENTION OF REBELS CLAIMING SLAVES. General Heintzelman has within the past few weeks added to the population of Alexandria several Virginians whose desire to recover fugitive slaves outran their discretion. When they presented themselves at his headquarters in search of their lost bondsmen, he informed them that the soldiers of the National army were not slave catchers, and when, satisfied that he meant what he said, they essayed to return to their farms, he declared that he could not permit civilians to go beyond or to remain within his lines. One of them has, in consequence, been a month in Alexandria waiting for the army to advance to the other side of his plantation. "Dark-skinned Union men" continue to seek Gen. Heintzelman's camp, but fewer rebel owners visit him.

CONGRESS. In the U. S. House of Representatives on Monday last—

Mr. Wilson's resolution requesting the Military Committee to report a bill for the enactment of an additional article of war, prohibiting officers in the military service of the United States using [illegible] their command for the return of fugitive [illegible] considered and passed; ayes 67, [illegible]. The punishment for violations is dismissal from service.

A communication was received from W. H. Lamon, Esq., Marshal of the District of Columbia, in answer to a resolution of that body requiring him to show by what authority he receives and retains slaves in the jail of this District. The reply of Col. Lamon is in substance that the practice is acquiesced in by him on account of the universal custom based upon some valid law into which he has made no investigation.

ESSEX COUNTY NORTH.—There will be an Anti-Slavery meeting in Georgetown, on Sunday, 29th inst., to be continued through the day and evening, at the usual hours. In the present position of our national affairs, no argument can be required to induce a large attendance of the genuine lovers of liberty, not only of Georgetown, but all the contiguous towns.

CHA'S L. REMOND, S. S. FOSTER, H. C. WRIGHT and PARKER PILLSBURY will address the meetings.

☞ G. B. STEBBINS, of Rochester, N. Y., will speak at North Abington, Sunday, Dec. 29, on "The Slaveholders' Rebellion—Its Cause and Cure."

☞ A. T. FOSS, an Agent of the American A. S. Society, will speak at Milford, N. H., on Sunday, Dec. 29; and at Groton, Mass., Jan. 5.

☞ WORCESTER.—There will be an Anti-Slavery meeting at Worcester, in Washburn Hall, on Sunday, Jan. 5, at the usual hours, morning, afternoon and evening. Particulars will be given in next *Liberator*.

☞ MERCY B. JACKSON, M. D., has removed to 695 Washington street, 2d door North of Warren. Particular attention paid to Diseases of Women and Children.
References.—Luther Clark, M. D.; David Thayer, M. D.
Office hours from 2 to 4, P. M.

PRIVATE TUITION.

It having been deemed advisable to suspend, temporarily, the Hopedale Home School at the expiration of the present term, announcement is hereby made, that Mrs. A. B. HAYWOOD, one of the Principals, will be pleased to receive a few Young Ladies into her family for Instruction in the *English, Branches, French, Drawing and Painting*, and *Music*. The term will commence on WEDNESDAY, Jan. 1, 1862, and continue FIFTEEN WEEKS.

For particulars, please address
ABBIE B. HAYWOOD.
Hopedale, Milford, Mass., Dec. 10, 1861.

$40 PARKER $40
Sewing Machines,
PRICE FORTY DOLLARS.

THIS is a new style, first class, double thread, Family Machine, made and licensed under the patents of Howe, Wheeler & Wilson, and Grover & Baker, and its construction is the best combination of the various patents owned and used by these parties, and the patents of the Parker Sewing Company. They were awarded a *Silver Medal* at the last Fair of the Mechanics' Charitable Association, and are the best finished and most substantially made Family Machines now in the market.

☞ *Sales Room*, 188 Washington street.
GEO. E. LEONARD, *Agent.*
Agents wanted everywhere.
All kinds of Sewing Machine work done at short notice.
Boston, Jan. 18, 1861. 3m.

PARKER'S SEWING MACHINES have many qualities that recommend them to use in families. The several parts are pinned together, so that it is always adjusted and ready for work, and not liable to get out of repair. It is the best finished, and most firmly and substantially made machine in the Fair. Its motions are all positive, its tension easily adjusted, and it leaves no ridge on the back of the work. It will hem, fell, stitch, run, bind and gather, and the work cannot be ripped, except designedly. It sews from common spools, with silk, linen or cotton, with equal facility. The *stitch* made upon this machine was recently awarded the first prize at the Tennessee State Fair, for its superiority.—*Boston Traveller.*

JOHN S. ROCK,
ATTORNEY AND COUNSELLOR AT LAW,
No. 6 TREMONT STREET, - - BOSTON.

Poetry.

For the Liberator.

THE SLAVE'S APPEAL TO THE STAR-SPANGLED BANNER.

Starry banner! waving free,
Over land and over sea,
Proudly o'er the world you wave,
Yet, beneath you sighs the slave!
Starry banner, wave for me,
Break the bonds of Slavery!

Lovely banner, floating high,
Thou hast heaven's own azure dye;
Shall thy stars that gleam so bright,
Leave me ever here in night?
Lovely banner, wave for me,
Light the night of Slavery!

Flag of Freedom! unto thee
White men look, and boast they're free:
Must *I* still, in grief and pain,
Turn my eyes to thee in vain?
Starry banner, wave for *me!*
Break my chains, and set me free!

Starry banner! onward wave!
Float in mercy o'er the slave,
Till he, too, can look to thee,
And rejoice that he is free!
Flag of Freedom! over me
Wave, and give me liberty!

DORA M. WEST.

From the Christian Inquirer.

ANGELS OF EARTH.

BY J. C. HAGEN.

There are angels, angels many
Even now upon the earth,
Dark as it may seem to any
Creature of celestial birth.

Though, while on their earthly mission,
They are robed in forms of clay,
To our spiritual vision
Brighter than the sun are they.

Tints the world could give them never,
Deck the wings on which they move;
For these angel ones are ever
Borne upon the wings of love.

'Mid earth's scenes of mirth and gladness
Look not for these forms of light;
Oft'ner, 'mid its gloom and sadness,
Will you see their faces bright.

Oft they seek the dwelling lonely
Of the world-deserted one,
Cheering homes the selfish only
Know of to avoid and shun;

Now in kindness ministering
To the needy and oppressed;
Now the drooping spirit cheering,
Giving to the weary rest;

Oft, the scoffer's voice unheeding,
Solacing the child of shame,
And her trembling footsteps leading
Back, her virtue to reclaim.

Often may you see them shaking
From the slave his galling chain,
And his torpid soul awaking
Unto life and strength again.

Of the dungeon, dread and fearful,
Oft the ponderous door they ope,
To the wretch, in accents cheerful,
Whispering courage, whispering hope;

O'er the couch of sickness bending,
When the leech's skill is vain,
Aid to fainting nature lending,
Giving life and health again;

Often at the death-bed kneeling,
In the fervency of prayer,
Heaven unto the soul revealing
That was sinking with despair;

Now, with godlike love, beseeching
Man to shun the fields of gore,
When unheeded all their preaching,
Healing up the wounds of war;

Childhood's guileless nature warning
From the paths that lead astray;
Fitting manhood's early morning
For the labors of the day;

Ever toiling, ever striving
Now to teach his aim and worth,
And God's holy law reviving,
Are these angels of the earth.

Shedding bitter tears of sorrow
O'er the ills they cannot stay,
Ever hoping for to-morrow
Something better than to-day.

Surely, when, their task completing,
They to better worlds shall fly,
They shall meet a friendly greeting
From their brethren in the sky.

From the Anti-Tobacco Journal.

A TRACT FOR OUR ARMY AND NAVY.

I'm beat! There, boys, I'll give it up,
This cursed trick of drinking!
I've nursed the devil long enough
For my own good, I'm thinking.
So, here goes BOTTLE, PIPE, CIGAR,
The vile confederation!
Hurrah, my boys, I'm strong enough
To beat the whole creation!

Come Jack, come Joe, come comrades all,
And quit your drunken capers;
This Mr. T***k is "up to snuff,"
I tell you in these Papers.
He shows the thing up mighty smart—
And, what's the very best on 't,
It 's true as Gospel, all he says,—
Too true to make a jest on 't.

I've served the devil, boys, you know,
In shape of PIPES and BRANDY,
Until he 's come to count on me
As something pretty handy.
I know the *Cuss*—why, man alive,
He wants me, soul and body!
His terms,—you know them well enough,—
TOBACCO, PIPES, and TODDY.

I have a mother, boys, at home,
And, when I was a shaver,
She used to talk a deal to me
About my "good behavior."
I've made her old eyes water since;
But now, I'll tell you what, sir,
I'll make her cry on t' other side;
I'll be no more a sot, sir.

Then here goes SWEARING, RUM, CIGARS,
The whole vile crew together!
God helping me, I'll stiver through,
In spite of wind and weather.
Hark! there's the drum! To arms, my boys!
The whole Confederation
Can't scare me now—I'm strong enough
To conquer all creation!

WINTER.

Lo, Winter comes! and all his heralds blow
Their gusty trumpets, and his tents of snow
Usurp the fields from whence sad Autumn flies—
Autumn, that finds a Southern clime, or dies.
The streams are dumb with woe; the forest grieves,
Wailing the loss of all its summer leaves;
As some fond Rachel on her childless breast
Clasps her thin hands where once her young were pressed,
Then flings her empty arms into the air,
And swells the gale with her convulsed despair.

THE ANTHEM OF FREEDOM.

Like some old organ-peal,
Solemn and grand,
The anthem of Freedom
Sweeps through the land.

The Liberator.

PROPHETIC COMMUNICATION.

W. L. GARRISON:

DEAR FRIEND—The following prophetic communication, purporting to come from the spirit world, was written,—at the period of its date, now about ten years since,—by a lady in Western New York, who, under similar influence, penned many beautiful and interesting articles, bearing the names of different individuals. Her mind and hand purported to be controlled by her father, who was an excellent man, and then about thirty years in the angel world, and without whose permission none others could have access to her. She wrote with rapidity, though seeing but a word at a time, and could not tell, when a communication was finished, whether or not there was in it any connection of ideas. What was written was, of course, as new to her as to any one else. Its publication may not, perhaps, be without interest, as foreshadowing the solemn events which are now transpiring in our country, and as indicating the propitious results to which they are tending.

THOMAS McCLINTOCK.

Philadelphia, 10th mo. 30th, 1861.

11th mo. 2d, 1851.

MY DAUGHTER—At the earnest desire of one who for his country contended while he inhabited the rudimental sphere, do I now announce to thee the presence of George Washington, who wishes to write a few thoughts. THY FATHER.

"Woe, woe to America! A woe is pronounced against her from heaven. She hath forsaken her God. She hath bowed herself to Ambition and Avarice. She hath encompassed sea and land to make proselytes. She hath sought to enlarge her boundaries, and to be amongst the mighty of the earth. But the day of her humiliation is at hand. Her government shall be broken up. Her children shall rise in rebellion, and cause her to become a by-word and hissing among the nations of the earth. My soul goes out in mourning at her degeneracy. Better had she never been born to inherit the mal-organization of her parents. They saw but in part the beauty, the holiness of that perfect liberty which the children of light are called into, and hence transmitted to their posterity imperfection, whose giant growth now overspreads the land of my love.

O, America! the magnitude of thy errors is as a mountain piled up to heaven. It shall be shaken by the mighty power of God. It already totters to its base. It is swayed to and fro by the winds of heaven. Its volcanic elements will burst it asunder, and not a fragment shall be left. On its site then will be reared a structure of beauty, of goodness, fit for the children of purity to inhabit; for on its door-posts will be blazoned her motto of liberty and the pursuit of happiness for all. The seed of oppression will not be left within her portals to strike root and rear its gigantic head, sending forth poison to infect the land.

Then, all who dwell in the soil of freedom, from whence are to be dug the foundation stones on which this structure is to be built, cease not to exhume them from their resting places, in order that they may be ready when called for. Then will the earth approach the angel sphere, and they will descend with their influence to cause it to come forth clad in its robes of strength and power, to resist all opposing forces."—[*A Voice from Heaven, through George Washington.*]

EMANCIPATION LEAGUE.

FRIEND GARRISON:

We have organized an Emancipation League here, and the following persons have been chosen its officers:—George Keely Radcliffe, *President;* Michael C. Teel and Oliver J. Gerrish, *Vice Presidents;* Edward Everett Emerson, *Secretary;* Charles H. Philbrick, *Treasurer.*

At a meeting held by this League on Saturday evening, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted, and ordered to be printed in the newspapers, particularly the *Liberator*, and *Pine and Palm*:—

Resolved, That in the recent death of FRANCIS JACKSON, Esq., of Boston, that city has lost one of its most upright, far-seeing, warm-hearted and noble-minded citizens, whose works follow him only in praise, and whom every good man should strive to emulate.

Resolved, That in the double capacity of President of one Anti-Slavery Society, and Treasurer of another, for a long series of years, he magnified and made honorable a noble cause, and discharged his duties in these, as well as in all other positions of trust, with marked efficiency, and without reproach. That we especially honor him for his fidelity to the slave, and his humanity toward all fugitives from the prison-house of bondage; and that we rejoice that, in his last will and testimony, this hunted and oppressed race were remembered, to his everlasting honor.

Resolved, That we rejoice further, that in his last will and testament, the pioneers of the Anti-Slavery cause were not forgotten; and we commend most heartily his example in this respect to all wealthy and philanthropic people who desire to animate and enlarge the sphere of usefulness of noble men and women, and secure to the rising generation a proper education in works of philanthropy to their fellow-men, however persecuted and degraded.

Resolved, That we sympathize kindly with the relatives and friends of the lamented deceased, and would fain inspire them to keep his memory ever green by words and deeds of charity and good-will to their fellows, without distinction of caste or color.

Resolved, That the sublime principle inaugurated by JOHN C. FREMONT, if carried out to the fullest extent, would have created the only policy by which armed traitors, marauders and pirates can be effectually conquered.

G. K. RADCLIFFE, *President*

Haverhill, Dec. 14, 1861.

We have associated ourselves together for the purpose of diffusing all the information possible pertinent to the crisis now upon us, and which we hope and trust will soon come to an end by the utter extinction of slavery, its undoubted cause. No other cure but Emancipation can be effectual; and we agree with you that colonization, as broached by the President, would only produce "fresh agitation and unending conflict." And we endorse, to the fullest extent, your very apt remark, that "President Lincoln may colonize himself, if he choose, but it is an impertinent act, on his part, to propose the getting rid of those who are as good as himself." No man who cares a "fig" for the Golden Rule or Declaration of Independence—who cares a "snap" for genuine Republicanism, Democracy or Christianity, can tolerate this scheme for a moment. Every friend to oppressed and persecuted humanity ought to flout and scout it, no matter from what source it comes. This *hounding* down an innocent and unfortunate people,—according to Theodore Parker, the most docile and affectionate race in the world,—seems to us as cowardly as it is cruel. But I will not dwell upon the matter. Let me add, that we are utterly ashamed of the metropolis of this State in again electing *Wightman* as Mayor, a man who would be repudiated by Massachusetts for any office that might be named. And we have just about as much reason to be ashamed of the daily press of Boston. With the exception (not wholly, either,) of the *Transcript* and *Traveller*, no press in the United States is more heartless, mendacious and vacillating. Is Boston never to be rid of such nuisances as the *Courier* and its mercenary and depraved panderers and backers? Let her be warned that the people of this Commonwealth *never will honor any such "notions" as mobocratic mayors or prostituted presses.* Mark that!

Allow me to say, in conclusion, that the officers of our League are all printers—steady and true men. Documents sent to either will be gratefully received, read and pondered. "Circulating the truth" is one of our grand objects. PENTUCKET.

SIDE GLANCES AT THE WAR.

"Watchman, what of the night?" How goes the conflict? Are we approaching the hour of emancipation, or are we rolling back into barbarism? Hope whispers, all will end well. God and Right will triumph.

"Though the mills of God grind slowly,
Yet they grind exceeding small—
Though with patience he stands waiting,
With exactness grinds he all."

But there are side glances, which fail not to amuse and profit the "looker-on in Venice." How rapidly we seem to be advancing towards common sense and decency in our Christian treatment of each other! The slaves prove not the only contraband article. The spirit of sect gets no pass over the line. Orthodox and heterodox mix up in glorious union. In camp life, the shibboleth of sectarianism is unknown. This is progress in the direction of that unity for which Christ prayed, that his disciples might all be one. If the claim is valid that there are disciples of the Master who fight for dominion, then the war is a faithful school.

It really, however, seems sad that a lesson so current in all the pages of the Testament can only be mastered in the school of war. A poor comment is here afforded to the labors of the thousand "legates from the skies," that Christian union should reveal itself only in time of carnage and blood. If soldiers in the camp can joyfully sing one song, pray cannot the soldiers of the Cross thus sing and love in union when at the Lord's altar? We will not be overmuch critical, but rather rejoice that unity of spirit is deemed essential even by soldiers in the army.

It is said, this is being thankful for small favors! Not at all. Religious creeds, based on the dogmas of the church, amount to but little as tests of character. Men and women believe enough—perhaps too much. But in making an application of what is assented to comes the trial. The war has thus far proved to be eye-salve in clearing the vision respecting the hair-splitting of theological belligerents.

Another glance cheers us with the thought that geographical distinctions vanish away. A man's a man for his worth in duty. The spirit of caste is also contraband. The soldier does not hunt up the birth-place of his comrade to measure his worth. An Irishman is as good as a Yankee, if he prove faithful. So, then, the world does move. To learn the simple truths of righteousness may cost a treasure of blood and intense suffering; and if we are too depraved and stupid to profit by any other process, we must welcome this. God pity us for our folly, and save us from our darkness!

Milford, Dec. 16, 1861. G. W. S.

THE BEAUFORT NEGROES.

We think that enough tears have been shed over the pilferings and other "outrages" of the negroes at Beaufort, who are said to have gutted some of their masters' houses after the latter had shot several of them, and deserted the rest. True, it was a sad exhibition of human depravity for those ignorant slaves to rob and defile the mansions of such high-born rebels as Barnwell Rhett and Gen. Drayton! But have we not bemoaned it about long enough? Would it not be better for our officers at Port Royal to cease denouncing the blacks, and look after their rebel masters awhile? Two weeks have elapsed since Com. Dupont cleared away the obstacles to a landing for our troops, and the only thing we have heard from that quarter since is, that Gen. Sherman sent his proclamation ten miles into the interior by the hands of a lieutenant and a surgeon, who tried to force it upon a rebel clergyman, who wouldn't take it, but who finally consented to deliver it to another clergyman, who claimed to be a British subject—the lieutenant assuring all persons whom he met that the outrages perpetrated at Beaufort were committed by negroes. How sad it was that Sambo and Cuffee should have abused the confidence of Mr. Rhett and Gen. Drayton during their absence!

It was supposed that Gen. Sherman went to South Carolina to fight the most desperate gang of parricides that ever took up arms against their country. Secretary Cameron assures us that, to meet the peculiar exigencies of that latitude, he had given the commander of the expedition authority to employ the slaves in any manner he should deem most advantageous, "whether in squads, companies or otherwise," and for this purpose he had sent a large extra supply of arms. Yet, so far from resorting to this element of strength, our officers seem to be snivelling over the lawless condition of the Beaufort negroes, who have simply followed the example of their masters in rebellion and robbery, though on a much smaller scale. The country had high hopes of Gen. Sherman. Sherman's battery had won an enviable fame. Squeamishness towards slavery, and the savory of a dancing master towards rebels who are prating about black flags, were not supposed to be among his distinguishing traits. Bloodshed and victory, without mouthing or compunction, were hopefully looked for from him. They have not come yet, and the promise is not flattering, if slavery is to be treated after this gingerly fashion. Gen. Sherman might, ere this, have had five thousand able-bodied negroes drilling or laboring in his camp, if he had acted upon the authority placed in his hands. Yet, in a county which had six loyal blacks to one rebel white man, he seems to have nothing to do but to hedge himself with earth-works, and bewail the bad conduct of the Beaufort slaves.—*Chicago Tribune.*

One of the most remarkable features of the new life in South Carolina is afforded by the negroes. Black servants have been hired by many of the officers, as waiters, washermen and women. Black gangs have worked on the shore, or been used as oarsmen; blacks have served as scouts and guides in the reconnoissances. Crowds of the women and children may be seen in various parts of the camps, but especially near headquarters, where they inhabit their old huts still. There they receive their rations, there they build fires to cook their food or do their washing, and cluster into odd-looking groups, picturesque for all their squalor. The men and boys join them at night, and always, after supper, in a dilapidated outhouse, is held a prayer-meeting. I listened outside, last night, and heard ardent ejaculations of thanksgiving for the favorable chance God had given to "my colored brudden." The jargon was absurd, but it was earnest; the singing was out of tune and time, but it was fervent. In some quarters, the blacks are less religious, and held a ball to celebrate the coming of the Yankees. I have talked with nearly half of those I have seen; have asked them which they preferred, the new or the old order of things; and though some few here and there spoke kindly of their old masters, *there was no mistaking the genuineness of their gratitude for the change.*

At Beaufort, where not a few seemed sad at the pillaging that had occurred, yet even these declared they had long prayed for our coming. They laughed at the idea of our injuring them, which all declared their masters had endeavored to instil. The fact that they receive pay for their labor seems especially to delight them; and as for comfort, many have told me that they never lived so well before. None evince a vindictive spirit; even those who speak of having been whipped often and severely are by no means indignant; but, on the other hand, those who seem to have been most kindly treated, evince no regret for their old condition. Two or three, perhaps half a dozen, were undoubtedly found armed at Beaufort, but no other indications of a warlike disposition have been detected. The determination of all who can escape to leave their master is, however, continually asserted. *So far as the slaves are concerned, an advance into the country from Hilton Head would undoubtedly be followed by an immediate rush of the whole population toward our camps.* I doubt whether they would be guilty of greater atrocities than those of pillage, unless the whites should madly provoke them, or insist upon the slaves following. Centuries of bondage have had their effect; and the spirit of the race is effectually cowed; they are not savages, but slaves.

DEFENSES OF WASHINGTON. According to the report of the Chief Engineer of the Army—General Barnard—made to the Secretary of War, there are forty-eight defensive works around and in close vicinity to Washington, which mount three hundred guns that defend a circumference of thirty-five miles—exceeding by several miles, in this respect, the perimeter of the largest fortification of modern times.

CHANGE IN A BRITISH ORGAN. The British *Review*, which was formerly intensely hostile to our government, has lately turned the other way. It has an elaborate article, showing the mistake and folly of secession, which closes as follows:—

"The Federal Union, let us add, as a concluding consideration for Southern politicians, has a potential voice in the politics of the world. It has lifted itself up against Great Britain; it has challenged France, and obtained its own terms; it has taught Austria to respect American citizens; it is quite on a level with the empire of Russia; it has subdued Mexico; it extends from the Atlantic to the Pacific; thirty one millions of strong and intelligent people constitute a great nation. The secession of the South, followed by other secessions, incited by pernicious example, may break into fragments this now powerful, free and most valuable member of the community of the civilized world; *but the South never can inherit its power. What great nation will ever care a straw for anything thought, said or done by an almost shipless community on the Gulf of Mexico, the sinews of which are negro slaves? Secession is not the road to empire, but to insignificance and ruin.*"

OUR MULATTO VICE PRESIDENT. The Memphis *Avalanche* has an article on the "mulatto" Vice President of the North. It remarks:—"We have only been able to account for the remarkable lukewarmness of Hannibal Hamlin in regard to the Abolition war, by attributing it to the general distrust of Abolition sincerity entertained by his race. With a decided infusion of African blood in his veins,—a fact never yet successfully controverted,—we may suppose that he shares the sentiments and feelings of his African kin. Neither is it improbable that an instinctive sense of the incongruity and impropriety of an individual of negro extraction ruling over white people induces his reticence and modesty. Every well-bred negro or mulatto would shrink from such an anomalous position as unbecoming; and Hannibal may be supposed to be well-bred, having received an education superior to that usually bestowed on free mulattoes."

☞ Among the facts ascertained by our troops in their scouting expeditions from Port Royal is the following: that the contrabands are far more numerous than has hitherto been believed. They exist in great numbers in every direction. On St. Helena Island alone, on the plantations of Jenkins and Coffin, about two thousand were employed; half or three-quarters of that number, it is estimated, still remain. They are living on the provisions which were left by their masters; they also endeavor to dispose of it to parties of our troops who sometimes land there.

It is estimated that by far the greater portion of the blacks employed on extensive plantations yet remain. Many, of course, followed their masters; others are within our lines. But those who take care of themselves have very peculiar ideas of their own independence, and even of their proprietary rights. When asked where their masters are, they reply, with much gusto, that they have none; that they are their own masters; "Massa left when de Yankees come; dey run away when *old white neck* (the Wabash) sent de hotten shot."

The negroes represent themselves as the legal owners of all the live stock, sweet potatoes, and every description of provisions or available means which have been left in their possession by their masters. They suppose they have the best of whatever right of ownership may now exist. They (those yet on the plantations) are doing no work, living on such provisions as they can find, and sell quantities to our troops.

☞ A letter from Hilton Head says the negroes who come in all express a desire to be free, and work for themselves. They all complain of harsh treatment by their masters. On Mr. Seabrook's plantation, a child had been taken by the master from almost every family, in the hope of inducing the rest to follow. On one plantation, a negro was found who had been shot, and *left lying in the fire-place, nearly burnt to a cinder*—a fact which rendered the story of the others highly probable.

☞ A contraband at Beaufort thus describes the flight of the rebels: "Fust de Alabamians run, den de Georgia cavalry went after dem, and dey didn't come back, den de Souf Carolinians run, and lef de Dutch to be killed." The Germans manned their guns.

☞ General Drayton, in a letter to the Governor of South Carolina, says the negroes are behaving well, and while he admits that the negroes of *a few plantations* were insubordinate, he says:—

"I would respectfully advise that all planters and overseers, who are not mustered into service, and are owners or agents of property upon the main land, should, without delay, return to their several neighborhoods, and thus by their presence prevent a recurrence of that excitement among their people which has been due in a great measure to their absence."

☞ The Philadelphia *Inquirer* thus relates how a naval officer "caught a Tartar":—

"A naval officer was so unfortunate, a day or two since, while enjoying his dinner at Willard's Hotel, as to denounce what he was pleased to term 'Abolition movements,' and to add that 'that Abolitionist Henry Wilson is as bad as any of them.' To his surprise, a gentleman who had been quietly dining at his side, said in firm tones: 'Sir! I am Senator Wilson of Massachusetts, and I will suggest that you had perhaps better confine yourself to your duties, instead of indulging in such personal criticisms, which are in bad taste.' The rebuked officer 'shut pan,' and soon left the table, to wait for the Senator in the hall, and humbly apologise for his remark."

SMART HITS. Rev. Mr. Manning, in his lecture at Institute Hall, recently, referred to Messrs. Mason and Slidell as Commodore Wilkes's "contrabands." He also referred to Mason as the vindictive persecutor of John Brown, and said, that while the gathering hosts of Freedom were chanting on the Potomac, "John Brown's soul is marching on," the Virginia Senator, under the shadow of Bunker Hill, at Fort Warren, whines out, dolefully, "O carry me back to Old Virginny."—*Roxbury Journal.*

EDWIN CROSWELL, for many years the editor of the Albany *Argus*, the leading Democratic paper in New York, has published a letter, in which he fully endorses the position taken by Col. John Cochrane, on the question of emancipating the slaves, as enunciated in his recent speech. We have now upon the record the views of the leading Democrats of the country, such men as Bancroft, Butler, Cochrane, Croswell, Dix, Dickinson, and other prominent men of the party, whose names we do not recollect, all of whom concur in the sentiment, that the confiscation of the slaves, and their employment by the Government against its enemies, is the proper method to end the rebellion, and the only one which will squelch it speedily and effectively.

☞ New Orleans, at this season of the year, was formerly the scene of joyous life, brilliant gaiety, large business, and a "Rialto where merchants most do congregate" from all parts of the world. Now, its situation under the blight of secession is vividly painted by the Albany *Journal*, with its levee deserted—ships rotting by the river side—storehouses abandoned to the rats—shops closed at noonday on Canal and St. Charles streets—the grass cropping from the chinks of the pavements. Nothing "doing"—no vessels coming in or going out—nobody having money—nobody paying his debts. And then every thing is so aristocratically dear! Pork $45 per barrel; lard 45 cents per pound; bacon 35 and 40 cents per pound; and no potatoes in the market. In addition to this, crime rampant—drunkenness and licentiousness putting public decency to the blush—a hostile fleet a few hours distant, threatening to destroy the city. So early and so terrible have been the fruits of treason ripened!

☞ Commodore Levy, owner of the Monticello estate in Virginia, has prepared his will, in which he leaves the Jefferson homestead, and $100,000 to keep it in repair, as a legacy to the United States.

☞ On Saturday, 7th instant, 2500 men passed through Nashville for Bowling Green, carrying black flags embellished with a skull and cross-bones. They were mostly sixty days men, armed entirely with shot guns.

☞ In the New York regiment of Col. S. Wallace Cone, there are no less than three companies of soldiers composed wholly of members in Baptist churches. The Colonel himself is a son of the late Rev. Dr. Spencer H. Cone, of New York.

☞ Cruelty to wives is cheap in Iowa. William Hartwell, of North McGregor, in a fit of passion, recently seized his wife, stripped her of her clothing, and held her upon the stove until her body was burnt to a crisp in places. He was fined only $100 for this savage conduct.

☞ The ship Harvey Birch, which was captured and burnt by the Confederate steamer Nashville, was 1482 tons burthen, seven years old, and was owned by Messrs. J. H. Brower & Co. of New York.

DECEASE OF AN OLD CORRESPONDENT. The Rev. Joshua N. Danforth, D.D., died at Newcastle, Delaware, Nov. 14th, in the 64th year of his age. He was a native of Berkshire, Mass., and was for many years the pastor of a Presbyterian church in Alexandria, Va. He was for many years an "Occasional Correspondent" of the New York *Journal of Commerce*, generally writing from Newcastle, Alexandria, or Washington city.

☞ The nine surviving daughters of the late Amaziah Shattuck of Milford, N. H., met on Thanksgiving in Chelmsford, with all their husbands save three, and children enough to make up the number to 40 persons. The ages of the sisters range from 42 to 60 years, and their weight from 104 to 210 pounds. Death has not visited the family circle for 42 years.

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THE LESSON OF ST. DOMINGO.

I have just seen a small pamphlet, which was first published in the columns of the New York *Daily Tribune*, styled—

"THE LESSON OF ST. DOMINGO—HOW TO MAKE THE WAR SHORT, AND THE PEACE RIGHTEOUS."

The title attracted my attention, and I read the contents eagerly. The History of Hayti, so replete with useful instruction to countries wherein slavery still protracts its horrors, is, unhappily, too little known by Americans. The author of the article in question is one of those publicists, so rare in this country, who appear to have attentively investigated the subject. His thoughtful language denotes that he has pondered deeply over the bloody catastrophes of that terrible history. The parallel which he establishes between the actual situation of the United States, and that in which Saint Domingo found itself when the war of independence broke forth, is, unfortunately, too just. The lesson which he deduces from it may be of no small importance to the destinies of this great republic. You that have read, reflect! for, in history, as in physics, like causes produce like effects.

But, in the hasty enumeration which he makes of the different events which signalize that period of strife, bloody but glorious for Saint Domingo, the author has, I believe unintentionally, reproduced certain false statements invented by the hellish malignity of the colonists, primarily for the culpable and sacrilegious purpose of sowing discord and distrust between the men of color and the blacks, in order the more easily to accomplish their subjugation. These malicious and lying assertions have since been completely refuted by history, and contradicted by facts. It would be hardly necessary to refute them here, were it not that it may perhaps be of service to those who may have read the article to which I refer, not being at all familiar with the history of St. Domingo, or Hayti, to have those errors corrected.

I. The author of the article says, speaking of the taking up of arms by Ogé—"He put himself at the head of two or three hundred of his class in arms, and made a modest demand upon the planter's assembly of the North, for the legal rights of his class. In this address, he took care to say: 'I shall not have recourse to any rising of the slave gangs. I never comprehended, in my claims, the negroes in a state of slavery,' &c."

II. Further on, in narrating briefly the events which attended the famous insurrection of blacks under the lead of Jeannot, Jn. Francois and Biasson, he adds: "All classes of whites and *mulattoes* joined in suppressing this insurrection, and pushed their advantage of science and arms so far that they overdid it. By their wholesale slaughter of slaves who had no part in the conspiracy, they widely roused the black population in all quarters, and pressed thousands of them to fly to the mountains, where they were organized in bands under Jn. Francois, Biassou, and other chiefs, who soon learned how to direct their energies efficiently."

Now, listen! It is very erroneous to suppose that, in a slaveholding state of society, where the free men of color, all of slave origin, among whom could be found many Africans "*who were not more contemned by the whites than were the lightest mulattoes,*" and where "*the prejudice against color seemed to have a strength inversely proportionate to the difference of color between the parties,*"—it is erroneous, I say, to suppose that those men, who, although free, suffered, on account of their extraction, humiliations, persecutions, ofttimes worse than the tortures of slavery itself, could ever have imagined, for a single moment, that their cause was distinct from that of the enslaved blacks. Let it be well understood, that at no time and no where, in regard to this question of negro slavery, have the mulattoes and free blacks failed to recognize the cause of the black and mulatto slaves as completely identified with their own. That hideous distinction which the colonists of St. Domingo were compelled to establish, in order to fortify and maintain slavery in the colonies, ran counter to the natural good sense of the people, both black and yellow, whose perpetual enslavement was desired, but whom interest and instinct naturally induced to unite, on the first favorable occasion, against the colonists, their common foes. For the rest, there is no doubt that the future of the United States will verify that which the past of Saint Domingo (1) has proven.

It is true that Ogé, compelled to resort to arms in order to rescue himself from the unjust persecutions with which he was struggling, did not contemplate an immediate and sudden emancipation of the slaves; nevertheless, his noble heart never ceased to sympathize with their condition, and, by laboring to obtain perfect equality, just and natural, among *all free men* of the colony, (blacks, whites and yellows,) he hoped, by so doing, to prepare the way for that great work of humanity and justice, the object of his passion and of his most ardent vows. These sentiments of Ogé were too openly avowed to be justly denied to him. It was by his efforts and initiative, aided by Jules Raymond, a mulatto, that the Argenson Club was organized at Paris in 1789, under the presidency of Mr. Jolly, a distinguished philanthropist, to plead also the cause of the negroes before that French nation, which had just risen to bring to trial both peoples and kings. The Club, at its meetings of the 3d, 8th, 12th and 22d of September, 1789, drew up a memorial of grievances of the men of color and free blacks, and demanded of the National Assembly the extinction of those odious prejudices against color, by proclaiming that there could be but two classes of men in the colonies: that of freemen, and that of men living in a state of servitude. At the same time, *the memorial proposed a plan for the amelioration of the condition of the slaves, and the gradual abolition of slavery.* (2) But even before this memorial was actually drawn up, when Ogé, conscious of his rights, dared to present himself alone, on the 7th of September, 1789, before the Massiac Club, composed of colonists, his enemies, to discuss with them the cause of his brethren, in an impassioned discourse which he delivered, he hurled into their midst, like a cry of his soul, the memorable speech which had a prolonged echo, reaching as far as the mountain of Saint Domingo. "But, gentlemen," said he, "in speaking of liberty,—that word liberty which we do not pronounce without enthusiasm, that word which carries with it the idea of happiness, were it merely because it seems to make us forget the evils which we have suffered for centuries,—this liberty, *the greatest, the chief of blessings*, is it intended for all men? *I think so.* Ought it to be given to all men? *I believe this also.*" (3) But, as if to reässure the colonists, frightened by his audacious conceptions, Ogé, whose generous and chivalric soul demanded justice for his brethren, and not the blood of their enemies, added later, on another occasion, the words which have been quoted in these columns: "I shall not have recourse to any raising of the slave gangs." Because Ogé, who had associated intimately at Paris with Robespierre, Brissot, Gregoire and La Fayette, and had drank with them from the same cup of liberty, trusting to the principles of justice and of equality just proclaimed in France, hoped to attain the realization of his wishes without shock and without violence, by the force of justice and reason alone. So, when compelled to oppose force to force for his personal protection, Chavannes, his friend, a mulatto, one of those valorous Haytians who voluntarily received the baptism of the fire of battle at Savannah, fighting under Count d'Estaing for American liberty, proposed to him to raise the slaves, to proclaim universal liberty, and thus at one blow to annihilate colonial pride, Ogé recoiled before the blood and horrors which such an uprising presented to his mind (1) He ardently desired liberty for all, but conscientious, matured liberty, acquired peaceably by the law of justice. A liberty bloody and terrible, born amid fearful rendings of society and upon the smoking ruins of the colony, such as it was sometime after, was repugnant to his humane and generous heart.

Garran Coulon, sent to Saint Domingo by the National Convention of France to make a report concerning the troubles in that colony, and who is certainly a competent authority in the matter, says, in speaking of Ogé—"Finally, after having reproached him during his life with having wished to raise the slaves, they (the colonists) have made it a crime that he should have written that he did not desire to arm them against the whites. It is true that Ogé thought in 1790, with the prominent philanthropists, and the *friends of the blacks* themselves, that liberty could not be given to the slaves *all at once*. He did not believe that the attempt was then practicable; and it required the whole extent of our revolution, before that great act of natural justice could be promptly effected,—so difficult is it to destroy the most horrible iniquities after they have become rooted in society. But Ogé was far from despising the rights of the negroes, or desiring, like the two colonial assemblies, that their perpetual bondage should be the basis of the colonial constitution. He had perceived the necessity of ameliorating their condition in the memorial which he had the imprudence to present to the club Massiac." (2)

And Southonax himself, whose unjust prejudice against the free men of color of St. Domingo (the former emancipated slaves) signalized particularly his last mission to that colony—a prejudice unworthy his enthusiastic and liberal heart, accounted for only by his inconsistent character, and which Victor Schœlcher, and others after him, believe that they ought to espouse, without well knowing why—Southonax, I say, who was proud to have been the first to proclaim universal liberty to the slaves of St. Domingo or Hayti, acknowledged, notwithstanding, that the young martyr Ogé "*died for the liberty of his brethren,*" (the men of color,) "*and even for the liberty of the blacks.*" (3)

The remarks which we here make, concerning this young hero, apply to all the men of color of that period.

After the terrible punishment which Ogé and Chavannes were made to undergo in the city of the Cape, for having dared to assert the rights of their brethren, yet we see the men of color sending commissioners to Paris to demand these same rights before the National Assembly of France; and in the petition which they addressed to that assembly in May, 1791, page 7th, they say: "The citizens of color behold with anguish the sad condition of the enslaved blacks; but they perceive, with you, the necessity of not precipitating any innovation in their behalf. You will behold them, since, like the whites, they are unfortunately the possessors of slaves, you will behold them the first to concur in all the methods which your wisdom and humanity may dictate for the amelioration of their condition, *whilst you are preparing to break their fetters.*"

All this, and still other facts, appear to me a sufficient reply to the erroneous assertion made by Mr. Elizur Wright, doubtless through misinformation, "that the mulattoes of St. Domingo claimed the right of property in negroes, and joined the whites to fight them, and keep them enslaved," &c.

So much for the philosophy of the men of color: now let us examine their practice.

The horrible punishment inflicted on Ogé and his associates in Hayti did not, however, retard in France the progress and triumph of the Revolution. Two decrees, establishing the political equality of colored men, were made on the 13th and 15th of May, 1791, by the National Assembly. But the whites of St. Domingo, on the receipt of the intelligence, exhibited the most violent indignation. A thunderbolt, says P. de Lacroix, could not have produced a more sudden explosion than that which this intelligence produced in St. Domingo. All the parishes protested against the execution of that decree of the 15th May, and the colonists swore that they would perish beneath the heaped up ruins of their property, rather than submit to such an infringement of their rights. (4)

The men of color, however, who, since the sad and cruel death of Ogé and his companions were thought to be overwhelmed by fear, were, on the contrary, only the more firmly resolved to enjoy the liberty and equality which the legislation of France had granted them, or die. (5) The assassination of Lacombe, the murder of Ferrand de Baudieres, and that barbarous execution of Ogé, to which the article of Mr. Wright alludes, had only excited in them a justifiable hatred against the whites, whose privileges and pride they were resolved to crush down. (6)

The dissension which arose on account of the animosity cherished on both sides—between the representatives of France, or the revolutionists charged with the execution of the liberal enactments of the National Assembly, and the colonists opposed to the execution of laws which, they said, violated their privileges—between the great planters and the petty whites—appeared to present a favorable opportunity for the men of color to rise, and shake off the yoke under which they were oppressed. (7) In the months of June and July, 1791, several insurrectionary movements occurred in the South and West, at the instigation of the men of color, who shortly before were assembled at Mirebalais, in order to decide upon the means to be used to vindicate their rights. Finally, on the 21st of August, the very night prior to the rising of the blacks in the North, a formidable insurrection of the men of color burst forth in the neighborhood of Port-au-Prince, under the lead of Lambert, a free black, and Beauvais, a mulatto; another, again, who had distinguished himself under Count d'Estaing in the American Revolutionary War. Nearly at the same time, Jourdain at Petit-Trou, and Guilloux at l'Arcahaye, took up arms, also at the head of men of color, for the purpose of obtaining their rights. (8)

But in the North, more directly under the eyes and within the control of the colonial authority which was there concentrated, the men of color did not dare avow, or could not manifest, their opposition as openly as those of the South and West had done. Meanwhile, although their apparent conduct might not indicate any hostility, their departure from the cities, under pretence of escaping the jealous hatred of the whites, (9) could not have been, likely, without influence upon the formidable insurrection of the blacks which almost immediately broke forth there. However, when that insurrection broke out, the revolutionary party (then the *unionists*) charged the conspiracy to the colonists, (then the *secessionists*,) whom they accused of wishing by these means to frustrate, in the colony, the liberal changes which France had just instituted; and the colonists, on the other hand, attributed it to the revolutionists, whom they suspected of complicity with the blacks, for the purpose of destroying their authority and prestige in St. Domingo, (10) just as it has happened now, that the South, charging the whole North with abolition designs for having appointed a Republican President, have thought it best to secede from the American Union.

Mr. Beaubrun Ardouin, with that analytical ability which distinguishes him preëminently from all other writers who have studied the History of Hayti, enters at full length, in the first volume of his Disquisitions, at the 6th chapter, into an enumeration of the various causes which are supposed to have led to that insurrection. At any rate, when the blaze of conflagration, and the cries of unfortunate wretches perishing amid avenging flames kindled by the slaves, had given the signal, that same night, the 22d of August, 1791, Candy, a free man of color, took up arms also in the environs of Ouanaminthe, at the head of a large number of his own class, among whom were many outlawed for complicity in the affair of Ogé, and came to rally around the standard of the leader, Jean François, for *the common cause.* (1)

These black leaders, in the delirium of their hate and the drunkenness of avenging passion, marched through the scenes of devastation and carnage, under the bloody oriflamme which they had raised—the dead body of a white infant on the end of a pike—to the very walls of Cape Haytien. Then the horrified whites, accusing the peaceable and inoffensive mulattoes who had not left the town with having instigated this revolt, commenced to massacre them without pity. Women, children, old men, all fell beneath their assassin blows. Those who succeeded in escaping that horrid butchery fled for refuge to the church, where the Colonial Assembly then seemed willing to take them under its protection, *on the condition that they would assist the whites to put down the insurrection of the slaves.* Between the certainty of a cold blooded assassination, if they refused, and the chance of living to revenge themselves some day if they appeared to accept the proposition of the whites to aid them in fighting the insurgents, these unfortunate, defenceless men, at the mercy of their enemies, did not hesitate. (2) Very soon, the insurrection being more and more suppressed, shut up in the plains of the North, weakened by want of discipline and the anarchy which prevailed among the leaders of the blacks, the whites found themselves masters of the situation. It was not enough to have armed the free men of color of the Cape against their enslaved brethren; the Colonial Government desired to make it a general rule, in order, doubtless, to find a pretext to institute throughout the island, against those who would not submit, the same persecutions and massacres that those at the Cape had suffered.

A decree of the 5th November, 1791, in reference to them, specifies, at Art. 2: "That *men of color and free negroes* shall be obliged to coöperate with the white citizens in reëstablishing order and peace in the colony, under penalty of being prosecuted, and *condemned as seditious and disturbers of public tranquillity.*" (3) And the penalty then was death,—death under its most horrid forms.

Thus, the men of color, far from having exhibited an eagerness to unite with the whites in suppressing that insurrection, as Mr. Wright asserts, in his paragraph which I have quoted: "II. All classes of whites and *mulattoes* joined in suppressing the insurrection, and pushed their advantage of science and arms so far, that they overdid it, &c." So far from that being the case, I say, history proves that they aided the insurrection to the extent of their ability. And it required force, or intimidation, to compel a few of them to take part against the slaves; in the same manner as we see the unfortunate slaves of the South, to-day, obliged to dig trenches and build ramparts to protect their hated masters against the army of the North, whose triumph is, unquestionably, the object of their most fervent prayers.

However, intoxicated with their success, these unfortunate slaves abandoned themselves to the most frightful disorders, far from having any thought about establishing their liberty. As yet, they had no idea even of that priceless liberty, man's natural attribute, and we have the mortification to behold their most distinguished leaders, Biasson, Jean Francois, and even their Lieutenant, Toussaint L'Ouverture himself,—to such an extent, alas! had slavery corrupted their minds—selling the blacks and mulattoes who fell into their hands, without scruple, to the Spaniards of the Eastern part of the Island. (4)

The perpetration of such revolting abuses, together with repeated scenes of carnage and depredation, could only grieve the true friends of liberty, and very soon those whom a pure love for the sacred rights of man had armed in favor of the insurgents, abandoned them to their fate. At length, their chiefs, weary of carnage, or doubtful of the future, made overtures to the civil commissioners, Myrbeck and St. Leger, &c., representatives of France in the colony, to put an end to the insurrection, and *reduce the whole of the army to slavery*, with the exception of four hundred of the principal ones among them. (5)

After these unpropitious events, order and peace were not reëstablished in the colony. The whites, puffed up with pride, and blinded by the prejudices which controlled them, quickly forgot the imminent danger they had just escaped, and redoubled their persecutions against the men of color and free blacks, whose intelligence and evident prosperity appeared to them an odious and insupportable rivalry. Nourished in vice, and habituated to crime, these infamous colonists, of execrable memory, did not only make laws, as some of the Southern States in this country, to expel the free colored men from their midst, but carried their atrocity, in their insatiable thirst for control, to the extent of meditating the horrible, the inconceivable project of exterminating the entire colored caste! (6)

Disembarrassed of that turbulent population, as they style them, jealous of their rights, they would remain, so they thought, only more quiet possessors of their slaves.

Toussaint L'Ouverture sprang from this scandalous and unheard of scheme, which, even now, after a lapse of seventy years, makes us tremble with horror and indignation. But, very soon, the genius of the black chieftain displaying itself, he thought to turn against his instigators the fratricidal weapon which they had placed in his hands. It was too late! France had sent her battalions to deliver the colonists from their redoutable ally. Toussaint was taken, and conveyed to France.

Then, and only then, it was, that the Genius of Liberty, spreading its protecting wings over that unprotected land, carved with its puissant sword upon the blue firmament of Hayti, to the astonished gaze of blacks and mulattoes, the magic and ineffaceable words:—"LIBERTY, INDEPENDENCE, OR DEATH!"

Alexander Petion, a mulatto, the founder of the Republic of Hayti, seized, like another Washington, with all the sacred enthusiasm with which his great soul was susceptible, these words, and wrote them, on the glorious night of the 18th of October, 1802, on the standard of the new country, which, together with Dessalines, (black,) he was about to bestow upon his brethren. And thus uniting their efforts, both colored and black, under the inspiration of those two reform chiefs, succeeded, at last, after the most desperate struggles, in attaining their liberty and independence. Behold the action of colored and black men of Hayti!

But, in order that the lesson which Mr. Wright's able pen has so wisely and so intelligently drawn from the history of Hayti should have its full effect, it was necessary that we should correct the involuntary error into which he has fallen: namely, that the men of color of Hayti have manifested an indifference to the condition of the slave. The facts which we have just set forth prove, on the contrary, what part they played in the events of the war which led to the the independence of that country. There should be no concealment; the same causes will produce the same effects in the United States as in Hayti. If blind prejudices, as unjust as they are barbarous, induce the South to perpetuate slavery and its horrors in their States, the 500,000 free colored men, scattered throughout the Union in shame and dejection, eagerly waiting for an opportunity, will find means, some day, to inflame the souls of the slaves, and to execute, in the words of Dessalines, *by a universal earthquake*, a terrible vengeance! And be well assured, that every attempt, on the part of the North, to maintain and protect slavery at the South, is only making her take one step more towards her ruin and destruction.

When France, occupied in her continental wars, was obliged, in a manner, to abandon St. Domingo to herself, and her Commissioners there, in order to save the authority of the mother country, imperilled in that colony by the treason of the colonists, were compelled by circumstances to proclaim a mock liberty to the slaves, England sent 31,000 men, and expended one hundred million of dollars, to re-establish slavery in the parts of the island which the colonists had given up to her. Of these 31,000, 21,000 perished, the victims of their audacious temerity. Later, Bonaparte, mistaking his destiny, and abjuring his past, attempted to restore the old regime in France and her colonies. He sent his fleet to St. Domingo, and 55,600 of his best soldiers, the conquerors of Arcole and the Pyramids. Of this number, 53,000 were immolated as holocausts to the Goddess of Liberty. Of the 40,000 whites who were in St. Domingo when these bloody struggles between Liberty and Slavery began, scarcely 10,000 were able to save themselves, in exile, from the avenging fury of the Nemesis whom their perfidious hands had armed!

So, then, 21,000, 53,000, and 30,000, equal to a total of 104,000 white corpses—without counting the money, without mentioning the negroes—that is what the blind obstinacy of the colonists of St. Domingo cost humanity! Should not their interests alone, setting aside the considerations of justice and humanity, have induced them to break the chains of their slaves, and attach them to themselves by their justice and equity? They would have made of them free and intelligent laborers, who, even to-day, would have been glad to moisten with their sweat the vast domain of their former masters, as is the case now in Barbadoes, St. Lucia, Jamaica,—in short, every where, where the chains of the slave have been broken even by the hand of the masters!

Here, then, is a weighty lesson, as Mr. Wright very justly remarks, and one which God seems to have placed expressly in view of the Americans, to save their beautiful and flourishing country from the ruin and desolation with which slavery threatens it.

A. TATE,
Capitaine de la Garde de S. E. le President d'Haiti.

Boston, June 19, 1861.

(1) It is well to remember, that the name of Saint Domingue used in this writing *merely* refers to the French part of the Island of Hayti,—at that time the French calling it "the colony of St. Domingo." The same constitutes now the Republic of Hayti, under the rule of Fabre Geffrard, President.

(2) St. Remy, Petion and Haiti, Sec. 1, p. 45, 43. T. Madiou, Hist. d'Haiti, vol. 1, p. 54.

(3) Disquisitions on the History of Hayti. B. Ardouin. Vol. 1, p. 114. An account of the troubles of St. Domingo. J. P. Garran. Vol. 2, p. 197.

(1) History of Hayti. T. Madiou. Vol. 1, p. 57. B. Ardouin. Vol. 1, pp. 134, 135.
(2) Report of the Troubles of St. Domingo. J. P. Garran. Vol. 2, p. 55.
(3) Notes of B. Ardouin. Hist. d'Haiti, p. 144, vol. 1.
(4) Protest of the Parish of Gros Morne.
(5) Letter of Labruissoniere, mulatto, to J. Raymond.
(6) Pamphile de Lacroix, vol. 1, pp. 24, 64. B. Ardouin, Etudes sur l'Hist. d'Haiti, vol. 1, p. 224.
(7) Hist. d'Haiti, Th. Madiou, volume 1, pp. 68, 69.
(8) Hist. d'Haiti, T. Madiou, vol. 1, p. 77.
(9) Pamphile de Lacroix, vol. 1, p. 85.
(10) Pamphile de Lacroix, vol. 1, pp. 65, 100.

(1) Th. Madiou, Hist. d'Haiti, vol. 1, p. 71. Garran Coulon, vol. 1, p. 324.
(2) Etudes sur l'Haiti, Ardouin, vol. 1, p. 240.
(3) B. Ardouin, Etudes sur l'Histoire d'Haiti, vol. 1, p. 250.
(4) T. Madiou, History of Haiti. Vol. 1, p. 93.
(5) T. Madiou, History d'Haiti. Vol. 1, p. 91. B. Ardouin. Vol. 1, p. 278.
(6) B. Ardouin, vol. 4, p. 60.

COL. COWDIN TURNED SLAVE-CATCHER.

The redoubtable Colonel of the First Massachusetts Regiment seems to be winning an unenviable notoriety, not only for his unsoldier-like blunders and ignorance of the most trivial military matters, but for a deed more reprehensible than all else, and which native ignorance and stupidity can hardly excuse. We let the Washington correspondent of the Boston *Traveller* tell the story in his own way:—

"The members of the Massachusetts First have been considerably stirred up by an occurrence which has taken place within a few hours. It seems that last Wednesday or Thursday, a slave called 'Wisdom,' ran away from his master, living in or near Georgetown, on account of having been beaten and otherwise ill-treated. It was said that his master was a mounted Secessionist, and even slave-driver, and the slave described a saddle, bridle and pistol, which belonged to him, and was kept in the parlor of his residence, in readiness for action, should the Government forces be compelled to evacuate Washington.

Whether true or not, such was the slave's testimony, and he was immediately taken into the camp and employed by the wagoners about their horses, &c, they sharing their rations with him, and giving him a lodging by night.

On Sunday, July 7th, the man pretending to be his master came into the camp inquiring for his slave. He was sent to various parts of the camp on such fools' errands as he deserved. While he was gone, the slave was hurried first into the woods, and then into the empty aqueduct of the Washington water works, and there hidden until his claimant returned home discouraged. Monday morning, however, bright and early, he was back again, *still without papers*, and the wagoners unfortunately being all away, he got track and sight of the fugitive he sought. When the poor fellow heard the voice of his master, he trembled like a frightened hare, and could hardly move, so extreme was his terror.

Capt. Snow, of Somerville, was the officer of the day, and a request was made to him that the slave might be given up and remanded to bondage. But on various pretexts, the Captain delayed action, like the true and noble-hearted man he is, hoping that the slave might again be smuggled out of the way.

His master, however, went at once to the Colonel, and stated his case, and the Colonel, *without papers*, or any legal action, whatever, without testimony even, save that of the slave and his owner informally given, and therefore not to be legally received, commanded Captain Snow, as he himself confessed in presence of the Captain and the Chaplain, W. H. Cudworth, to deliver up the slave to his master. From this order, there was of course no appeal. The slave was given up, trembling with terror, and is now in *bonds*. What punishment he *has* suffered, or *will* suffer, can only be conjectured."

[From the Boston Traveller.]

MESSRS. EDITORS,—I had my blood stirred while reading the account given in your paper of the return of a fugitive by order of Col. Cowdin of the First Massachusetts Regiment. Such a shameful, illegal, barbarous and inhuman act as this should not be lightly passed over. The reputation of the regiment, and I may say of Massachusetts, is involved in this, in a great degree. Col. Cowdin in this did not represent the sentiments of his soldiers or of the citizens of this State. There does not seem to be a single palliating circumstance connected with it. There was strong reason to believe that the fugitive's master was a Secessionist, and if he were not, there was no law requiring his return, for the Fugitive Slave Law applies to the rendition of slaves that flee from *one State to another*; there was no proper trial or investigation, and *no papers*, even, produced by the fugitive's pursuer. There are no terms in our language too strong to express my indignation at this act, but it would be useless to employ them, for the act speaks for itself to every right-minded person. I do ardently desire that this outrage will receive the attention it ought to receive, and that Col. Cowdin will be immediately deprived of his commission, and be consigned to the place he richly deserves. Let him be tolerated where he is, and the effect on his soldiers must be bad, the effect here will be bad, and the effect abroad will be to strengthen the erroneous impressions that exist, and for the removal of which such strenuous efforts are now made.

JUSTITIA.

COL. COWDIN HUNG IN EFFIGY. The police of the Fourth Station, says the Boston *Herald*, discovered early Sunday morning an effigy of Col. Robert Cowdin hanging from a tree. The figure had on a military cap, and was labeled with the following inscription: "Col. Cowdin, of Burns rendition notoriety, is now practising his tricks at kidnapping in Washington."

The effigy was cut down, and taken to the Fourth Police Station House.

☞ The Washington correspondent of the Boston *Journal* writes as follows:—

"I see that in a late edition of the *Journal*, you have something to say of Col. Cowdin's delivering up the slave here in camp, and that Mr. Gibbs states that it was the property of a Union man in the District. I would merely state that much dissatisfaction exists here in regard to it, and that there is considerable doubt whether he is the property of a Union man. He is probably the so-called property of a secessionist, and don't be surprised to hear he is recaptured by the friends of justice and humanity of the 1st Regiment."

LYNN AGAINST SURRENDERING FUGITIVE SLAVES. The following petition is being circulated in Lynn:—

"To HON. JOHN B. ALLEY, M. C.:

Dear Sir,—The undersigned, citizens of Lynn, respectfully, but earnestly, urge upon your serious consideration the duty of using whatever influence you can exert, for the prompt removal of Col. Cowdin, of the Mass. First Regiment, in view of his gratuitous, illegal and inhuman compliance with the demand of a rebel slaveholder to surrender to him one of his fugitive slaves who had taken refuge in the camp,—whereby the honor and humanity of the regiment were compromised, the feelings of the people of Massachusetts grievously outraged, and a damaging effect produced upon that popular enthusiasm which is so essential to the support of the government in its efforts for the suppression of the Southern rebellion."

NEGRO REBELLION—*Excitement at the Relay House.*—Considerable excitement prevailed in the vicinity of the Relay House during yesterday, owing to the circulation of reports that a servile insurrection had occurred amongst the negroes in that neighborhood.

The facts of the case, as we have them from a resident of the neighborhood, are simply these: Early in the morning, Dr. Hall, a gentleman largely engaged in farming interests, directed a small negro girl belonging to him to proceed to the quarters and rouse his negro servants in order to commence work.

From some freak, the girl neglected to obey her master's bidding, and lay down on the steps and went to sleep. At a later hour the doctor, discovering that she had not complied with his request, undertook to inflict a slight chastisement, when one of his negro men interfered, and told him he should not touch the child; and finally, assisted by several others, made an onslaught on the doctor and his son, who had come up in the meantime.

One of the gentlemen, who was armed, succeeded in shooting the ringleader, but being finally overcome by superior force, and severely injured, the two retreated to the house, where they were followed by the negro, who was only prevented from entering by a gun being pointed at him.

He then started off, as he said, to ask the protection of the soldiers at the Relay, a mile and a half distant, but before reaching the place, he fell and fainted from the loss of blood. He was immediately taken in charge by the military, who placed him on a litter and attended to his wounds.

Subsequently, Dr. Hall, accompanied by a magistrate, appeared at the Relay, and demanded of Colonel Jones that his negro should be delivered up.

Colonel Jones was holding the matter under advisement, but it was thought that he would give the negro up.—*Baltimore American, July 12th.*

The Baltimore *Sun* has this account of another fugitive.—

"While the Eighth Massachusetts Regiment was in the occupancy of Baltimore, a colored man, slave of William Dorbacker, Esq., proprietor of the Three Tuns Tavern, absconded to the camp of the regiment, and was taken into the employ of some of the officers.

When the regiment returned to the Relay House, the man went with them, and continued there until a day or two since, when Mr. Dorbacker, discovering his whereabouts, sent for him. The messenger was somewhat maltreated by the soldiers as soon as he made his mission public, and had to leave the camp rather hastily.

On Tuesday, Mr. Dorbacker procured the services of officer John Wright, who, armed with an order from Provost Marshal Kenly, presented it at the quarters of Col. Jones, and claimed the property. Col. Jones said he did not recognize slaves as contraband, and gave up the man at once. The officer, however, saw the propriety of making a circuitous route from the camp to the railroad depot, to avoid a possible rescue."

WASHINGTON, July 15. The following official despatch has been received by the War Department:—

"HUTTONSVILLE, Va., July 15.

Col. E. D. Townsend, Assistant Adjutant General:

Gen. Garnett and his forces have been routed, and his baggage and one gun taken. His army is completely demoralized. Gen. Garnett was killed while attempting to rally his forces at Carricksford, near St. George. We have completely annihilated the enemy in Western Virginia. Our loss is but 13 killed and not more than 40 wounded, while the enemy's loss is not far from 200 killed, and the number of prisoners we have taken will amount to at least 1000. We have captured 7 of the enemy's guns in all. A portion of Gen. Garnett's forces retreated, but I look for their capture by Gen. Hill, who is in hot pursuit. The troops that Gen. Garnett had under his command are said to be the crack regiments of Eastern Virginia, aided by Georgians, Tennesseeans and Carolinians. Our success is complete, and I firmly believe that secession is killed in this section of the country.

(Signed,) GEO. B. McCLELLAN,
Major-General U. S. Army."

GRAFTON, Va., July 15. Garnett was Adjutant-General of Virginia. The rebels were pursued from Laurel Hill by Gen. Morris's command, consisting of the 14th Ohio and 7th and 9th Indiana regiments.

The rebels carried off many of their dead, but they were completely routed and scattered, Gen. Morris's command captured 40 loads of provisions, and all their horses, wagons, &c. There was no other loss on our side than the two killed and two mortally wounded of the Ohio 14th.

WASHINGTON, July 14. The following is the report of Gen. McClellan to Lieutenant-General Scott:

BEVERLY, Va., July 13. I have received from Gen. Pegram propositions for a surrender, with his officers and the remnant of his command, say 600 men. They are said to be extremely penitent, and are determined never again to take up arms against the General Government. I shall have nearly 900 or 1000 prisoners to take care of when Gen. Pegram comes in. The latest accounts make the loss of the rebels killed some 150.

☞ A large number of Arkansas troops were engaged against Col. Siegle in the battle near Carthage. The federal loss in the battle was ten killed, three wounded, and four missing. The rebels state their loss to be 700 killed. The guard of 120 left at Neosho by Col. Siegel previous to the battle were taken prisoners by a large force of Arkansas troops, and a proposition was made to shoot them, but they were released on taking an oath that they would not bear arms against the Southern Confederacy.

☞ A lady correspondent of the New York *Commercial Advertiser* thus speaks of the ferocious way in which they urge Southern troops in Northern Alabama to carry on the war. "Soldiers," she says, "are everywhere greeted with bursts of enthusiasm along the whole route, ladies thronging to the stations, with flowers, baskets of provisions, waving their handkerchiefs, throwing kisses, &c., begging for "Lincoln's scalp," "a lock of his hair," cries of "down with the rail-splitter," "show the vile Northern hordes, the cursed Yankees, some Southern chivalry," "give them *warm* Southern hospitality."

☞ The Raleigh *Register*, of the 10th, says that steamer Winslow captured, off Cape Hatteras, on the 3rd inst., schooner Herbert Martin, of Barnstable, Mass., with a cargo of sugar and molasses, valued at $80,000.

FIRST OF AUGUST CELEBRATION.

Again the Anniversary draws near of one of the most beneficent and memorable events in the history of the world,—ancient or modern,—the Peaceful Emancipation of 800,000 Slaves, the beginning of a great Act of Justice and Humanity, whose wisdom has at length compelled the acknowledgment of the world at large, even of the unwilling and prejudiced. The Emancipation of the Slaves in the British West India Islands, on the 1st of August, 1834, ranks now in history as an event not less remarkable for its cheering results than for the benevolent and humane motives which inspired it.

The Managers of the MASSACHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY invite the friends of freedom everywhere, all who are interested in the great events of human progress, and all who desire to see the barbarous, inhuman, and unchristian Slavery of our own land give place to the reign of Freedom, Justice, and Peace throughout our borders, and throughout the world, to meet with them, at the well-known and beautiful grove in ABINGTON, on THURSDAY, August 1st, 1861, in commemoration of the Day.

Let all join to make this FESTIVAL OF FREEDOM worthy of the occasion, of the long line of effective meetings which have preceded it in honor of this event, and of the mighty object in behalf of which it is held,—the cleansing of our own land from the curse and shame of Human Slavery.

Eloquent speakers will be present. Railroad trains will run at reduced fares, &c. Of all which, further particulars hereafter.

W. L. GARRISON,
E. H. HEYWOOD,
THOS. J. HUNT,
ELIAS RICHARDS,
ELBRIDGE SPRAGUE,
Committee of Arrangements.

CONTRIBUTIONS

To the Anti-Slavery Cause at Framingham, July 4, 1861.

Edmund Quincy	1 00	Alfred Woodman	1 00
S. May, Jr.	1 00	H G G Blake	1 00
Mrs. W. P. Atkinson	1 00	A S. Cook	0 25
Mrs. S. R. May	1 00	A W Kelley	0 25
Dr. Daniel Mann	1 00	J. M. Aldrich	1 00
J B Pierce	1 00	Geo T Garrison	1 00
Perley King	1 00	L D Gray	0 50
Rev J S Milligan	1 00	A. L. Babcock	0 50
E D Draper	4 13	Caroline R. Putnam	1 00
A W Cheever	0 32	Mary Wickook	0 50
Wm Sparrell	1 00	E White	1 00
J C Haynes	5 00	Cyrus Cook	0 50
Sarah E Wall	2 75	P W Morrill	0 50
Samuel Barrett	5 00	T. Southwick	0 25
T B Rice	1 00	Geo Draper	5 00
C K Whipple	1 00	S. C Fay	1 00
Z. Leonard	0 25	Mrs T P Knox	0 25
D Patrick	0 50	P. A. Chase	1 00
J A Nowell	0 25	Rev S Sella Martin	0 25
J S Hayward	5 00	Hon. N H Whiting	1 00
B Snow, Jr	2 00	Mrs N H Whiting	0 25
A T Draper	1 00	Capt A Tate, Hayti	1 00
M A Dutcher	25 00	C. C. Brook	1 00
W W Dutcher	25 00	G G Cheever	0 25
L S N	1 00	John Winslow	1 00
Mary Willey	0 50	J G Ford	2 00
M B Goodrich	0 50	J E Oliver and ladies	3 00
C A Hovey	0 50	Wm Bassett Jr	2 00
Geo W Stacy	1 00	Charles Follen	5 00
J Davis	5 00	Maria W Chapman	1 00
WL Garrison	1 00	Rev M G Kimball	0 50
Mr Phipps	1 00	F H Henshaw	1 00
Dr T P Knox	1 00	Cash of others	27 70
W L Garrison, Jr	1 00		
J H. Brigham	1 00	Total,	$161 15

PLEDGES.

Mrs. M. M. Brooks, Concord,	$20 00
T. C. Severance,	5 00
Peter Launs,	0 50

☞ A. T. FOSS will speak at
Harwich, Sunday, July 21.
East Dennis, " " 28.

☞ PARKER PILLSBURY will lecture in South New-Market, N. H., next Sunday, 21st inst., at usual hours.

HENRY C. WRIGHT will lecture in Monroe, Mo., Sunday. July 21, all day and evening.

☞ The friends of freedom will celebrate West India Emancipation, as usual, by a mass meeting in the spacious Town Hall in Milford, Friday, August 2. Particulars next week.

☞ WM. LLOYD GARRISON will speak at REV. Mr. Grimes's Church, in Southac street, in this city, on SUNDAY EVENING next, with particular reference to the colonization of the colored people in Hayti and elsewhere.

☞ MERCY B. JACKSON, M. D., having had fifteen years' experience in the Homœopathic treatment of diseases, offers her professional services to the Ladies and Children of Boston and vicinity.

References.—David Thayer, M. D.; Luther Clark, M. D.; John M. Tarball, M. D., Boston. Eliphalet Clark, M. D., Portland, Me.

Rooms No. 20 Bulfinch street. Office hours from 2 to 4, P. M.

DIED—At Alexandria, (Va.) July 7, WILLIE RICHARDSON, aged 17 years, a private in Company F, fifth regiment Massachusetts Volunteers. He was the only child of Henry and Emma G. Richardson, of Stoneham, and much beloved, not only by his friends and companions at home, but also by the officers and privates of the regiment, who speak of him as a young man of strict moral worth and integrity of character, and faithful and energetic in the performance of duty. His bereaved parents and friends have the sympathies of many hearts.

"The spoiler set
His seal of silence. But there beamed a smile
So fixed and holy from that marble brow,
Death gazed, and left it there;—he dared not steal
The signet ring of heaven."

His remains were brought home for interment, and with appropriate funeral ceremonies were deposited in Lindenwood Cemetery.

In Medford, (Mass.,) July 7, Mrs. CHARLOTTE M., wife of Mr. EDWARD RICHARDSON, aged 44 years. The sufferings of her last illness were borne with truly Christian fortitude; but from this state of trial, she has been translated to a home of rest and reward. She was eminently impressed with religious sentiments, and cherished a deep respect for the words and character of Christ.

She was one of the founders of the Church, and was also for many years a teacher in the Sabbath School in Medford, in which relation she was greatly beloved. Her presence will be missed, but the remembrance of her virtues will ever remain.

May God in his mercy sustain her disconsolate companion and motherless children in this hour of their deepest sorrow! May they know the supporting influences of Christian faith!

In Lockport, N. Y., July 9, MARY B., wife of Richard M. Hancock, and daughter of Rev. A. G. Beman, of New Haven, Ct.

ST. MARY'S LAKE WATER-CURE.

OPENED BY

H. A. PETERMAN, M. D.

THE Proprietors of this Institution take pleasure in announcing to the invalids of Michigan and its neighboring States, that they have opened their WATER-CURE at St. Mary's Lake, and are now in readiness to receive patients.

This Institution is situated in one of the most healthy and pleasant locations in the State, on the banks of a beautiful little lake, four miles North of the City of Battle Creek.

The buildings are new, commodious, and furnished for the comfort and convenience of invalids. The bath-rooms are large, and fitted up with hot, cold, vapor, chemical, and electrical baths.

The lake, whose waters are as clear and soft as those of a spring from the granite mountain's base, is well supplied with boats and bath-houses. No more beautiful fresh water bathing can be found in any land.

Several hundred acres of the grand Old Oak Forest, immediately surrounding the lake, have been reserved for pleasure-grounds.

The afflicted, requiring surgical treatment, will find this a most desirable establishment, where they can be placed in the best possible condition to hear an operation, and receive the best of care afterwards.

Particular attention given to the treatment of diseases of the Eye. All operations performed that [illegible] of restoring sight to the blind. Our treatment for Cataract is entirely new, and in advance of anything hitherto known.

A supply of beautiful Artificial Eyes kept constantly on hand.

Paralysis, and every variety of Nervous and Chronic diseases, will be treated.

The Ladies' Department is under the care of Mrs. S. A. Peterman, whose long experience in the treatment of the diseases incident to the female constitution renders her treatment unsurpassed by that of any physician now practising in that department of the medical profession.

There will be a competent Music Teacher in attendance, to give instruction in Piano, Guitar, and Vocal Music, to such as may wish to take medical treatment and pursue the study of Music at the same time. For such, this will be found a most desirable location, where the mental and physical systems may both be developed; the one in the music room, the other in rambling through the leafy woods, in the Gymnasium, and in boat-rowing, than which no better exercise can be found.

We intend, with the aid of competent help in every department, to make *the* CURE the invalid's HOME, as well as a place for medical treatment.

Those coming as patients should furnish themselves with two comfortables, two linen or cotton packing sheets, one woollen blanket, and one half-dozen bath towels, or they can be furnished by the CURE at fifty cents per week extra.

TERMS—From $7 to $10 per week, for treatment, board, &c., according to room and care.

This Institution is accessible by Michigan Central Railroad. Carriage always in waiting at the Battle Creek Depot to convey people to the CURE.

H. F. PETERMAN, M. D.,
MRS. S. A. PETERMAN, M. D.,
Physicians and Proprietors,

To whom all letters of inquiry should be addressed. Each communication, to insure an answer, should contain a postage stamp for return letter.

St. Mary's Lake, Michigan, May 20, 1861. J 21

$40 PARKER $40

Sewing Machines,

PRICE FORTY DOLLARS.

THIS is a new style, first class, double thread, Family Machine, made and licensed under the patents of Howe, Wheeler & Wilson, and Grover & Baker, and its construction is the best combination of the various patents owned and used by these parties, and the patents of the Parker Sewing Company. They were awarded a Silver Medal at the last Fair of the Mechanics' Charitable Association, and are the best finished and most substantially made Family Machines now in the market.

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All kinds of Sewing Machine work done at short notice.

Boston, Jan. 18, 1861. 3m.

IMPORTANT TESTIMONY.

Report of the Judges of the last Fair of the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association.

"FOUR PARKER'S SEWING MACHINES. This Machine is so constructed that it embraces the combinations of the various patents owned and used by Elias Howe, Jr., Wheeler & Wilson, and Grover & Baker, for which these parties pay tribute. These, together with Parker's improvements, make it a beautiful Machine. They are sold from $40 to $120 each. They are very perfect in their mechanism, being adjusted before leaving the manufactory, in such a manner that they cannot get deranged. The feed, which is a very essential point in a good Machine, is simple, positive and complete. The apparatus for gauging the length of stitch is very simple and effective. The tension, as well as other parts, is well arranged. There is another feature which strikes your committee favorably, viz: there is no wheel below the table between the standards, to come in contact with the dress of the operator, and therefore no danger from oil or dirt. This machine makes the double lock-stitch, but is so arranged that it lays the ridge upon the back quite flat and smooth, doing away, in a great measure, with the objection sometimes urged on that account."

Poetry.

For the Liberator.

APOCALYPSE.

"All hail to the stars and stripes!"—LUTHER C. LADD.

Straight to his heart the bullet crashed,
Down from his breast the red blood gushed,
And o'er his face a glory rushed.

A sudden spasm rent his frame,
And in his ears there went and came
A sound as of devouring flame,

Which in a moment ceased, and then
The great light clasped his brows again,
So that they shone like Stephen's, when

Saul stood apart a little space,
And shook with shuddering awe to trace
God's splendors settling o'er his face.

Thus, like a king, erect in pride,
Raising his hands to heaven, he cried,
"All hail the Stars and Stripes!" and died.

Died grandly: but, before he fell,
(O, blessedness ineffable!)
Vision apocalyptical

Was granted to him, and his eyes,
All radiant with glad surprise,
Looked forward through the centuries,

And saw the seeds that sages cast
In the world's soil in cycles past,
Spring up and blossom at the last:

Saw how the souls of men had grown,
And where the scythes of Truth had mown
Clear space for Liberty's white throne:

Saw how, by Sorrow tried and proved,
The last dark stains had been removed
Forever from the land he loved.

Saw Treason crushed, and Freedom crowned,
And clamorous Faction, gagged and bound,
Gasping its life out on the ground;

While over all his country's slopes
Walked swarming troops of cheerful hopes,
Which evermore to broader scopes

Increased, with power that comprehends
The world's weal in its own, and bends
Self-needs to large, unselfish ends.

Saw how, throughout the vast extents
Of earth's most populous continents,
She dropped such rare heart-affluence,

That, from beyond the farthest seas,
The wondering peoples thronged to seize
Her proffered pure benignities;—

And how of all her trebled host
Of widening empires, none could boast
Whose strength or love was uppermost,

Because they grew so equal there
Beneath the flag, which, debonnaire,
Waved joyous in the golden air:—

Wherefore the martyr, gazing clear
Beyond the gloomy atmosphere
Which shuts us in with doubt and fear,—

He, marking how her high increase
Ran greatening in perpetual lease
Through balmy years of odorous Peace,

Greeted, in one transcendent cry
Of intense, passionate extacy,
The sight that thrilled him utterly,—

Saluting with most proud disdain
Of murder and of mortal pain,
The vision which shall be again:

So, lifted with prophetic pride,
Raised conquering hands to heaven, and cried,
"All hail the Stars and Stripes!"—and died.

CLARENCE BUTLER.

TOUCH NOT THE TEMPTING CUP.

Touch not the tempting cup, my boy,
Touch not the sparkling wine;
Trust not the pleasures of the bowl,
The glories of the vine;
The bloated face, the bloodshot eye,
Shall tell to you the reason why.

Touch not the tempting cup, my boy,
Beer, brandy, wine or gin;
Let topers praise their foolish ways
[illegible]e a mock of sin;
The drunken demon's maddened cry
Shall tell to you the reason why.

Touch not the tempting cup, my boy,
Though urged by friend or foe;
Dare, when the tempter urges most,
Dare nobly say, No—no!
The joyous angel from on high
Shall tell to you the reason why.

Touch not the tempting cup, my boy,
In righteousness be brave;
Take not the *first*, a single step,
Toward the drunkard's grave;
The widow's groan, the orphan's sigh,
Shall tell to you the reason why.

SMILE, AND BE CONTENTED.

The world grows old, and men grow cold
To each, whilst seeking treasure;
And what with want, and care, and toil,
We scarce have time for pleasure.
But, never mind—that is a loss
Not much to be lamented;
Life rolls on gaily, if we will
But smile, and be contented.

If we are poor, and would be rich,
It will not be by pining;
No! steady hearts and hopeful minds
Are life's bright silver lining.
There's ne'er a man that dared to hope,
Hath of his choice repented;
The happiest souls on earth are those
Who smile, and are contented.

When grief doth come to rack the heart,
And fortune bids us sorrow,
From hope we may a blessing reap,
And consolation borrow.
If thorns will rise where roses bloom,
It cannot be prevented;
So make the best of life you can,
And smile, and be contented.

[illegible] THEY SAY.

Wouldst thou know what troubles many,
What annoys them night and day?
Not a frightful myth, or robber,
But the spectre, "What they say."

"What they say!" It haunts the maiden
When her hat or dress she buys,
Goads the matron till she maketh
Husband's purse a sacrifice.

To the orator it clingeth,
Daunts the statesman in his dream,
With the pulpit-teacher stealeth
'Tween him and his highest theme.

"What they say?" Well, let them say it;
Airy echo, fleet as dew;
When they've breathed it, 'tis forgotten—
They who hear forget it too.

Wouldst thou know what rules the million?
Themis, with her ancient sway?
Pomp and tramp of bannered legions?
No,—the bubble, "What they say!"

PROCLAIM THE JUBILEE!

Go forth with a trumpet's sound,
And tell to the nations round,—
On the hills which our heroes trod,
In the shrines of the saints of God,
In the ruler's hall and the captive's prison,—
That the slumber is broken, the sleepers are risen;
That the day of the scourge and the fetter is o'er,
And earth feels the tread of her freemen once more.

The Liberator.

E. H. HEYWOOD—WENDELL PHILLIPS—WAR, ETC.

FRIEND GARRISON: I have just read the admirable discourse of E. H. Heywood, delivered at Music Hall. It is rich, racy, cogent and eloquent. May his days be long in the land, and time ever deal gently with him!

I failed to note in the discourse but a single instance in which the logic seemed to be lame; and that was his criticism on Wendell Phillips. He says—"I cannot agree with Mr. Phillips when he says that such a contest (our national one) can be settled only by arms. I most gravely dissent from that fatal concession. It denies the adequacy of the human reason to apprehend and obey the truth:" yet in the next paragraph but one beyond this, Mr. Heywood observes as follows: "I do not propose to discuss the abstract question of peace, this morning. Men have not the vision or the self-poise to weigh its tremendous issues amid the smoke of battle and the roar of cannon."

Does not this declaration as strongly imply the denial of the adequacy of the human reason to apprehend and obey the truth, as does the statement of Mr. Phillips?

Surely, Mr. Heywood will not claim that the smoke of battle and the roar of cannon are more effectual in beclouding the vision and weakening the self-poise of men on the peace question, than the clink of Mammon's box, backed up by the lust of political and ecclesiastical power, and flanked strongly by rampant contempt for a degraded and subject race is, in disqualifying men for a reasonable, righteous and peaceful settlement of our great national question of government and liberty. That "our Demosthenes" is right, therefore, I think is clear, even from the discourse of his able and eloquent critic.

As others of late have given their views of peace and war to the readers of the *Liberator*, I will, with your permission, after more than three decades of thoughtful years, give mine, as well as I can in a few words. Men, though progressing towards perfection, are, nevertheless, very imperfect beings; consequently, it is impossible for them to conform in all things to the standard of absolute right; infinite perfection alone is equal to the task. So it will be seen, that hewing to the line of absolute right would cause chips to fly into the faces of all of woman born, too plenty by half for the comfort of self-complacent pharisees, if not to the occasional disquiet of better developed men. It would prove a fruitless enterprise to undertake to convert the mouth of Vesuvius into a strawberry patch. While the earth is progressing to a more perfect state, active volcanoes are indispensable; they perform an office absolutely necessary to the general good, though they occasionally do, in their unreasoning zeal, what appears to be serious partial mischief. Time has been when they were numerous, and much more active than at present; and the period will undoubtedly arrive in the distant future when they will cease altogether; but the present state of the earth's development demands their action.

Equally clear it is, to my mind, that the past and present state of the moral world demands such violent eruptions as war—such things must needs be; and, being a natural necessity, are, in a certain and proper sense, right, and more or less morally justifiable in one or both parties engaged therein; and, being right, it cannot be wrong for men of corresponding moral development, under certain circumstances, to engage in them. Men, under certain circumstances, can no more be non-resistants than crater-mouths can be strawberry beds. On the other hand, certain other men, under other circumstances, can no more fight and physically destroy their fellows, than the fruitful gardens and vineyards of Italy can produce the phenomena of Ætna and Vesuvius; both the vineyard and the crata have their office to perform in the economy of nature, and let not one say to the other, I have no need of thee. The hero of Harper's Ferry, whose mortal career culminated in receiving a martyr's crown on a Virginia scaffold, possessed a heart as devout, as tender, as sincere, as loving, as truly devoted to humanity, as the worthy and peaceful demonstrater of non-resistance who still adorns the mortal sphere of human existence at Hopedale.

It seems self-evidently clear to my mind, that men, both individually and socially, have the right of self-preservation. If they are conscious of possessing that degree of moral power which will yield them all the defence they need or desire, then it is their duty and privilege to depend on that alone; or, if they accept it as their mission to give themselves to martyrdom in vindication of the principles of peace, all considerate and just people cannot fail to honor them, and their example will not be without its salutary effect on the progress of mankind. So, when an individual, or a community, in their judgment find it necessary to vindicate the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, for themselves or others, in the use of the enginery of physical destruction, the unperverted instincts of humanity and enlightened reason applaud the deed; and, with gratitude and admiration, men build monuments in honor of their names. And who shall say that life, and everything dear to life, are not more secure for such heroic, though sanguinary defence of the rights of man?

But it is said that, "to defend war is to defend the dispositions that lead to war." Very well. What are the dispositions that lead a righteous man to war? Clearly, a disposition to defend a righteous cause against the assault of unrighteousness—civilization against barbarism—liberty against slavery.

To be led to war by a disposition to kill or plunder, or for the bubble reputation, or for the purpose of enslaving the vanquished, is quite another matter.

If civilization, when assaulted by barbarism with physical force, neglects to meet it in the same way, its subjugation is certain, and it must itself relapse into barbarism.

There is one consideration only, that I can conceive of, which would justify, at the bar of enlightened reason, the refusal, under all circumstances, to take the life of a fellow-man: if a person really believed that all who depart this life have their condition fixed for weal or wo, for all eternity, according as they are prepared or unprepared at the moment of their exit from mortal life—if he has not the means of knowing certainly that his enemy has that preparation which will save him from eternal perdition, I can conceive of nothing that ought to induce him to take his life on the battle-field, or elsewhere.

Horrible as war is, there are worse things in the world than war. The spirit of acquisition in trade is worse than war. As this spirit is indulged in, and as trade is practised by the civilized world, it is more destructive of human comfort, and more fatal to the temporal existence of man, than war. More die of destitution than are slain in battle. What considerate person would not rather meet death by the quick instrumentalities of the battle-field, than die by inches of utter want in loathsome dens, where the weak and poor are driven by the spirit of trade to famish? But war is objected to as wrong, because it is said that "like begets like, and freedom is never the result." History does not sustain this assertion, and the maxim with which it is associated must be taken with many grains of allowance; otherwise, human progress would be impossible. From types of mankind nearly allied to the lower orders of creation came the savage; from savageism came barbarism; and from barbarism came civilization; and so on up the spiral ascent to supernal excellence. Like begets like in a certain general and qualified sense, in some things—not in all: fire passing over stubble does not beget a fire to succeed it. The pestilence that ravages a district does not beget a pestilence to come after it, but dies out, after exhausting the element on which it fed: thunder-storm and tempest do not beget their kind, nor leave their progeny in their track. The human passions, bad and good, as they are sometimes called, have developed their opposites;—injurious people have received kind treatment, and non-resisting harmlessness has often been murdered. So, war, terrible and cruel as it is, begets a varied progeny, some of which, by common consent, are a blessing to mankind; while others, to the eye of superficial observation, seem to be a curse and a scourge; but to the vision that can overlook the ages, and compare period with period, the results of war, in all their variety of acknowledged good and seeming evil, are seen to have been a potent instrumentality for promoting progress and civilization on the earth. Thus does the hand of Beneficent Omnipotence, through the operation of changeless law, continually work out human advancement,—

"From seeming evil still educing good,
And better thence again, and better yet,
In infinite progression."

Springfield, July, 1861. E. W. TWING.

EVERETT ON SECESSION.

The oration of Hon. Edward Everett at New York, on the 4th of July, was one of his most able and instructive performances; replete with that immense historical knowledge, comprehensiveness of view, and impressiveness of expression, for which he is ever distinguished; but, as from the commencement, it proceeds upon assumptions, which, although made by almost all the Northern papers, seem to me fallacious, and as I am anxious that our country should not, in the eyes of all the exterior world and future posterity, appear to have entered upon all the slaughters, losses and crimes of war, for a fallacy, without any present rebuke, I beg publicity to the following comments. If they should be deemed erroneous, they will at least give occasion for such a reply as may quiet the minds of many who how think with me.

I quote the passage in the address, on which I wish expressly to comment:—

"The Constitution contains the following express provision: 'This Constitution, and the laws of the United States made in pursuance thereof, and the treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, any thing in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.' Such being the express provision of the Constitution of the United States, which the people of South Carolina adopted in 1788, just as much as they ever adopted either of the State Constitutions, is it not trifling with serious things to claim that, by the simple expedient of passing a law under the name of ordinance, this provision, and every other provision of it, may be nullified, and every magistrate and officer in Carolina, whether of the State or Union, absolved from the oath which they have taken to support it?"

Here we see implied the radical error pervading all the newspaper writings, &c., denying the right of secession. The Federal Government is spoken of, not as a delegated and limited government, but as one possessing, not only paramount, but complete, unlimited sovereignty, like that of any European government. The provision cited by Mr. E., that the Constitution and laws of the U. S. shall be supreme, without regard to the laws of the States, means only respecting those provisions and laws for which powers have been expressly granted to the U. S. by the Constitution. Attempted laws of the Federal Government without those limits are not only not supreme, but they are not laws at all—they are mere nullities. Such was the plain understanding of the framers of the Constitution; such the belief of the people at large; such the decisions of the Courts; and such is the express declaration of the 10th Amendment, which plainly refuses all ungranted powers to the Federal Government. None of these authorities, supporting this opinion, can properly be accused of "trifling with serious things."

The laws of the United States being then only paramount when made for objects for which powers are expressly granted, the question before us is, whether the right of secession in a State, or of the prevention of it by the Federal Government, is a power granted by the Constitution to that government. I presume there can be but one answer to this question. No person pretends that there is any express power in the Constitution relating to the secession of a State, either in permission or prohibition; the Constitution is silent on the subject; it is therefore a question on which the action is reserved to the States, or the people; and the President, in attempting to prevent secession, or recovery from it, especially by force of arms, is acting on an ungranted, and therefore a usurped power, in violation of the reserved rights of the States.

It has, however, been gravely argued, even by apparently intelligent writers, that as the Constitution gives no power to any State to secede, they cannot therefore have the right; but as this doctrine is plainly contradicted by the 10th Amendment, and, if adopted, would annual all political power and right in all the States, and in every citizen, on which the Constitution is silent, it is scarcely necessary to give a serious answer to it.

After stating that the Convention of the people of South Carolina solemnly assented to, and ratified the Constitution, made "to form a more perfect union, establish justice, ensure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty" to the people of the United States, Mr. E. says—"Here it is evident, that there is nothing in the instrument which in the nature of things can be repealed." How does this appear? If he means that the good objects above recited cannot be repealed, nobody will dispute it with him; but this truism proves nothing to the subject. But if he means that the adhesion of the State to the Constitution, expressing those objects, cannot be repealed, I am obliged to differ from him. All political compacts, or ratifying enactments, are impliedly and necessarily conditional, especially when the purposes of the contract are expressed in it: it is saying we will, on our part, support and obey the Constitution you have given us, for the purposes stated in it, if you, on your part, will execute or promote those purposes; and if we deem that those purposes have been violated or neglected by you, as regards us, (and we are the judges,) the contract is annulled, and we are at liberty to revoke it.

I limit these comments to the question of the right of State secession, as discussed by Mr. Everett, because on this question hangs all the right or the wrong of the present war, on the part of the North, and the obligation of conscientious citizens to support it; and all the subsequent historical representations made by him, on the origin and character of the government, the alleged parallel cases in other nations, whose principles of government differ from ours—all the former assent or decisions of the States, &c., accurate, eloquent, and in many parts highly instructive as they are—can have no force in their bearing on this question, until it is shown to the common sense of intelligent men, that the Constitution expressly prohibits secession, and that it is not left as a reserved power to the States.

I am aware that the President, and other opposers of secession, put the duty of coercing the seceded States into the Union on another ground. It is said the Constitution and his oath of office require him to protect the property, and execute the laws, of the Union, which, it is said, necessarily implies the claim to the continued allegiance of all the States, and that the enforcement of the laws is virtually an enforcement of that claim. But the President is under no obligation to protect the property or execute the laws of the Union, in the seceded States: the injunctions of the Constitution and his oath of office can only apply to the States of the Union, as they were at the time of his inauguration, and his taking that oath: they cannot apply to a foreign nation, or one which has escaped from the control of the Federal Government. As he is not bound to execute the laws of the Union in Canada or Mexico, so neither is he bound to execute those laws in the Southern confederacy, which are virtually as much a foreign power. All the moral codes in the world exempt a party from stipulated obligations when it has lost the power to fulfil them; and if it is urged that the President intends to acquire that power by military force, still he is under no such obligation until the conquest is completed, which may never be the case; and for the attempt at which there is no constitutional authority. J. P. B.

RETRENCHMENT AND DECIMATION.

"Now is the time for Massachusetts to send forth ideas."—PHILLIPS.

We have now reached a stage of our national experience when it is necessary to devise ways and means to pilot us through the perplexities. And as all are professedly of one sentiment, with regard to opposition to the Southern rebellion, and party lines are claimed to be obliterated, it becomes all to unite in self-sacrifices for the public good.

The President now calls for 400,000 men and $400,000,000 to enable him to prosecute the war with vigor. As the country is under a Republican administration, and Republicans deem their success over other political organizations as decidedly auspicious, and perhaps tending to the salvation of the Republic, let us venture on a few suggestions for calm consideration.

It is supposable that every true Republican is patriotic enough to claim a deep interest in this dispute, and to stake what he can to sustain his administration, as well as to put down the rebellion. At least, there is much loud asseveration and earnest gesticulation to this effect, especially in our public offices. Now, in two particulars, the services of this active class are really needed,—in men and in money. And what is most fortunate, at the present crisis, the stagnation of business, diminution of revenue, and great surplus of offices, afford them a grand chance to prove the sincerity of their professions by actual practice. Indeed, even if they are not individually disposed to volunteer their aid, the same favorable considerations enable the government to compel them to it as an indispensable duty.

We contend that it is no way to raise an army for the field by running young men of undoubted loyalty into the safe and lucrative shelter of a salaried office, when the times eloquently hint that *one-half of the offices* can be absolutely suspended during this calamity. This course will not enable these pigeon-hole patriots to enlist and maintain the cause in which they profess to take so much pride, and to do battle against the foes they so loudly and bitterly denounce,—foes they so intolerably itch to capture and to hang. Their zeal, if it be genuine, would make them an invincible legion on the field: they might decide the contest,—even shorten it. If not genuine, they should not remain in office; for, the hypocrite and the lukewarm are more dangerous than the avowed traitor. Let no salaried pigeon-hole shield any able-bodied man between twenty and forty five years of age from the drafting requisitions. Older men can fill those places just as well, while they cannot be so efficient in the army or in the navy. Mr. President and Messrs. Secretaries, ferret them out! The loyal heroes are too valuable to remain ensconced within stone buildings.

We also contend that, at this exigency, the national treasury has no surplus money to salary sinecures, nor to pay full salaries for half services. And we mean to assert that such is the fact; there are many sinecures exorbitantly rewarded. These have ever been increased by the pressure and stagnation in commerce, navigation, and trade. To take our own Custom-House as an example, we pretend to say that twenty-five inspectors can do the present amount of work as well as fifty-six could, a year or two ago; that weighers and measurers do not earn, by actual labor, more money than equally employed inspectors, though they receive nearly half as much again; also, if twelve weighers were sufficient for the business, two years ago, six are ample now. They have assistants or foremen, while the inspectors must do their own work. We are speaking much within bounds. If the institution were in the hands of six or twelve judicious and liberal proprietors, if it were their private property, the official corps would be reduced much below this standard in numbers and expense: mercantile firms are doing the same all over the country.

If we go among the clerks, it is the same. A general listlessness pervades the rotunda and its nooks. Half the clerks are almost literally unemployed in legitimate, clerical business. They could be decimated in number and reduced in salary, with no public injury. And as retrenchment and economy were the Democratic motto, and are now the Republican demand of necessity, what pigeon-hole patriot could consistently object? What outsider would refuse his Amen? If it be not known how to dispose of these savings, and the treasury needs them not, bestow them on the soldiers' families, or lay it up as a Pension Fund. This will help the cause. School teachers, whose tasks are much harder than those of an officer, have voluntarily docked their own salaries. Contributions for partisan purposes can pour from the Custom-House; but, how many have pursed off thousands for the war?

A visit to the deputies would open another field for economy. If three deputies in the Collector's department, and two in each of the Surveyor's and Naval officer's, were enough two years ago, what need of so many now? Absolutely, none. Then, as to their salaries, what entitles them to $2,000 and $2,500, when clerks with $1,100 to $1,300 labor quite as much, if not more? Why is it? Republican Administration, now is the time to administer equity and justice, as well as to practise economy and entrenchment, and profess patriotism.

Proceed we now to the principals. If a deputy, who is almost always a smarter man than the Collector, can do all the Collector's work for a salary of $1,500 or $2,000, what need of paying an inferior person, as to ability, $6,400 a year? And what monstrous iniquity to have that man, whose principal business is to remove and to appoint subordinates, to sanction an occasional decision of his deputies, to take an annual trip or two in the cutter to visit the lighthouses as *clerks visit the appraisers*, to attend public banquets, processions, &c., &c., draw upon the government, after he has left his office, for thousands of dollars more for extra services, while he was receiving nearly $20 a day! As good men can be procured for $2,500 or $3,000 a year, without posthumous perquisites, as usually cost some $10,000 or more, under the present system. The Naval Office and the Surveyor's Office are, almost without exception, unqualified sinecures,—each draws his $5,000; and one of the deputies in each is a superfluity.

We will not examine the Assistant Treasurer's Department, nor the Post-Office, with its lucrative income. The Custom-House is a fair sample for consideration. Its Collector is always a monarch, either unlimited, or limited by some oligarchy or clique. His will is law. It is "heads off," if he says the word. It is an incongruity in a republic: autocracy within a democracy. Two or more hundred men at the nod of one man, and he, oftentimes, inferior in ability, patriotic services, party services, merit, and other qualities, to many of those he summarily exiles, often for inferior successors,—swaps off the good family-horse for a bundle of worthless green spectacles. This is an evil demanding correction, and ought to be abolished. What is said of our Custom-House, applies to other parts of the Union—New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Washington, San Francisco, &c., &c. Visit the smaller places, and the post-offices. Go to the land-offices and the navy yards; to the consulates and diplomatic corps. Curtail, economize, decimate, equalize! Now is the time to lop excrescences, to cauterize festers, to cut out rot-specks. Now is the time to renovate and purify, to improve and reform.

Fifty-six inspectors receive $1,095 each. Twenty-five good officers are ample to do their work, and twenty-five good ones are obtainable. Twelve weighers and gaugers receive $1,485 each. Six good ones can fill their places now. Thirty-five clerks receive over $40,000: one $1,600, one $1,500, four $1,400, several $1,300, and so on to $800. Over $60,000 are paid in annual salaries in the Collector's department, and about $250,000 in the whole establishment. If one inspector now is equal to two or four, a few months since, how many desks can one efficient clerk attend to with the present meagre amount of business? And we would suggest whether it would not be a matter of economy, especially when we have one common cause at heart, to retain the experienced officers, and place more desks under the charge of each, thereby virtually abolishing several offices, and saving the salaries thereof, rather than to remove these incumbents for others not so good, nor so profitable to the nation?

We have omitted mention of storekeepers at $1400 salaries, and other officers. We have not criticised the appraisers; but, we merely mean to lay these thoughts before the people, before Congress, and before the national authorities for consideration, and to point to them a prolific source of revenue. A dollar saved is equal to two dollars earned, and better than ten dollars borrowed. It wields more salutary influence on the nation. Congress is now in session, and some of these salaries are fixed by law. It is necessary for that body to act upon the matter for an alteration; and as they are about to modify the tariff, why not economise in the number of offices and in the amount of salaries? Official bread and butter are as legitimate subjects of taxation or duties as are the tea and coffee of the unsalaried masses. At Washington, every officer's name and salary are registered, and the gigantic dimensions of the whole official corps of the nation are there seen as on a map. There they can see how much business is fallen off, how many men are useless, how much those dimensions can be condensed, and how much money can be saved. Drops make the ocean. This hints to the head managers where they can help raise 400,000 additional men, and partially procure $400,000,000 for the year. We point it out for their benefit; we ask for its practical consideration in behalf of the people. Our motto is, Reduce your expenses, and your income need not be so large; your treasurer's estimate can be much smaller. It is akin to the motto, An ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure. Statesmen and legislators of America, try it. The formula is simple and practicable. Economy is better than extravagance. Make the national debt small as possible, and husband our resources. We may need them for other purposes. Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty. Now is the time for action as well as for deliberation. Let our guiding cardinal principle be, Everything for the cause, and nothing for men.

Boston, July 14, 1861. ***

LETTER FROM MAINE.

MECHANIC FALLS, (Me.) July 3, 1861.

DEAR FRIEND GARRISON:

How I rejoice in the prospect that the cause of freedom at present seems to present, and in the various upturnings and overturnings that seem to be taking place, whatever aspect is assumed by the Slave Power, and however the monster may struggle with impending fate. I read with a shark's appetite the *Liberator*, and all other papers which fall into my hands, and continue to envy, without any mixture of jealousy, those who are so fortunate as to be placed in the front of the battle. For many years I have longed, and still long, to be a voice crying in the wilderness of oppression and wrong; and as I read the *Liberator*, from week to week, my spirit bounds with a longing to seize the pen, and make what amends I can for the failure of the labor of the voice; but then I am reminded that you have so many better correspondents, many of whom are in the active field of labor, and whom the readers of the paper love to hear from, and whose names are not only known by every reader, but whose every word is a power, while I am scarcely known beyond the walls of the Anti-Slavery Office, and no one is probably influenced by any thing I write. I have felt strangely in reading the utterances of English and Scotch Abolitionists; and while I am aware how far honest men and women on the right side differ, according to the stand-point from which they take their observations, yet in reading their communications and speeches, I have been led to say of them, as Jacky says in the Gold-diggers—"White fellow stupid fellow," "every ting before his nose, and he no see it:" and, while thus moved, it is refreshing to receive an antidote to these feelings by the perusal of such a document as the speech of George Thompson.

But I have not yet approached the occasion which led me to take my pen, which is the perusal of the letter of Rev. H. T. Cheever to the *Independent*. That letter ought to be published in tract form, and circulated broadcast wherever a tract can be made to go. I can procure the circulation of hundreds of them, and I have not the least doubt that nine-tenths of the members of the Congregational churches in Maine and in New England, who never will see the letter in the *Liberator*, will take precisely the position that the Cheevers do; although I am aware that the influence of the *Independent* has had a bad effect upon the ministry, who are always afraid of going a little too fast, and look upon and speak of such men as the Cheevers as being eccentric in their moral perceptions. Here I have to repeat, "White fellow stupid fellow," as applied to the multitude of wooden-heads who try to do the thinking for the people. I have lost all respect for the editors of the *Independent*. Give me an open, declared foe, like the *Observer*, rather than a false and unreliable ally, who will play into the enemy's hands, Border-State like, when a decisive blow is to be struck.

Yours, for truth, freedom and fairness,

D. S. GRANDIN.

THE STUDY OF LATIN.

To the Editor of the Liberator:

DEAR SIR,—I was glad to see Dr. Lewis's circular in your columns last week, and would now ask you to let me say a few words to your readers on another important educational movement. In former times, Latin was the only learned language. All who read or wrote at all, read and wrote Latin. All students in Colleges and Universities were taught in Latin, and studied only Latin. Greek literature was too difficult. English, French, German and Italian literature there was, till within the last few centuries, none. Thus Latin took the lead in all programmes of college studies. This programme of studies, with Latin at the head, has naturally been in great part retained. The best schools are those which teach the most Latin. The young man is thought best fitted for college, who knows his Latin grammar most by heart. About one-fourth of the instruction given by most colleges is still in Latin. I know at least one college where the man from whom the students learn the most is the Latin professor. Now, the question naturally comes up, How far is this study of Latin really necessary? What is it more than a relic of the past? It may be well to have students of Latin literature, but why oblige one hundred men to study Latin six or eight years, in order that one or two of them may become earnest, willing, thorough Latinists? It should be remembered that the life of classic literature is Greek, not Latin: and the writer bitterly regrets having been compelled to divide between Greek and Latin, time which would have yielded him far more precious results if he could have concentrated it on Greek. The progress of the race has brought up new subjects of study—natural and intellectual science, Mathematics, Rhetoric, and several modern literatures, perhaps inferior to Greek, but certainly equal to Latin.

Where is your Latin Shakespeare, or Goethe, or Dante, or Cousin? These various studies certainly have their place in popular education. They all do something to discipline the mind. The practical question remains, How much attention should be given to each? What relative rank should science and the modern languages hold to Latin? This question it is hard to settle. Michigan College differs radically from Harvard, though Harvard takes a little different ground every few years. Lately, Harvard is beginning to teach more and more Latin every year. Soon it will again be less and less. Now, it is certainly possible that Latin should be sometimes valued more for its traditional than its real importance; that it should be studied to the disparagement of modern science and modern thought; that young men's ideas and aspirations should thus be directed backwards instead of forwards; and that educated men should thus be educated for the past, rather than the present. This is certainly possible, and the consequences are bad enough to make it well to hear all sides of the question. I would therefore recommend to your readers a very able and original essay which has been lately published, and will be freely given to all who write for it, by Rev. A. Bordman Lambert, Salem, Washington county, New York. PHILOLOGUS.

PUBLIC FEELING IN ENGLAND.

The following private letter, written from Paris to a friend in New York by Mr. Harvey, our Minister to Portugal, was received by the last steamer:—

"PARIS, June 11, 1861.

My Dear Sir,—It has occurred to me that the results of some of my personal observations, in passing through England, might be acceptable to you. A very considerable reaction has occurred there in the last fortnight, both in the press and in Parliament. I made it a duty, without consulting any one, or making my purpose known at all, to see personally the leading writers in the *Times*, *Post*, *News*, and *Herald*, and to convince them by practical facts of the mistakes into which they had fallen, and of the false views which remoteness from the scene of action and misrepresentations had induced them to form. Some of them responded promptly and creditably, others were slow to relinquish preconceived ideas, but gradually yielded, and have now almost come over to our side.

The popular sentiment in England, Ireland and Scotland is almost entirely with us; and the knowledge of that fact has had much to do, undoubtedly, with the recent action of the government. All the people I met in cars, steamboats, hotels and institutions, and with whom I had an opportunity of conversation—which I always sought when it was proper—were ardent for the Union, and anxious for its preservation at any cost. I did not meet one man who expressed sympathy with the Southern movement. Spurgeon preached to a congregation of over six thousand people, last Sunday, and closed with a prayer for the North, and the extinction of slavery. The response from that mighty multitude was like the muttering of distant thunder. Such an amen never fell on my ears before. That fact tells the feeling which exists among the masses in England, and which no Ministry dare resist.

The public men whom I have met in Europe look to the new administration with great confidence for a solution of the great problem which now convulses our unhappy country, and they seem to see in the means now adopted the promise of a satisfactory end.

If I can be of any use at Lisbon or elsewhere, issue an edict. Commend me very kindly to your household, and believe me to be, plainly, your friend,

JAMES E. HARVEY."

A VISIT TO GARIBALDI.

TURIN, June 22, 1861.

Just returned from Caprera, I can give you the assurance that Garibaldi, whom foreign papers described as sick, is in the best of health, full of hope for the cause of freedom, and ready to take part in the imminent struggle. I had the opportunity of conversing with him on political events, past, present, and future, and found him well informed as to all questions in the West as well as in the East, giving his clear and unbiased judgment about men and events in telling words, in which the cheerfulness and dignity of his character find a most happy expression. Mentioning America, he spoke with the greatest sympathy for the rights of the Nation, but he could not conceal that, for the present moment, he takes the struggle to be a great political war, not a war of liberty, though the cause of freedom must ultimately be advanced by the victory of the Union, of which he has not the slightest doubt.

"I know the difficulties," he said, "which prevent the Federal Government, even now, from proclaiming the liberty of the slaves; but so long as the legal existence of slavery is acknowledged, the war remains a political war. Had it been otherwise, I would have offered my sword to those who are willing to put down that degrading institution, which I know sufficiently from experience in Brazil."

I expressed my opinion that he might probably soon find an occasion nearer home once more to wield his powerful sword for liberty.

"I hope so," said he, "and am fully aware that the cause of liberty is the same all over the world. I am ready, with my friends, to go to the assistance of any people fighting for freedom, as soon as I am called, for I do not wish to be an intruder. I go only where I know that I am welcome."

"And how do you desire to be called?" asked I.

"There is but one way of calling me," he answered, "by the sound of muskets. However desperate may be the struggle, I will go to assist those who rise for liberty, whether in Greece or Hungary."—*Correspondent of the New York Tribune.*

CONTENTMENT OF THE SLAVES.

Mr. Russell, Correspondent of the London *Times*, writing from New Orleans under date of May 22, says:—

In the course of my journeying southward, I have failed to find much evidence that there is any apprehension on the part of the planters of a servile insurrection, or that the slaves are taking much interest in the coming contest, or know what it is about. But I have my suspicions that all is not right; paragraphs meet the eye, and odd sentences strike the ear, and little facts here and there come to the knowledge, which arouse curiosity and doubt. There is one stereotyped sentence which I am tired of: "Our negroes, sir, are the happiest, the most contented, and the best off of any people in the world."

The violence and reiterance of this formula cause one to inquire whether anything which demands such insistance is really in the condition predicated, and, for myself, I always say, "It may be so, but as yet I do not see the proof of it. The negroes do not look to be what you say they are." For the present, that is enough, as to one's own opinions. Externally, the paragraphs which attract attention, and the acts of the authorities, are inconsistent with the notion that the negroes are all very good, very happy, or at all contented, not to speak of their being in the superlative condition of enjoyment; and, as I only see them, as yet, in the most superficial way, and under the most favorable circumstances, it may be that when the cotton-picking season is at its height,—and it lasts for several months, when the labor is continuous, from sunrise to sunset,—there is less reason to accept the assertions as so largely and generally true of the vast majority of the slaves. "There is an excellent gentleman over there," said a friend to me, "who gives his overseers a premium of $10, on the birth of every child on his plantation." "Why so?" "Oh, in order that the overseers may not work the women in the family-way overmuch." There is little use in this part of the world in making use of inferences. But where overseers do not get the premium, it may be supposed they do work the pregnant women too much. Here are two paragraphs which do not look very well as they stand:—

"Those negroes who were taken with a sudden leaving on Sunday night last, will save the country the expenses of their burial if they keep dark from these parts. They and other of the 'breden' will not be permitted to express themselves quite so freely in regard to their braggadocio designs upon virtue in the absence of volunteers."—*Wilmington (Clintock Co.) Watchman.*

"SERVED HIM RIGHT. One day last week, some colored individual, living near South Plymouth, made a threat that, in case a civil war should occur, 'he would be one to ravish the wife of every Democrat, and to help murder their offspring, and wash his hands in their blood.' For this diabolical assertion, he was hauled up before a committee of white citizens, who adjudged him forty stripes on his naked back. He was accordingly stripped, and the lashes were laid on with such a good will that blood flowed, at the end of the castigation.—*Washington, (Fayette County,) Register,*

It is reported that the patrols are strengthened; and I could not help hearing a charming young lady say to another, the other evening, that "she would not be afraid to go back to the plantation, though Mrs. Brown Jones said she was afraid her negroes were after mischief."

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☞ The following gentlemen constitute the Financial Committee, but are not responsible for any debts of the paper, viz:—Francis Jackson, Edmund Quincy, Edmund Jackson, and Wendell Phillips.

The United States Constitution is "a covenant with death, and an agreement with hell."

☞ "What order of men under the most absolute of monarchies, or the most aristocratic of republics, was ever invested with such an odious and unjust privilege as that of the separate and exclusive representation of less than half a million owners of slaves, in the Hall of this House, in the chair of the Senate, and in the Presidential mansion? This investment of power in the owners of one species of property concentrated in the highest authorities of the nation, and disseminated through thirteen of the twenty-six States of the Union, constitutes a privileged order of men in the community, more adverse to the rights of all, and more pernicious to the interests of the whole, than any order of nobility ever known. To call government thus constituted a Democracy is to insult the understanding of mankind. . . . It is doubly tainted with the infection of riches and of slavery. There is no name in the language of national jurisprudence that can define it—no model in the records of ancient history, or in the political theories of Aristotle, with which it can be likened. It was introduced into the Constitution of the United States by an equivocation—a representation of property under the name of persons. Little did the members of the Convention from the Free States imagine or foresee what a sacrifice to Moloch was hidden under the mask of this concession."—John Quincy Adams.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor. | Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind. | J. B. YERRINTON & SON, Printers.

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Refuge of Oppression.

PREMATURE EXULTATION.

The New York *Journal of Commerce*, in a malicious and characteristic article upon what it styles "Pseudo Reforms," after sneering at Fourierism, Spiritual Rappings, Peace Societies, &c., flippantly says:—

Then the *Non-Resistants*, the *Anti-Capital Punishment* men, and the *Higher Law* men, came forward, wrote, declaimed, raged, and disappeared. It was pronounced a sin to repel the highway robber, or wound or injure the assailant of one's life. Lo, the change! Now violence is a virtue, provided it is inflicted by non-resistants; and though once it was pronounced a crime to execute a convicted murderer, it is now no crime, in the judgment of the same individuals, to take the lives of those chargeable with no offence; while instead of abiding by the decisions of the "higher law," every one of these old "shriekers" against the penitentiary and the gallows claims to be "a law unto himself," and is ready to act accordingly. Alas! for poor human nature. Did it ever show itself so capricious, or its decisions so unworthy of respect? The present crisis has brought all these fooleries to the test, and, exposing their extravagance and absurdity, has annihilated the different flourishing Societies which made it their vocation to advocate and diffuse them.

We hear no more of *Woman's Rights* and *Woman's Rights Conventions*, since beyond a doubt if these women are *strong minded*, as they boast, they may be also *strong backed* and *strong limbed*, which they do not boast, and therefore be justly mustered into the army; or, if remaining at home, be required *manfully* to meet their share of the expenses of the war. But we hear no more of sister Mott's telling appeals on the equality of the sexes, and other sisters are equally silent.

Abolitionism is another illustration, and the saddest, of the impulsiveness and extravagance of the American mind; but even here there are symptoms of returning good sense, though it may come too late. As to the possible future of our country,—should the South succeed in maintaining its secession, and become a distinct nationality, obviously no advantage would accrue to the slaves, while if an adjustment of the difficulties should be made, and the Union remain inviolate, no one dreams that it can be effected by any thing less than an abiding by the old principles of the Constitution. In either contingency, therefore, it will be found that the anti-slavery agitation has accomplished nothing but evil, and that continually; and that all which can be done for good, is to be done by patiently following the order of events and the developments of Providence—attempting what is possible, and waiting for much that is desirable, while in every movement the only power to be used is that of light and love. The country needs not empirics, missionaries, demagogues and agitators, but men of comprehensive minds, cool judgment, and unselfish hearts. May Heaven give it such, in the place of mountebanks in the pulpit, and ranters in the conventicles, and partisans and demagogues in the halls of legislation, both State and national!

A SHAME.

One of the most disgraceful of the acts which have characterized the present Administration in its brief, but unexampled career, is the appointment of Jim Lane to a Brigadier Generalship, and "Captain" Montgomery to a Colonelcy in the army—two as deep dyed scoundrels as ever went unhung. The murders and robberies committed by those fellows during the troubles in Kansas are known to the whole country, and have linked their names in appropriate connection with the hoary villain but less fortunate John Brown. These men did all in their power to keep alive the bloody strife in Kansas, and are personally responsible for a large share of its atrocities. Lane murdered a Free State man named Jennings! He was arrested, but contrived to get clear by his influence over men as guilty as himself. His seat in the Senate was secured by corruption unexampled in the history of legislation—the votes of members being openly bought and sold on the floor of the House.

What adds to the enormity of the case, was the well authenticated fact that the money used for this purpose was stolen from the contributions sent out by charitable people at the East to relieve the sufferings of Kansas. Since the election of Pomeroy and Lane to the Senate, nothing has been heard of suffering in Kansas. Montgomery is a desperado of the most abandoned character, and has for years kept around him a band of lawless men, who made themselves the terror of the country round about. Their robberies and murders are fresh in the minds of the public. This band is still in active service, and the effect of giving a commission to Montgomery is to place them in the pay of government, and make the whole country responsible for their acts. These men proclaim that they are determined to "sustain the Union" and "protect the honor of the flag"! The elevation of men of such character to a par with the volunteers who have disinterestedly shouldered their muskets for the support of the government, in good faith, and with honorable purpose, is a burning disgrace to the country.—*New Haven Register.*

THE WAR AND ITS SUPPORTERS.

We stated the other day that there are persons—and they are pretty numerous—who support the war and the government solely because they believe, if the war continues, slavery will be abolished. But for that hope and belief, they would oppose both the war and the government. The papers that represent these persons are in great trepidation at present, for fear an adjustment of our national difficulties may be made, and that Peace may be installed where War now sits with bloody and frowning brow. How rejoiced should we be if assured that they have good cause for their alarm! They regard Mr. Crittenden as the wily Greek who is to be the bearer of the fatal gifts that will overthrow the Republican Troy; and in consequence of such belief, they are pitching into that gentleman right vigorously, in order to destroy his influence with Congress and the country. Before his election, some of them went so far as to hope that he would be defeated by his Secession opponent. Though a Union man, and who has done more than any other dozen men to keep Kentucky in the Union, yet these papers are sorry he was not defeated, so apprehensive are they he may do something that may bring the war to a close, and restore the ancient relations of kindness and social and business intercourse between the sections. They, therefore, undertake to warn the country and Congress against him. They do not want peace, for that would crush their hopes of the universal emancipation of the blacks. They prefer that the war should continue—that heavy burthens should be heaped upon the country to sustain it—that trade, commerce and business should remain stagnant and prostrate—rather than the present chance of liberating four millions of slaves should be lost. It is well enough that the country should understand the secret of these attempts to break down Mr. Crittenden before he goes to Washington.—*Cincinnati Enquirer.*

HURRAH FOR THE WAR!

Hurrah for the war! Let's make a little infamous history! Let's smash up things generally, and return civilization on its tracks a thousand years. Let's show the "rebels" and the rest of the world that we have a government, by tearing down the Constitution and setting up a military dictatorship, that shall have the property, liberty and life of the citizen at its exclusive disposal. Let's get all the preachers to quit preaching the gospel of peace, and go to ranting out devastation and slaughter, over all the land. Let's shut up all the churches; turn all the schools into recruiting stations; drive justice from her temples; knock off the wheels of trade; pluck out the wings of commerce; fill all our fields with weeds, and everywhere "cry havoc and let slip the dogs of war," and if an unawed citizen speak a word, or print an appeal, for peace, call him "traitor," "villain," "worm," and threaten to "riddle him with bullets," and "stretch his neck," and "pitch his office into the street." There, now, if that isn't a sufficient endorsement of this barbarous civil war, we want Mr. Wickizer to get appointed censor general of all the newspapers, and tell us what is.—*Bloomington (Ill.) Times.*

Selections.

LETTER FROM PETER SINCLAIR, ESQ.

[From the Manchester Examiner, July 2.]

June 29, 1861.

Sir,—Having recently returned from an extensive tour through the United States of America, and had an opportunity of witnessing some of the preparations making for the conflict between freedom and slavery, I thought I could not, in justice to the friends of freedom in America, or to the friends of freedom in my own country, remain silent upon some matters which seem to be misunderstood on both sides of the Atlantic.

I read with very great satisfaction an article in a recent number of your excellent journal, which led me to think you might find space in your columns for the following remarks:—

The people of the free States do not wish the British government or people to interfere in the struggle between despotism and liberty—and therefore the position of strict neutrality is precisely the one thing they hope we will preserve.

But neither the British government nor the British people can be ignorant of the fact, that from the commencement of this rebellion, up to the present time, the South, and the pro-slavery press in the North, have declared that the government of Great Britain, and the great monied and manufacturing interests of this country, were favoring them; nay, had promised them material aid.

The same pro-slavery press led the South to expect that the free States could not hinder them from accomplishing a successful rebellion, because of the number of sympathisers with slavery in the free States; they boasted that they would not allow the North to coerce the South, and declared that if the North attempted by force to prevent the destruction of the Union, they would plant the Palmetto flag on Faneuil Hall. The free press of America has not at any time during my visit had a very free circulation in the slave States, and since the Harper's Ferry outbreak under John Brown, it has not been permitted to circulate at all, it may be said. The white people of the slave States see and read nothing but the pro-slavery papers that propagate these falsehoods.

The political leaders in the slave States have made these falsehoods the texts of their political harangues, and inflamed the imaginations and the passions of the people with prospects of speedily overwhelming the Black Republican Abolitionists (as they call them) of the free States. The Southern clergy have not been slow to make use of the same unworthy means of misleading their flocks. It is not, therefore, to be wondered at that the people of the slave States have believed a lie.

By way of exposing the dastardly means employed by the leaders of the slavery rebellion, the free press of the free States has quoted very largely from the Southern papers, thus giving currency to the many shameless falsehoods they have circulated; and, not always so careful as it might be, has overshot the mark, and accomplished more than it intended, so that very many of the free men of the free States have been brought to believe that there must be something in these statements, after all.

The freemen of the free States remember the time in Great Britain when the anti-slavery societies were active in holding great meetings of the people to denounce American slavery—when noble ladies lent their influence to induce the ladies of America to aid in the great work of securing for the poor down-trodden colored American his rights.

They saw more recently, with admiration, the enthusiasm with which the cause of oppressed Italy was espoused, and the generous moral aid Great Britain rendered the cause of liberty. While yet proclaiming her policy to be one of strict neutrality, need I say they expected some such manifestation of feeling on this occasion.

If commercial, political, constitutional, or family considerations have hitherto prevented a large number of freemen in every free State from going further than seeking the restriction of slavery within the area of the present slave States; if like considerations have hitherto led a still larger number to oppose the efforts of these men and others; surely, now, when wearied out with granting concessions, that lead only to fresh demands of concessions of the most outrageous character; now, when they have said no more concessions to slavery; now, when they have resolved to sacrifice their property, their party, their all, to obtain a final settlement of this question; now, when all party distinctions and differences are laid aside, and all these men are found standing side by side with the men who have for years been seeking to settle this question by the speediest and wisest, because only just, mode of settling it, *i.e.*, by restoring the bondman to liberty; now, when these faithful, long-tried friends of the enslaved American believe the hour is at hand when the doom of slavery shall be pronounced, and all freemen in America shall say "Amen and amen," shall the people of Great Britain hesitate—be silent—utter no encouraging word, or whisper it so feebly as to be unheard—hold no warmly sympathising meetings—pass no strongly congratulatory resolutions—proclaim no loud universal "God speed the right"—thunder out no bold freeman's cry, "Break every yoke, let the oppressed go free"?

In a few days Congress will assemble; the members may have become imbued with the sentiments of the freemen of the free States, and be prepared to carry out their views; but they were elected before this crisis had arisen. There is great fear in many quarters that some of them are not up to the mark; that they will pursue a procrastinating, temporising, compromising policy. Had the people the power to elect new members now, there would be no such fear. The Executive would be clothed with constitutional power to settle this question finally, and without delay. In these circumstances, the expression of the mind of the people of this country on this subject would have its influence in the speedy settlement of this question. Such an expression of opinion could not be misunderstood by our American cousins. Most sensitive as they are, under any and every expression of opinion by the people of this country on their affairs, they could not but see our only motive for uttering what they have always supposed were our sentiments, was the welfare of themselves, and their own great and glorious country—the purification and perfection of the fairest fabric of human liberty the world ever beheld.

I frankly confess there is great disappointment felt in the free States, at the course pursued in the British Houses of Parliament. Tongues usually eloquent in the defence of liberty have been silent, while this momentous question has been culminating in blood. So far as I can learn, the only reason assigned for this extraordinary course of proceeding is the peculiar position this country is placed in by the hostile tariff passed by the free States. I am myself a free-trader. I hold that the protectionists of America, of all classes, are wrong; that it is the protection of slavery that has brought about this crisis; and I cannot help thinking that the American people are too shrewd not to see this, and adopt a different course. But whether they do or not, that should not hinder the advancement of human liberty; and because we regard the protection of slave labor and the protection of free labor as one in principle, we should not be found favoring one wrong while opposed to the other.

Great Britain to-day may be in advance of all the nations of the earth, in the great principles and practice of commercial freedom; but it ought not to be forgotten that America is in advance of all other nations of the earth, on the questions of civil and religious liberty, (excepting in the slave States,) and that it is not at all likely, where these have been secured, the other can be long in being placed alongside of them.

The South used to trade with the North, and no business man wants to quarrel with his customers. The South formed family alliances with the North, and no man wants to be falling out with his relations. The South formed political parties with the North, and a few keen party men would hesitate to sacrifice principle to party. But now the scene is changed—the South refuses to pay its just debts to the North. The South ceases to purchase goods from the North. The South prohibits the Northmen from travelling South. Southern ladies and gentlemen of the "first families of Virginia" won't marry "the mudsills" of the North. The slaveholder is no longer a "Democrat"—he is a "Confederate."

"The Confederates" send their ambassadors to the government of Great Britain to say—We have cotton to sell; we'll sell it to you. You have goods to sell; we'll buy them of you. The North have made a tariff against you; we have made one in your favor—*come, let us trade!* We repudiate occasionally! but, oh, that's a small matter! We have a peculiar institution amongst us. You must say nothing about that; it would be unpleasant to us. Your fleet might be better employed than in interfering with one of the peculiar branches of our trade on the Southern coast; and it's expensive to you. Withdraw that fleet, and send it to open and protect our ports, and we will be the best of friends. Instead of sending our sons and daughters to Saratoga or Newport, we will send them to Brighton or Harrogate; instead of going a buffalo hunting, we will go a deer-stalking. Don't you see? Let's be a part of your family. Come, let's strike hands together; you don't get such an offer every day. Let us trade.

And John Bull stands by with his hands in his pockets, feeling for his conscience. Lord Palmerston looks knowingly at the cards, but won't play. Lord Derby has his eye upon a trick,—but, hold! the Confederate ambassadors are busy. Some patriot of the John Mitchell school is needed—can't he be found? The question of the recognition of the "Confederate Slave States" must be brought up. The great party of freedom are asleep; the political leaders are not ready to play.

We condemned the North because they made a god of the dollar, and regarded cotton as king; are we going to act the part we condemned? Can we draw a pen through the history of our country's struggles on behalf of suffering humanity, and rivet anew the fetters of the bondman, for the sake of trade? If we cannot, then let the senate chambers of the nation ring with the clarion tones of liberty, and let all the world know that free labor by free hands, and free commercial intercourse with all peoples and nations, is the motto of the British free-trader. What! in the same year that we welcome Italy, the last-born child of freedom, into the glorious family of emancipated peoples—shake hands with men who propound the monstrous doctrine "that free institutions are a failure, and that the only true principle of modern civilization is the subjugation of an inferior race to a superior one," and that by the horrid system of American slavery—a system more revolting than ever disgraced the darkest places of the earth which are still the habitations of horrid cruelty—strike hands with slaveholders, whose daggers are reeking with the warm blood of the freemen of the North, who have left all to defend the cause of human liberty! Surely, such a humiliation as this is not in reserve for us or our children.

Would that the good nature of John Bull could not be so shamefully imposed upon; that he had the courtesy, as well as the courage, to give the Confederate ambassadors notice to quit in something less than twenty-four hours! But John can't do these things,—he is not used to it; the Confederates are. There is danger in coquetting with traitors; the very men now in London, and the men whom they represent, have been the prime movers in endeavoring to stir up strife between Great Britain and America in days gone by. They are doing it now through the medium of a pro-slavery press; and while they are here offering to sell their country for thirty pieces of silver, they will betray us with a kiss.

I appeal to the people; I appeal to the true men in both Houses of Parliament, to speak out plainly. Let our neutrality be clearly and distinctly and inviolably observed; but let all the moral weight of a great, free, and deeply sympathizing nation be cast on the side of liberty, and let all the world know that such is the fact. Let it be placed on record, that present and future generations may see that in a struggle between despotism and liberty, Great Britain can only be found on one side, and that the side of liberty.

PETER SINCLAIR.

THE WAR IN ITS RELATION TO SLAVERY.

A LETTER FROM HON. JOSHUA R. GIDDINGS.

To the Editor of the New York Tribune:

Sir,—Our country is opening up a new page in the history of governments. The world has never witnessed such a spontaneous uprising of any people in support of free institutions as that now exhibited by the citizens of our Northern States.

I observe that the vexed question of slavery still has to be met, both in the Cabinet and in the field. It has been met by former Presidents, by former Cabinets, and by former military officers. They have established a train of precedents that may be well followed at this day. I write now for the purpose of inviting attention to those principles of international law which are regarded by publicists and jurists as proper guides in the exercise of that despotic and almost unlimited authority called the "war power." A synopsis of these doctrines was given by Major General Gaines, at New Orleans, in 1838.

General Jessup had captured many fugitive slaves and Indians in Florida, and had ordered them to be sent west of the Mississippi. At New Orleans they were claimed by the owners, under legal process; but Gen. Gaines, commanding that military district, refused to deliver them to the sheriff, and appeared in court, stating his own defence.

He declared that these people (men, women, and children), were captured in war, and held as prisoners of war. That as commander of that military department or district, he held them subject only to the order of the National Executive: that he could recognize no other power in time of war, or by the laws of war, as authorized to take prisoners from his possession.

He asserted that, in time of war, all slaves were belligerents as much as their masters. The slave men, said he, cultivate the earth and supply provisions. The women cook the food, nurse the wounded and sick, and contribute to the maintenance of the war, often more than the same number of males. The slave children equally contribute whatever they are able to the support of the war. Indeed, he well supported General Butler's declaration, that slaves are contraband of war.

The military officer, said he, can enter into no judicial examination of the claim of one man to the bone and muscle of another as property. Nor could he, as a military officer, know what the laws of Florida were while engaged in maintaining the Federal Government by force of arms. In such case, he could only be guided by the laws of war; and whatever may be the laws of any State, they must yield to the safety of the Federal Government. This defence of General Gaines may be found in House Document No. 225, of the Second Session of the 25th Congress. He sent the slaves West, where they became free.

Louis, the slave of a man named Pacheco, betrayed Major Dade's battalion, in 1836, and when he had witnessed their massacre, he joined the enemy. Two years subsequently he was captured. Pacheco claimed him; General Jessup said if he had time, he would try him before a court-martial and hang him, but would not deliver him to any man. He however sent him West, and the fugitive slave became a free man, and is now fighting the Texans. General Jessup reported his action to the war department, and Mr. Van Buren, then President, with his Cabinet, approved it. Pacheco then appealed to Congress, asking that body to pay him for the loss of his slave; and Mr. Greeley will recollect, that he and myself, and a majority of the House of Representatives voted against the bill, which was rejected. All concurred in the opinion that General Jessup did right in emancipating the slave, instead of returning him to his master.

In 1838 General Taylor captured a number of negroes said to be fugitive slaves. Citizens of Florida learning what had been done, immediately gathered around his camp, intending to secure the slaves who had escaped from them. General Taylor told them that he had no prisoners but "prisoners of war." The claimants then desired to look at them in order to determine whether he was holding their slaves as prisoners. The veteran warrior replied that no man should examine his prisoners for such a purpose; and he ordered them to depart. This action being reported to the War Department, was approved by the Executive. The slaves, however, were sent West, and set free.

In 1836 General Jessup wanted guides and men to act as spies. He therefore engaged several fugitive slaves to act as such, agreeing to secure the freedom of themselves and families if they served the Government faithfully. They agreed to do so, fulfilled their agreement, were sent West and set free. Mr. Van Buren's Administration approved the contract, and Mr. Tyler's Administration approved the manner in which General Jessup fulfilled it by setting the slaves free.

In December, 1814, General Jackson impressed a large number of slaves at and near New Orleans, and kept them at work erecting defences, behind which his troops won such glory on the 8th of January, 1815. The masters remonstrated. Jackson disregarded their remonstrances, and kept the slaves at work until many of them were killed by the enemy's shots; yet his action was approved by Mr. Madison and Cabinet, and by Congress, which has ever refused to pay the masters for their losses.

But in all these cases, the masters were professedly friends of the Government; and yet our Presidents and Cabinets and Generals have not hesitated to emancipate their slaves whenever in time of war it was supposed to be for the interest of the country to do so. This was done in the exercise of the "war power" to which Mr. Adams referred in Congress, and for which he had the most abundant authority. But I think no records of this nation, nor of any other nation, will show an instance in which a fugitive slave has been sent back to a master who was in rebellion against the very Government who held his slave as captive.

From these precedents I deduce the following doctrines:—

1. That slaves belonging to an enemy are now, and have ever been regarded as belligerents; may be lawfully captured and set free, sent out of the State, or otherwise disposed of at the will of the Executive.

2. That as slaves enable an enemy to continue and carry on the war now waged against our Government, it becomes the duty of all officers and loyal citizens to use every proper means to induce the slaves to leave their masters, and cease lending aid and comfort to the rebels.

3. That in all cases it becomes the duty of the Executive, and of all Executive officers and loyal citizens, to aid, assist, and encourage those slaves who have escaped from rebel masters to continue their flight and maintain their liberty.

4. That to send back a fugitive slave to a rebel master, would be lending aid and assistance to the rebellion. That those who arrest and send back such fugitives identify themselves with the enemies of our Government, and should be indicted as traitors.

Montreal, June 6, 1861. J. R. GIDDINGS.

SCENES IN THE CAMPS.

A Runaway Negro Pursued into the Garrison by Hounds in Human Form, and Shot—Arrest of the Parties by the Guard—the Mayor and Postmaster of Annapolis want the "Nigger."

Headquarters 6th Reg. N. Y. S. T.,
Annapolis, July 13, 1861.

About 12 o'clock on Thursday night, considerable excitement was caused throughout the garrison by the repeated discharge of firearms, and the shouts of the sentinels, posted at the railroad gate, for the corporal of the guard. Many of the soldiers, awakened from sound sleep, seized their arms, and rushed from their quarters in anticipation of the "long roll." In a little time, quiet was restored, and upon examination, it appeared that the trouble was caused by two vagabondish looking fellows "running the guard" in pursuit of a fugitive slave. The two white men and the negro were accommodated with quarters in the guard house until the following morning, when Col. Joseph C. Pinckney, commanding the post, summoned them before him for examination. One of the men, a recognized "hound," or "nigger-hunter," named McCabe, about twenty-two years of age—a fellow of most brutish countenance—stated that on Wednesday morning, while across the river Severn picking cherries, a negro approached him. He asked him where he was going, and to whom he belonged, to which the negro replied what he (McCabe) knew to be false. They walked together toward a piece of woods, when McCabe, drawing a revolver, turned suddenly upon the negro, and pointing the weapon at his head, said, "You are a runaway, and must go with me." The negro instantly grappled with him, when McCabe discharged the piece at his breast. The ball glanced, and tore the skin and flesh from the negro's breast, almost to the ribs, but happily did not enter his body. The scuffle resulted in the negro obtaining possession of the revolver, when McCabe, fearing for his life, took to his heels. McCabe said that he made his way to Annapolis, and while walking the streets in the evening, again met the negro. Procuring another revolver, and the service of one of the policemen of Annapolis, he again set out to capture the negro. After a long chase, the fugitive, to escape his pursuers, jumped into the river, and swam around the wall into the garrison. McCabe and the officer—a mere boy—ran to the railroad gate, where they were challenged by the sentinel. Both rushed past him, when he fired at them, and reloading, fired a second time, but without effect, it being impossible to aim correctly, as the night was dark.

The guard soon came up, and arrested them all. As far as the pursuit of the negro in the city was concerned, the statement of McCabe was corroborated by the policemen.

While this examination was progressing, John T. Magruder, the Mayor of the city of Annapolis, came in and suggested to the Colonel that the "nigger" had better be sent to jail. He said that the laws of the State authorized any man to arrest or shoot down runaway "niggers."

The fugitive, who gave his name as "Nick," was asked what he had to say, when he remarked that he belonged to Mr. Allison, and had run away to save his life. He said that about a fortnight ago, the hands were engaged cradling, when his cradle got out of order; that he stopped to fix it, when his master—a young man about twenty years of age—commenced "jawing" him, and finally struck him over the head with a stick. Enraged by so unprovoked an attack, Nick made some reply, when Allison said, "I'll blow your G—d d—d brains out," and made off to the house for his revolver. Nick, fearing for his life, fled to the woods, and had been absent two weeks when he encountered McCabe. He said that he had rather be sold away down South, than go back to his master.

The parties were hereupon called upon to subscribe to the evidence they had given, when McCabe and the policeman said they could not write. Nick, however, stepped to the desk, and wrote his name in a bold hand.

At the solicitation of the Mayor, the Colonel allowed McCabe and the policeman their liberty, although feeling much disposed to punish them more severely than a night's confinement in the guard-house, for passing the sentinel.

Nick was sent to the hospital, where Assistant-Surgeon Vondersmith dressed his wound, and gave him such other attention as his case required.

During the afternoon, Mr. Ireland, the postmaster of Annapolis, came to the garrison, and whiningly told Col. Pinckney that he knew the slave's "marster"—that he was a right smart young fellow, and that Nick was his head "nigger," and that he wouldn't take $1,500 for him; and concluded by asking the Colonel if he couldn't be allowed to take Nick to his house, where he would keep him and care for him until he (Mr. Ireland) could write to his "marster." Col. Pinckney declined, and thus the matter rested, until Friday morning, when Mr. Ireland again came to the garrison, and said the slave's "marster" had come, and wanted an interview with the Colonel. The latter replied that the man was dangerously wounded, and was in the hospital, where he would be kept for the present. Soon after, Col. Pinckney left the garrison for the Baltimore steamboat, but had scarcely set foot on board before he was accosted by the Mayor and the owner of Nick, the former being exceedingly excited and anxious about the matter. The owner said angrily: "I want my nigger," to which Col. Pinckney coolly replied: "The man is badly wounded, and I have sent him to the hospital where he will be well treated."

Owner. But I want you to give him to me. I'll send him to the jail, and have him attended to there.

Col. P. The disturbance in regard to this man occurred in the garrison, and I intend investigating it further.

Mayor (supplicatingly.) I think, Colonel, the nigger would be safer in jail.

Col. P. O, he's safe enough. I shall keep him in the hospital for a while.

The owner was about giving vent to some vile language, when the Mayor led him away. Thus the matter rests.—*Cor. N. Y. Tribune.*

Falls Church, (Va.) July 16, 1861.

Just at dusk, the Ohio pickets brought in a fine negro boy, Sam Allston, servant to one of the scions of chivalry from the Palmetto State. As he came up the lawn to headquarters, the most noticeable thing—one which attracted universal attention and elicited general laughter—was his boots, which were the sorriest specimen of old leather I ever witnessed on human feet, reminding one of the old shoes which the Gibeonites wore when they cheated the Children of Israel. Sam came up timidly, rolling the whites of his eyes over all the group with a searching intelligence, as if to read his destiny. He wore a slouched hat, a checked shirt, and carried a silver bull's eye watch. He stated that he was direct from Fairfax Court House, and as information from that locality was especially desirable, he was subjected to an examination which would have tested the endurance of an expert upon the witness stand. In his own broken answers, he gave replies as follows:—

"Born in Souf Caraline; massa Allston's nigger—Sam; cook for massa; got pass to go out and buy chickens, and come right straight down, sir. Massa got one hundred and fifty he[illegible]iggers down in Columbia district. Don't want to go [illegible] sir; wouldn't go back no how, if I could help it, sir; rather go thousand miles up North, than down Souf again, sir; knock me about down there; whipped me for talking with the niggers last week about the war; don't like to have us talk together, sir; say they will whip the Yankees; they is kinder waiting to have you come; they have been packing up their trunks to-day; reckon they are going to move toward Manassas; right smart chance of 'em, sir; reckon they has ten regiments; Gen. Bonham in command; Souf Carolinians kinder mad at the Yankees; think they are going to whip ye easy."

A minute questioning verified previous information of position of troops, batteries, and places where trees have been felled. He frequently recurred to the subject of being sent back. It was uppermost in his thoughts. He had no father, and his mother had been sold. There was no tie to bind him anywhere. Only in his soul was that unquenchable fire, that love of liberty which makes a man. There was something exceedingly touching in his tone and manner when he said, "O massa, I'd ever so much rather go way over yonder, anywhere, than to be sent down Souf again." He did not know where "yonder" was, but it was his ideal of a place where he would find that which his soul most longed for—freedom. The Ohio boys who had brought him in, requested that he might be their cook; and when told to go with them, and be a good boy, and he should be treated well, his pleasure was manifest in every line of his intelligent face.

The information gathered from him was valuable, because it was corroborative of that received from other sources. One thing was heard with regret—that the rebels were evidently getting ready to run; that they were packing their trunks, and sending heavy baggage to Fairfax Station.

REFUGEES.

Yesterday, a large number of refugees came into camp, forced to accept the alternative of being compelled to serve in the Confederate army, or fleeing to the Federal protection. They have tales of horror, which will stir the blood of every true patriot. Among the number is a gentleman by the name of Hall, who years ago came from Western New York, and settled near Fairfax. Last spring he was a Union man, and raised the stars and stripes. When the Ohio troops made the disastrous advance upon Vienna, some one notified them of the battery in ambush, and rumor said he was the man. He was arrested, his hands and arms tied, and was taken to Fairfax. Several charges were made against him: that he gave the notice, raised a Lincoln flag, gave provisions to the Ohio troops when they carried off their wounded. He was told that he had but two two hours to live, and he had [illegible] say [illegible]. At the expiration of one hour, he was [illegible] he had but sixty minutes of life. A blood-thirsty set of South Carolinians gathered round him as he lay on the ground, hands and feet tied, swearing and using the most horrible oaths, levelling their guns at him, saying that in so many minutes they would riddle him with bullets, and chop him into mince meat. At the expiration of the hour, an officer told him he was reprieved till morning. The South Carolinians stood outside the tent greatly enraged. He heard them lay a plot to shoot him as soon as it was dark, through the walls of the tent, but he was spared such a death. He was kept sixty hours without food thus confined. He was closely guarded. He was refused a trial. After twelve days' durance, by aid of a friend he obtained release.

No language can convey the devilish malignity of the South Carolinians against all Northern men. The vocabulary of the bottomless pit only will serve them when speaking of a Northern born man. They have also a poor opinion of the prowess of Virginians. Mr. Hall overheard Col. Gregg remark to a brother officer, that "the d——d Virginians couldn't be trusted; they hadn't any fight in them"—a remark which, now that we give it publicity, we hope will be duly appreciated by the chivalry of the Old Dominion. The hot fire-eaters of the South fear the Yankees, as is manifested by their malignant hate, but they despise the Virginians.

It would require several columns of the *Journal* to narrate the experience of Mr. Hall, who, in common with others now under the protection of the stars and stripes, were notified yesterday to appear at Fairfax on Wednesday with such arms as they had, clothed for six months, and three days' rations. As soon as the sergeant was gone, Mr. Hall took a short cut through the woods, and is ready to report at Fairfax. He will be there at daybreak, armed and equipped, ready to report himself to any commanding officer or private who may be there.

Your readers, sitting by their peaceful firesides, unrestrained, following their avocations at will, can have no adequate idea of the terrible despotism which these ruffians exercise. They are lost to all sense of honor. They have become barbarians in their mode of warfare. There is one Frank Williams, an excellent marksman, with a long range rifle, with seven marks on it, the tally of the number of Federal pickets he [illegible] off on dark nights. He crawls stealthily upon [illegible] sentinel standing at his post, fires, and then takes [illegible] heels like the coward he is.—*Cor. Boston Journal.*

The 1st and 3d Connecticuts are only a short distance from the Maine, all fronting on the Leesburg turnpike; and a mile below towards, Alexandria, and on the opposite side of the road are the camps of Sherman's battery and the 2d Connecticut, so that these few regiments are nearly in a line. We called at the camp of the 2d Connecticut, and were politely shown round by Adjutant Bacon, who had just returned from a scouting expedition, mounted on a splendid horse taken from the rebel cavalry. In this camp they have some twenty slaves, which have come in from time to time, and they now act as servants, and seem very happy and contented.

We saw the *colored* part of Col. Mason's family,—brother of the late U. S. Senator, now expelled,—which was captured a few days ago, just as they had got all packed up, and on the point of starting farther South, under charge of the overseer. I think there were nine of them, three women, one man, and the rest children, beside the overseer. I asked one of the women, who was nursing a child three months old, and had three children older in camp, where her husband was. She honestly answered, "I'se never married." I must confess my *puritanical notions* received a *severe shock*.

A few hours before our arrival, a *contraband* had come into camp, direct from Fairfax Court House, he having obtained a *pass* from "his Cap'n" to go out and buy some butter, and by that means got beyond the rebel lines. He told me he was cook for an Alabama regiment, and had been with them

since the 13th of April. They first went to Pensacola, and had stopped along at Montgomery, Richmond, Manassas, and were now encamped a mile the other side of Fairfax Court House. He said they had six regiments there, and a few pieces of artillery, but some of them were going away. This man had been severely flogged, last Sunday, for some trifling offence, and showed me his back, which presented a horrid sight, being cut every inch *from his hips to his neck*, and was still, in some places, *raw and bleeding*. I turned away, sick at heart to think that such atrocities were permitted in a FREE AND CHRISTIAN LAND. This man was intelligent.—*Washington cor. of Boston Traveller.*

A friend of mine, just from Fortress Monroe, Hampton, Newport News and vicinity, tells me that he has had a great experience, particularly as to the colored brethren. He spent a great deal of time conversing with them, having gone over the matter with at least fifty of them. They utter but one sentiment; they want to be free, and they say the same feeling pervades their brethren throughout Virginia. He tried in every case to get the current of their minds, before letting them know his own opinions, saying, "I suppose you are sorry your masters had to leave; that you prefer to be slaves." Their denial of this was very earnest and indignant. He would say to them, "Your masters say you are lazy, and will not work without a master;" they resented the imputation with great energy and feeling. The more he saw of them, the better he liked them, and he spent hours with them. At Camp Greble, Hampton, sixty of them, were at work in the trenches and doing noble service, and doing it willingly, under charge of Edward L. Pierce, Esq., a Boston lawyer, who went out as a private in the New Bedford company. They are made to take the oath of allegiance, and are told they will be treated as white men are treated, and the promise is carried out, for one of Brigadier-General Pierce's staff interfered the other day to keep one of them from being flogged. They are entered in the order book, not as slaves, but as colored men, and various things of this sort not according to Virginia ideas have happened.—*Boston cor. of N. Y. Tribune.*

ADDRESS OF HON. EDWARD EVERETT.

At the presentation of a handsome, rich white silk Standard to the Regiment commanded by Col. Fletcher Webster, (son of the late Hon. Daniel Webster,) in Boston, on the 18th inst., the Hon. Edward Everett made the following address:—

Colonel Webster—Our friend, Mr. Dehon, to whom the pleasing duty of this day had been assigned, having been compelled, by a domestic bereavement, to forego its performance, it has, by his particular request, devolved upon me. I regret, in common with you all, that this duty could not be discharged by one who has watched the formation and progress of your corps with such friendly solicitude from its first organization to the present hour. On his behalf I beg to assure you that this interest and that of the other friends of the regiment will remain undiminished after your departure; will follow you to the field of duty; and that duty strenuously, bravely performed, as I know it will be, will delight to welcome you home. (Applause.)

I need not tell you that no ordinary degree of public expectation goes with you to the seat of war. Competent judges have pronounced most favorably of the material of which your regiment is composed; of the spirit of discipline which pervades the ranks; of the patriotic zeal which animates your brother officers; of the manly sense of responsibility evinced by yourself. I have been informed, especially from Colonel Fessenden, who has taken so active an interest in the regiment, that its condition—officers and men—is in all respects highly satisfactory, and such as cannot fail to do credit to the service. As far as we can judge from its appearance at this time, these favorable representations are fully merited. (Cheers.) We sympathize with you, sir; we know that no ordinary devotion of time and labor will be needed, on your part, to fulfill the hopes of your friends, and the demands of the public; but let the shadow of that great name which you bear—*magni nominis umbra*—be, under Divine Providence, like the pillar of cloud which guided the chosen people, and lead and cheer you in the arduous pathway of duty. (Loud applause.)

You are entering, Sir, with your patriotic associates, upon an untried field of duty; but you are descended from a stock, which, in more than one generation, teaches lessons of loyal devotion. Your grandfather, Captain Ebenezer Webster, a grave and thoughtful man, was one of those brave frontier rangers, who bore the brunt of the seven years' war, in the wilderness which separated our then feeble settlements from Canada; and he stood with Stark at Bennington. (Cheers.) Your noble father, in defence of the menaced Constitution of the country, led those mighty conflicts of the Senate, not less arduous, not less decisive, than the conflicts of the field. (Applause.) Your only brother, following the impulse of a generous ambition, left his young life on the sickly plains of Mexico. On the family record that bears these sacred memories, nothing less worthy than duty faithfully performed, danger bravely met, and the country heroically served, will ever, I am confident, be inscribed in connection with your name. (Loud cheers.)

It is with no ordinary feelings of satisfaction that, on behalf of the patriotic ladies who take a friendly interest in the regiment, I now present you with this beautiful banner, well assured that you and all in your command will regard it with grateful interest, as a token of their kind wishes, and a pledge of their sympathy; and that you will look upon it with patriotic reverence as the symbol of the Union; the emblem of the cause you defend, of the country you serve. It bears upon its field, as a motto from the immortal speech of you father, the soul-stirring words, "Not a stripe erased or polluted—not a star obscured." (Loud applause.) It is to maintain their bright significance that the contest in which you are embarking is waged. Those emblems of our Union, I need not tell you, were first displayed in the camp of Washington on yonder opposite shore, on the first of January, 1776. They have been borne by the armies of United America against a foreign enemy on hard fought fields, from the snows of Canada to the burning plains of Mexico. With our navies they have circled the globe. They are now displayed in defence of the Union itself, in this most unrighteous and fratricidal war, and, like that holy symbol, which the first Christian Emperor saw in the heavens, they shall marshal its loyal defenders to victory. (Cheers.)

Your noble father, sir, with prophetic forethought, uttered those solemn words, "There can be no such thing as peaceful secession." (Applause.) Your country calls you to discharge your part in the duty, imperative as it is sad, which that principle devolves on all good citizens, each in his appropriate sphere. You would gladly have avoided,—we would all gladly have avoided,—the stern necessity, which it laid upon us. We spoke the words of conciliation and peace, till they inspired nothing but contempt, and invited ever new exaction on the part of our brethren to whom they were addressed, and it was not till they themselves have cried "Havoc, and let slip the dogs of war"—that the outraged spirit of a loyal people was roused to a hardy resistance. (Applause.) Not upon us is the dread responsibility of the unnatural conflict. (A voice—"That's so!")

Go then, sir, my young friends all, to the field of Honor and Duty. Place yourselves cheerfully, zealously, wherever the orders of your noble leader,—our matchless Commander-in-Chief,—shall summon you. (Cheers.) Deem yourselves above all things fortunate, that you are to serve under the supreme command of a chieftain, as wise and prudent as he is skillful and brave; (cheers,) who has the fortitude to resist the ardor with which an impatient country is pressing for the bloody arbitrament of battle, and who deems it the greatest of victories to spare the lives of his own gallant men. Honored alone of all our meritorious officers, with the title and rank conferred but once before, and then on the Father of his Country, Lieutenant General Scott remembers how Washington lay seemingly inactive for nine long months within the lines (of which on yonder heights you still see the remains) which encircled Boston, from which he allowed the enemy at last to depart without the loss of a man. He remembers that the campaign of 1779 and 1780 passed without a blow struck by the force under General Washington, and that after the power of the enemy was broken, and the war virtually ended by the fall of Cornwallis in 1781, still for two years it was allowed to linger, and the hostile army remained undisturbed in his stronghold at New York. General Scott remembers this, and he knows that it was precisely these Fabian delays,—this courageous deliberation,—by which alone the revolution could have been conducted to a triumphant issue.

And now, sir, (taking the banner and advancing with it,) on behalf of the friends of the regiment, on behalf of this favoring and sympathetic multitude, I bid you, with your officers and men, GOD SPEED! The best wishes of those whom you leave behind will bear you company. The memories of Lexington, and Concord, and Bunker Hill will hover round your march. The example of the Massachusetts troops who have preceded you will kindle your emulation. Let the fair banner which I now confide to you (presenting it to Col. Webster) be seen in the front of the battle. (Applause.) When it returns, in God's good time, with your regiment, it may come back torn and faded; but it will not, it shall not return disgraced. Dust and blood may stain it,—the iron hail of battle may mar its beautiful blazonry, it may hang in honorable tatters from its staff, but loyalty and patriotism shall cling to the last shred,—treachery shall blast it NEVER, NEVER, NEVER! (Long continued applause.)

Col. Webster's Regiment departed for Washington on Tuesday afternoon, having arrived from Fort Warren, and were escorted through various streets of the city, the whole line of march being densely thronged with applauding multitudes.

The Liberator.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, JULY 26, 1861.

FIRST OF AUGUST CELEBRATION.

Again the Anniversary draws near of one of the most beneficent and memorable events in the history of the world,—ancient or modern,—the Peaceful Emancipation of 800,000 Slaves, the beginning of a great Act of Justice and Humanity, whose wisdom has at length compelled the acknowledgment of the world at large, even of the unwilling and prejudiced. The Emancipation of the Slaves in the British West India Islands, on the 1st of August, 1834, ranks now in history as an event not less remarkable for its cheering results than for the benevolent and humane motives which inspired it.

The Managers of the MASSACHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY invite the friends of freedom everywhere, all who are interested in the great events of human progress, and all who desire to see the barbarous, inhuman, and unchristian Slavery of our own land give place to the reign of Freedom, Justice, and Peace throughout our borders, and throughout the world, to meet with them, at the well-known and beautiful grove in ABINGTON, on THURSDAY, August 1st, 1861, in commemoration of the Day.

Let all join to make this FESTIVAL OF FREEDOM worthy of the occasion, of the long line of effective meetings which have preceded it in honor of this event, and of the mighty object in behalf of which it is held,—the cleansing of our own land from the curse of Human Slavery.

WENDELL PHILLIPS, WM. LLOYD GARRISON, EDMUND QUINCY, PARKER PILLSBURY, Hon. N. H. WHITING, H. C. WRIGHT, Rev. M. D. CONWAY, of Cincinnati, Rev. SAMUEL J. MAY, of Syracuse, Dr. JOHN S. ROCK, E. H. HEYWOOD, and other speakers are expected.

☞ The public are cordially invited.

☞ An Excursion Train, on the Old Colony Railroad, will leave Boston at 9 1-4, and Plymouth at 9.20, A. M., stopping at the usual way stations. Returning, leave the Grove at 5 1-4, P. M.

FARE AS FOLLOWS:

Boston, Savin Hill, Dorchester, Port Norfolk and Quincy, to the Grove and back, for adults, 50 cents; children, 25 cents.

Plymouth and the way stations not already mentioned, to the Grove and back, half the usual rate. Excursion Tickets good on other trains.

☞ In case of rain, the meeting will be held in the TOWN HALL, contiguous to the Grove.

W. L. GARRISON,
E. H. HEYWOOD,
THOS. J. HUNT,
ELIAS RICHARDS,
ELBRIDGE SPRAGUE, } *Committee of Arrangements.*

THE GOVERNMENT FORCES DEFEATED!

On Sunday last—("there are no Sabbaths in Revolutionary times," said Mr. Webster, or some one else)—the first general engagement with the rebel army took place at Bull's Run, not far from Manassas Junction, in Virginia—the result being the discomfiture of the Government forces, with great loss of life on both sides. This change in the aspect of affairs, though wholly unexpected, is not surprising, in view of the great disparity between the contending parties—the rebels having an immense superiority in point of numbers, and every advantage in choice of position, with masked batteries in all directions. There was evidently no lack of courage or determination on the part of the Northern troops; but in such circumstances, every step of the way openly exposed to the murderous fire of concealed enemies, the most desperate valor is unavailing, especially when there is great inequality of forces. It is true, a panic at last took place in their ranks, and a disastrous retreat followed; but not until nine hours of almost incessant conflict, passed under the hottest fire.

It is evident that, cost what it might in the sequel, Jefferson Davis and his generals saw the vast importance of gaining the first victory in a general engagement, in order to inspirit the rank and file of their own army, and to affect European sentiment favorably to a recognition of the independence of the Confederate States, if not with the expectation of disheartening the Government at Washington; and so they brought nearly their whole immense force into action, and decided the fortunes of the day by one tremendous, if not absolutely exhaustive effort.—An invading army inevitably labors under great embarrassments from lack of that familiar knowledge of localities, which is worth a host of men to the invaded, who know precisely where to decoy, to mine, to ambuscade, to plant their secret batteries, to choose the most available position of defence and attack; often making it a massacre rather than a conflict. Under such disadvantages will the Northern soldiers labor every inch of the way; and no amount of valor can overcome these, unless accompanied by a greatly preponderating numerical force. From the responses already made, that force will be speedily obtained, for the power of the North has scarcely yet been touched; and then a very different result may be confidently looked for, though not without the most sanguinary encounters.

But—at the best—what a horrid spectacle is presented to the world of a powerful nation rent with civil feuds, and millions of its people stimulated to the highest degree of hostility to each other! What desolate households—what wide-spread bereavements—what wailings of widows and orphans—what heaps of the dead, the dying, and the mutilated! And all this because of SLAVERY—accursed SLAVERY!

We predicted that the most demoniacal acts would be perpetrated upon the Northern soldiers falling under the power of the Southern Sepoys; and already we hear of the wounded on the battle-field thrust through and through with bowie-knives and bayonets, and otherwise mangled—in some instances their bodies quartered, and in others their heads cut off, and made the foot-balls of their fiendish enemies. Atrocities like these, and in every conceivable shape, may be expected in every encounter where the day shall be won by these debased and dastardly minions of the Slave Power. It is sickening to think of what is to come; for the struggle is evidently to be more protracted, and more formidable, than any have yet anticipated, unless it be cut short by a quick and an annihilating blow at the whole slave system—the sole cause of all this complication of horrors.

FIRST OF AUGUST. The anniversary of British West India Emancipation, to be commemorated by a mass gathering of the friends of impartial liberty at Island Grove, Abington, on Thursday next, August 1st, (see official notice,) should bring together a numerous assemblage, worthy of the glorious event. The array of speakers is large and attractive, whose eloquent words will be well worth listening to. Let none be absent who can conveniently attend.

It has been deemed advisable to omit the celebration of this Great Act of Justice, at Milford, (Mass.) on Friday next, August 2d, as advertised last week.

ADDRESS OF MR. GARRISON.

[Reported for the Liberator.]

A crowded audience of the colored people of Boston,—a considerable number of white persons being also present,—assembled on Saturday evening last, in Rev. Mr. Grimes's church in Southac street, in this city, to listen to an address by William Lloyd Garrison, with reference to the state of the Anti-Slavery cause and the question of colonization. Mr. Garrison began by remarking that upwards of thirty years had transpired since he dedicated his life to the work of emancipating every slave in the United States—a period covering the average life of a whole generation. Of those who had started with him in the struggle, the aged, of course, had long since seen "the last of earth"; those then in their prime were ripening into venerable years; while the youthful and infantile had grown up to manhood and womanhood, themselves being now surrounded by the pledges of wedded life. It had been a long and fearful struggle, full of startling vicissitudes, heavy trials, and cheering victories. At no time had the Anti-Slavery movement been driven back, or even temporarily defeated. Animated by a divine presence, its course had been steadily upward and onward, till at last the nation was shaken by the tread of hostile armies, summoned to decide the question by the dread arbitrament of arms, whether Liberty or Slavery should control the destinies of the republic.

Mr. G. then proceeded to take a retrospective view of the state of the country as early as 1828, at which time an Abolitionist, in the modern sense, was unknown; the right of slaveholders to their slaves was unquestioned; the possession of slave property was every where the passport to special consideration; the free colored people were universally despised, and without hope or prospect of relief; and complexional prejudice existed in its intensest form. Every avenue to the public ear was closed; the press, the pulpit, the forum, the legislative hall, were all inimical to agitation; every thing had to be changed—opinion, feeling, sentiment and action. Well might the nation, under such circumstances, deem him, or any one like him, without means, position, influence or friends, fanatical in thinking to effect a radical alteration in these particulars. But we had apostolical authority for the declaration that "God chooses the weak things of the world to confound the things that are mighty, that no flesh may glory in his presence"; and its veracity had been singularly demonstrated in the amazing growth of the Anti-Slavery cause. He had something better than wealth, stronger than public opinion, mightier than numbers: it was the Right and the Truth, and the arm of the living God.

To show why such progress had been made, Mr. Garrison said he had from the beginning repudiated all considerations of wordly expediency and carnal policy, and adhered to the principles of justice in an uncompromising spirit. He began by declaring, not only slavery as a system, but slaveholding *per se*, always sinful and criminal, and by demanding its immediate abandonment. In vain the slaveholder pleaded that he had a divine right to hold his slaves, under Moses and under Christ; or that he bought them at their market value, in a legal manner, and therefore his title could not be questioned; or that he had inherited them, and thus rightfully became their possessor; or that freedom would prove a curse to them, and not a blessing;—to these and a multitude of other similar pleas he sternly gave the lie, and constantly affirmed the right of the slave to his liberty, in view of his God given nature and immortal destiny. Man was never created to be herded with brutes, or accounted as perishable property. The keen instinct of the slave-owners instantly led them to perceive that such treatment of the question was "the beginning of the end"—laying the axe at the root of the tree; and they lost no time in violently endeavoring to suppress the promulgation of such sentiments—but all in vain.

Next, he had faithfully declared Christianity and Slavery to be irreconcileable, and, consequently, that a slaveholding religion must be spurious. Christ was the great Emancipator, whose mission it was to open the prison doors, and to set the captives free. He (Mr. G.) desired no stronger weapon to contend against any form of tyranny than what was furnished by the gospel of Christ. That gospel he had ever identified with justice, humanity and freedom. To the pro-slavery religionists of America he had denied the Christian name, and they had retorted by branding him as an infidel! If, to be a Christian, it became necessary to sanction slavery, and to connive at the traffic in human flesh, he did not wish to be one; but such a thought was a libel upon Christianity, which condemned the proud and rapacious, and espoused the cause of the poor and the oppressed.

Again—he had placed the emancipation of the slave above all parchments, constitutions and laws—above all parties and sects—putting them in one scale and the slave in the other, who was seen to outweigh them all; for their only value was to be found in developing and elevating man, and when they became a clog, and a means of his degradation, it was time to change or repudiate them altogether.

The same infallible test he had applied to the American Union, and it was found wanting. The pro-slavery guaranties in the Constitution had made it "a covenant with death, and an agreement with hell"; and how could he do otherwise, as a consistent and uncompromising representative of the slave, than to repudiate it?

For the free colored people he had insisted on equal rights and privileges, and was early led to protest against the scheme of their colonization in Africa as shaped and enforced by the American Colonization Society. This was not owing to any lack of interest in the civilization and Christianization of that benighted continent on his part; for he longed to see the day when Ethiopia should stretch out her hands unto God, and the light of science and true religion penetrate through all her vast domains. Nor was it because he was opposed to really free, spontaneous emigration. The world was wide for men to choose their abode, according to their taste and inclination. But he denounced the Colonization Society, among other reasons, because of its Southern origin, its slaveholding management, its operating as a safety-valve to the slave system in removing free colored persons and surplus slaves; and especially for its immoral and unchristian doctrines, that slavery was not a crime, that slave property was as sacred as any other property, that no slave should be set free until he could be colonized, that laws should be made yet more rigorous to compel emigration, that complexional prejudice could not be removed even by the power of the Holy Ghost; that the free colored people were more degraded and worse off than the slave population, and yet that they, and they only, were qualified to act as missionaries to reclaim Africa from her barbarism! It absurdly insisted that Africa was the native country of colored free-born Americans; but it would scout the assertion that America was the home of native-born Africans—one position being as rational as the other. It also bitterly assailed the Anti-Slavery movement, and instigated every form of opposition to it, even to mobocratic violence in repeated instances.

Such were the grounds of his opposition to it. It took years of persistent and strenuous effort to destroy the evil power of that Society; but the work had been effectually done, and it had subsided into a comparatively harmless missionary enterprise.

Without perceiving or apprehending all its hateful features, no sooner was it organized than the free colored people in all the leading cities intuitively saw it to be the handmaid of slavery, and promptly bore their emphatic testimony against it. Hence, ever since, naturally enough, they had been suspicious of every new colonization plan, however kindly intended. Mr. G. here proceeded to give his views, briefly but frankly, of the Haytian emigration scheme, which is now urged upon their consideration, and in regard to which there is some diversity of opinion among them. It bore no resemblance whatever to the old colonization scheme, in spirit, design or origin. It was not devised by Southern slaveholders, but by the Haytian government, and was a commendable effort on its part to augment its population, increase its strength, and enlarge its prosperity. That republic had his warmest sympathies and his heartiest wishes for its success; it deserved the independence it had won, and he took a deep interest in its safety and welfare. The overtures made to colored emigrants by President Geffrard were of a liberal nature, and he had no doubt would be honorably carried out. Mr. G. here bestowed a warm eulogium upon the character of the Haytian President. He also spoke of Mr. Redpath, the General Agent of the Haytian government, as animated by no other than a friendly feeling and an anti-slavery purpose—as heartily opposed to slavery, and having done essential service to the cause of freedom in Kansas as against the Border-Ruffians, and also in reference to John Brown and his martyr-associates. He saw no ground, therefore, for impeachment of motive or bitterness of feeling. Still, he did not recommend the scheme, and doubted its utility; for it was a diversion from the one great work of attacking the slave system, and demanding justice for the colored race here—here where no acclimating was needed, no strange language to be learnt, no new customs and habits to be formed. The intelligent and enterprising could not well be spared, and the ignorant and shiftless would be of little service. He thought its tendency would prove injurious by unsettling the minds of the colored people as to their future destiny, and by reviving and strengthening the old persecuting spirit, and perhaps stimulating to yet more unfriendly legislation in certain parts of the country. He was hopeful of the speedy downfall of slavery; and that being taken out of the way, prejudice would soon disappear, and all the precious rights and immunities enjoyed by the whites would ultimately be granted to them or their children. Just as had been the case in the British West Indies, where, before emancipation, colorphobia was as rabid as it had ever been here; but since that glorious event, it had rapidly disappeared, colored men having become eminent as merchants, lawyers, doctors, members of the Assembly, and officers of the government.

Mr. Garrison referred encouragingly to the altered state of public sentiment, within the last twenty-five years, toward the free colored population, as well as slave, throughout the North. In Massachusetts, under the State Constitution and before the laws, there was no complexional proscription whatever; the public schools (an inestimable privilege) were open to all; public travel was on equal terms; the lecturing field had been ably and eloquently occupied by colored lecturers, who had won for themselves distinction and applause; the learned professions were gradually being reached by colored aspirants; and the general state of feeling was growing more and more sympathetic and friendly. There was, then, no cause for despondency, but, on the contrary, the future was full of promise. He would have his colored brethren stand firm in their lot, and await the issue of the tremendous conflict now going on between the hosts of freedom and the powers of darkness. The flag had ceased to symbolize the old state of things; and as it was now execrated and trampled upon by the dealers in human flesh, it began to look handsome in his eyes! General Butler's doctrine of "contraband" he regarded as tantamount to the emancipation of the slaves in all the Confederate States, as fast as the Northern army penetrated south of Mason and Dixon's line. But that emancipation would have to be secured by an official decree of the government before the war could be successfully ended; in which case they might all joyfully exclaim—

"All hail the day when, o'er our land,
The sun of freedom shone;
When, dimmed and sunk in Eastern skies,
He rose upon our own,
To chase the night of slavery, and wake the slumbering free:—
May his light shine more bright,
May his orb roll sublime, till it warm every clime,
And illume from sea to sea!"

[☞ "*The Pine and Palm*," of this week, published at Room No. 8, 221 Washington Street, will contain a full report of this speech, as made by Mr. J. M. W. Yerrinton expressly for that journal.]

THE "PIONIER" AND THE MAYOR.

In an article on the freedom of the press as affected by the war, Mr. Heinzen, in his last issue, reports the following conversation between himself and the Mayor of Boston. In his prefaced remarks, he argues that only military necessity, in the actual presence and condition of war, can justify interference with the freedom of the press; and that, away from the war and from military authority, the press is as free as in times of peace, subject only to the discretion and good sense of its conductors, and to the civil laws (as that of treason, for example). He continues:—

"As early as the 5th inst., we received from Chief of Police Amee, of Boston, a written invitation to call on him at his office. In our business walks, we called three times at the City Hall without finding him; but since we were eager to learn what the police could have to do with us, we did not grudge calling again last Saturday. This time we had the good fortune to meet the Chief of Police, but were informed that really it was not he who wanted to speak with us, but his superior, the Mayor. We were therefore introduced by him to Mr. Mayor Wightman, in whose office, after the customary shaking of hands, the following conversation ensued:—

Mayor. How is your name pronounced?

Editor of the Pionier. Heinzen.

M. Mr. Heinzen, my attention has been directed to an expression in your paper, which I cannot overlook. [Producing the *Pionier* of June 27, together with a written paper, and pointing to the following paragraph: 'No greater service could this instant be done the Republic, than for the troops to revolt, and chase Mr. Lincoln, with all his Cabinet, and General Scott to boot, out of Washington, or hang them to the first lamp-post, for in fact they are all traitors.'] Mr. Heinzen, is this paragraph editorial?

E. It is.

M. Do you suppose it is allowed you as a foreigner to use such language in this country?

E. First of all, sir, I must beg you not to address me as a foreigner. The point between us is not of my birth, but of my right. I am a citizen of this Republic, as well as you, and flatter myself to be as good a Republican as any one.

M. Then you ought to know, I should think, that it isn't allowable to attack the government in this fashion

E. As a Republican, I know my obligations, and also my rights. This is a question of the freedom of the press, Mr. Mayor.

M. No, it is a question of treason.

E. May I be permitted to know who is my informer?

M. That is of no consequence. *I* inform against you.

E. Do you understand German?

M. I understand this paragraph (by means of the annexed translation).

E. I ask for the informer only because he must be a thoroughly mean creature. Every one who understands German knows, that no paper in the country contends against the treason and rebellion of the slaveholders more zealously and energetically than the *Pionier*. Probably it has been informed against for that very reason. The informer has counted upon your ignorance of the German language, and has laid before you a paragraph torn from its connection. In this case, the tendency, not the letter, determines.

M. The tendency is as plain as can be, if you make it the duty of the soldiers to hang the President, &c. Thereby you render aid to the enemy.

E. Stick to what I have written. That says nothing of the duty of the soldiers, but only of my conviction. Let me, for the rest, enlighten you by an illustration. You and the Chief of Police are in duty bound to help bring criminals to justice in Boston. Now, imagine the case of a common rowdy or other knave murdering an innocent person, and you, instead of arresting him, assisting him to escape. Do I, now, render aid to the murderer when I say, that Mayor Wightman deserves to be hanged, or, that no greater service could be done the city of Boston than to tie him up to the first lamp-post?

M. You cannot apply that to the government. That must be treated with respect, and to excite ill-feeling against it is to succor the enemy.

E. Respect is as free as the press. What I have said is my conviction, and to publish my conviction, by means of the freedom of the press, is my right. If, in so doing, I offend against a law, in your opinion, you may bring me to justice. I am always ready, for every letter which I write, to answer at the proper place; but I do not allow my right to be called in question.

M. But it is my duty, as Mayor of this city, not to suffer such language here, but *to stop your paper*, if you persist in it.

E. I am not to be intimidated by that. I shall continue to express my convictions, and am ready at any moment to go with you before a judge.

M. You don't discriminate between liberty and license. If you claim the right to express any conviction or opinion you choose, you might, under cover of your conviction, slander everybody; for example, me, and rob them of their good name.

E. I have the right to "slander" everybody, even you, in the expression of my "opinion" or "conviction," but you have the right to bring me to court for it, and that shall decide whether I am really a slanderer or no. If you want to set bounds to the freedom of expressing one's opinions, you establish a censorship, you remove freedom utterly in principle, and make it impossible even in those cases where its use is a recognized right. Can you not, for instance, conceive the possibility of the President of the United States being an actual, intentional traitor? And would you, in such a case, out of respect for the government, bid the press be silent, and sacrifice the republic, or would you help bring the traitor to account? For my part, I would not only say in the *Pionier*, that he must be hung, but would proclaim it openly in the streets, and if no one else would hang him, I would hang him with my own hand.

M. You are using strong language.

E. Very likely. But the question all the time is only of truth and right. Moreover, other papers too, (as the New York *Tribune*,) have already informed the gentlemen in Washington that they might "pack their trunks," if they continued to act as heretofore. Those papers merely expressed themselves somewhat more gingerly and prudently than the *Pionier*, but they have had exactly the same intent, to wit, to admonish the government of its ruinous policy, and to try to spur it on to vigorous action against the traitors and rebels.

M. I could not overlook your case, because I should otherwise have incurred the suspicion of agreeing with your expressions, and of being indifferent to the voice of the city of Boston. I am no Republican, and do not approve altogether the policy of the administration, but I cannot tolerate your language against it. Besides, I suspect that there is a different interest at bottom from that which appears, and therefore I advise you as a friend, for the sake of your paper, not to compel me to proceed against it.

E. I thank you for your friendliness, but I leave you to do what you deem your duty. As for me, I shall not yield a hair's breadth of my rights, but shall employ hereafter, as hitherto, the freedom of the press as my convictions bid me.

(The scene closes *without* the shaking of hands.)

So far the police examination of the *Pionier*.

Whether Mr. Mayor Wightman is a Know-nothing, and fancied he could manage and intimidate us as a foreigner, is here a matter of secondary importance; the chief point lies in the idea he has of the right of a free press, and which is not peculiar to him. Mr. Wightman is the very same Mayor who, with the consent of Boston aristocracy and mobdom, suppressed the right of free speech by a forcible dispersion of an Abolition convention. According to the same principles which guided him then, he appears now to be inclined to suppress the right of free publication. He did not tell us he would bring us to court under the law relating to treason, (when the freedom of the press would be entirely out of the question,) but he threatened eventually to stop the *Pionier*. On what legal ground, or in what way, he thought to do that, he did not divulge, and since we, with our faulty English, were glad enough to be able to tell him briefly our mind on only the leading points, we were obliged to give over more precise discussions. We suppose he will confiscate the *Pionier*, if it contains such offensive matter again. Well, we shall not be so childish as to aim at obliging him, according to his idea, to seize an opportunity of "stopping" us; but we shall all the less conduct the *Pionier* as if it were under a censorship, and with joy test with him the guaranties of a free press, if Mr. Mayor is pleased to enter upon the trial. Although a "foreigner," alone and unsupported, we shall know how to show him that foreigners understand American freedom as well as the supporters of American freedom appear sometimes to understand foreign despotism."

That our readers may not mistake Mr. Heinzen's position, we translate the two paragraphs which precede the one objected to by the Mayor. They were under the head of the "Revolutionary Bulletin."

"June 25. Lies and nullities as every day.
June 26. All quiet and drowsy. Not even lies. It is evident they are aiming in Washington at letting all excitement slumber, in order to pave the way for a compromise in Congress.
No greater service, &c.
We say this from cool conviction."

Whether Mr. Heinzen was mistaken or not, in the grounds of his conviction, no one at least will accuse him of wishing the President and Cabinet removed because of their activity against the rebels. As for Mayor Wightman, we hope he will "inform" Mayor Wood against the *Journal of Commerce*, the *Day-Book*, and other secession prints in New York city.

☞ THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY, for 1861, contains the following articles:—1. Trees in Assemblages. 2. Miss Lucinda. 3. A Soldier's Ancestry. 4. Fibrilia. 5. Nat Turner's Insurrection (a timely and admonitory article by Mr. Higginson). 6. Concerning Veal. 7. Reminiscences of Stephen A. Douglas. 8. Our River (by Whittier). 9. Agnes of Sorrento. 10. Mail-Clad Steamers. 11. Parting Hymn. 12. Where will the Rebellion leave Us? 13. Theodore Winthrop. 14. Dirge. 15. Reviews and Literary Notices. Recent American Publications. A most interesting and valuable number. Ticknor & Fields, Publishers, 135 Washington Street, Boston.

☞ Recent numbers of the *Star of Liberia* mention Leo Lloyd as having created some excitement there by efforts to cast suspicion upon Ex-President Roberts, with a view of advancing the political interests of President Benson; among other things, intimating that a desire exists among a faction in that country (Liberia) to accomplish the destruction of the republic, and establish a monarchy. The aforesaid Leo Lloyd is either "half-cracked," or "no better than he should be," as we had frequent occasion to show in our columns before he went to Africa.

THE GREATEST MODERN POET DEAD. Mrs. Elizabeth Barrett Browning died at Florence, the 29th of June last. No poet, living or dead, has ever written any thing more beautiful than has she. Her death we regard as a great loss to the world, for she sympathized with the oppressed everywhere.

☞ We ask the special attention of our readers to the very able and suggestive communications on "Gen. Butler's Contraband of War," from the pen of David Lee Child, Esq., in this week's *Liberator*—the first part on the last page, and the second on the inside. The third part we shall publish next week.

GEN. BUTLER'S CONTRABAND OF WAR.

PART II.

Col. Henry Lee, of the Revolutionary Army, afterwards General and Governor of Virginia, was annoyed during much of his life by the importunity of creditors and the pursuit of bailiffs. He was a most gallant officer, and a genial and hospitable gentleman; but, like most Southerners, not overscrupulous in *keeping contracts and paying debts*. He was ingenious and skillful in the art and stratagems of war, and once entrapped and captured a Tory leader and four hundred and fifty of his followers, by sending him an order in the name of the British *Colonel, Tarlton*, to be in a certain place at an appointed time. Lee was a favorite of Washington, and presumed so far upon his friendship and indulgence as to sell, as his own, eleven hundred acres of wood and timber land belonging to the General, passing a formal title and taking the money. After a while, a rumor of his "raise" reached the Father of his country, and he interrogated the adventurous Colonel on the subject. The latter replied that "he wanted money badly, and as it was a wild out-o'-the-way lot, he supposed his General wouldn't want it." To which Washington rejoined, "Perhaps not; but I have one request to make of you, and that is, that you will not sell Mount Vernon"!

This distinguished soldier and author, father of General Lee, now commanding in chief the Virginia insurgents, procured a lodge to be built for him on the Maryland and Virginia line, with a room in each State, so that from whichever the officers of the law came, he could take sanctuary in the other!

To the slave-breeders and drivers the slave-duality dodge has been as convenient, as his dual lodge to Harry Lee.

Having in the first part of this discussion stopped up, *for the present*, one of the rooms, I now propose to stop the others.

To the end of augmenting their ability to abuse their wretched bondmen and women, govern and fleece industrious and opulent free States, and maintain a gigantic monopoly of slave-manufacturing and trading, protected by us with the death-penalty, our late masters have no longer under this government any occasion to count their slaves as "persons." Now they would doubtless renounce "with alacrity" that wonderful constitutional privilege, so prolific of power and profit in times past. But this shift cannot save their human *chattels*, any more than the Constitution—whose protection, with their accustomed modesty, they invoke at the gates of our fortresses and the pickets of our camps, after repudiating all its obligations, and trampling and spitting upon its banner—can save either their chattels or themselves from being grasped and molded by the hand of war.

By the laws of war, the victors in a just cause may seize, appropriate to the uses of the war, carry off, confiscate, distribute or destroy every species of property, public or private, belonging to their enemies. The Rules and Articles, established by Congress for the government of our armies, recognize this principle in all its breadth; for while they guard by swift military penalties, in addition to the ordinary civil ones, the property of our own citizens, they make no provision for the protection of the property of our enemies, evidently intending to leave the latter to the law of nations, the exigencies of the service, and the integrity and discretion of those employed in it.

It is certainly and fortunately true that private property is usually respected, but that strict law permits its seizure at the discretion of the conquerors is a position which cannot be successfully controverted.

This right, though available at discretion, is not to be abused. It cannot be used to sate private avarice, and mere lust of plunder. The just and impregnable grounds of all seizures of enemies' property, are the crippling of their resources of every sort, replenishing and sustaining our own, promoting the success, securing the objects, and expediting the conclusion of the war. Thus all captured property is to be faithfully applied, or carefully preserved, for the service of the conquering nation.

Instead of taking moveable goods, or confiscating real estate and selling it, or receiving the rents and profits, the victors may levy contributions, and lay and collect duties on the importation, exportation and consumption of goods, both foreign and domestic. And in a war, clearly unjust and unprovoked, it is immaterial whether the aggrieved party strike the first blow or not, though it usually happens that the wrong-doer is also the first assailant.

These restrictions, prescribed by the laws of war, and based on equity, humanity and good conscience, relieve the strict right and discretionary power of taking enemies' property, from the invincible repugnance which every just and generous mind must feel to the unlimited and indiscriminate plunder even of the most unjust and odious aggressors.

The conqueror has a right to seize on all the property of the enemy that comes within his power, and it matters not whether it be moveable or immoveable. These seizures may be made,—1, In order to obtain what he demands as due, or an equivalent; 2, To defray the expenses of the war; 3, To force the enemy to an equitable peace; 4, To deter, or, by reducing his strength, hinder him from repeating, in future, the injuries *which have been the cause of the war*. And with this last object in view, a power at war has a right to destroy the property and possessions of the enemy for the express purpose of doing him mischief.—*Martin's Law of Nations*, pp. 287–8.

The above is a summary of the principal rules, applicable to this point, as they have been established by the highest authorities on the law of nations.

By what right did our Sixth seize the arms of the secessionists and assassins of Baltimore? These were private property in a private warehouse. The justification is that they belonged to enemies and traitors. By what right did Ellsworth take the flag, or a regiment its camping ground, in Virginia? By what right does our army raise an intrenchment there, or even win a field of battle, if that be its fortune? By what right are we seizing scores of vessels and boats in the Chesapeake and Potomac, and thousands of barrels of flour in mills and on freight trains, and trains and railroads themselves? These were all private property. There can be but one answer—the right in war of stripping, weakening and vanquishing the enemy; supplying and strengthening ourselves, and winning the palm of victory and the blessings of peace. By that same right, the chained chattel was taken from the Alexandria slave-pen and destroyed,—i. e., *converted into a man*, protected and employed by the Michigan regiment. He is now performing important service to his benefactors and to the people of the United States; while to a certain, though not the same extent, the loss of a commodity, capable of making an ash-cake, dressing and roasting a pig, and brandishing a pickaxe, shovel or firelock, impairs the efficiency and amount of the forces and means of enemies and traitors. Suppose it had been a roasting-jack or washing machine in the Marshall House at Alexandria, and our men needed those articles, could they by the laws of war take them, and be forbidden by the same laws to take a thinking locomotive, laughing, sympathizing, thankful article, containing in itself those same machines, and many more? Or is it an insuperable objection to the exercise of an ordinary and undoubted right, that thereby we shall incidentally do "the will of God," and make the *Magna Charta* of our fathers a reality? "All men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights."

"God wills man free,
Man wills him slave;
I will as God wills;
God's will be done."

"Why do *ye also* transgress the commandment of God by your tradition?" Are you fools, or stricken with madness, or incurable poverty of spirit? Or are you the slaves of custom, or emasculated minions of the old slave oligarchy? If these be the fruits of free schools, I, for one, go with the redoubtable Pryor, against them and the whole "free list."

We have got to hating everything with the prefix *free*. Free farms, free labor, free society, free will, free thinking, free children, free schools, all belong to

THE ACTUAL ISSUE

"What shall be the sign of the end of the reign or dispensation?"—MAT. XXIV. 3.

The combustibles have been thrown into the crater for years, the spark of ignition was long ago communicated, the internal rumbling and muffled imaginge, with occasional thundering threats to burst forth through a quaking inclosure,—like Jehovah from Sinai,—and several premonitory shocks have been experienced from time to time, until at last a tremendous convulsion has eventuated in a mighty eruption. The volcano is now in full blast. The combustibles having commenced, suggests the very important question, When will it end? This again demands to know the cause.

Let us look at this point. Some say it is because of the Southern determination to secede from the Union. Some, that the North has interfered with the Southern interests, and thus exasperated them to this pitch. Some attribute it to the agitation of the slavery question. The one alleges that the South, directly or indirectly, and assert her right to carry slaves all over the country, and to have her laws and institutions, in all the territories being subjectively sheltered as a means to induce the official oath, and the operation of the law in influencing the elections of national rulers and legislators. The other charges the North with prohibiting slavery in the territories, by the force of law, mostly, limit, even to abolish slavery, thus interfering with what does not belong to her, and, in attempting to force both sides for us to pause, and to inquire not whether the one secrets the constitutional right to hold slaves, or use them in slavery, to transfer them from one state to another, to buy and sell them, or the other denies the validity of the secession, the matter narrows itself down to a difficulty on account of slavery. The one says Abolitionist claims the right of speech, and dispates it to the contrary, and the other, and persons in authority, or the slaveholder insists that he is entitled to be let alone; his conduct and policy are not to be pried into by another, his institution is to be respected, and not protected by the national sign; the issue is evidently, Freedom or Slavery, a heterogeneous and contrary, it is a matter of life and death, a contest unending.

This lies at the foundation; it is the core of the affair, which has caused the same result of arming brother against brother, and of the most tremendous energy of the national power over the persons and property of the aggressors. A war begun and waged without just cause, from selfish, ambitious, avarice and malicious motives, and for unjustifiable ends, authorizes the aggrieved party to strike at destruction, upon its authors and accomplices such penalties as the nature and aggravation of the offence may require.

It is implied in every social compact, that those who violate it shall be reduced to submission, and even put to death, if shall be necessary to secure the peace and new disturbances, and the sacrifice of new victims. Otherwise, human society could not exist. *Gregory's Historical View of Public Law and the Law of Nations*, p. 256.

If a nation allows foreigners to enter its territory, it is bound to secure them against all violence, and if it does not themselves punishly; and if, in breach of good faith, it permits the Pirates, which have violated, yet they have committed no offence, it is justly responsible for its conduct to the nation to which the Pirates belong. *—Judge Story, Rep. Am.*

Whether the free in its subjects be the offending party, if the State refuse to make satisfaction, the nation of which it is a member, is responsible, and, in reach of the injured State, is liable to seizure; and even the persons of such subjects may be seized, and the life of an innocent person cannot be taken, unless in extraordinary cases, where there is no other means of obtaining the satisfaction due, and of preventing future violations.—*Kent, p. 54.*

Murder, or unnecessary personal violence, of any kind, committed upon citizens by a people at war, justifies and requires retaliation, either upon prisoners of war, or indiscriminately upon any individuals of the guilty nation.—*Grotius.*

Murder or personal outrage is greatly aggravated, when, to the life of stranger, which, from its innocent, is superadded that of fellow-citizen travelling or tarrying in the hostile, friendship, commercial or honor, or local business, to which he has been invited under the guarantee of contract or pledge or hospitality, a claim under the without absolute, which, in the world sacred. In this case, not only are public faith and national comity violated, but also private trust, social ties, and a common humanity. In what scene, what thousands of our brethren and sisters, parents and children, and husbands and wives, have been mourly and basely defrauded and robbed, barbarously tortured, and, with horrid refinements of cruelty, murdered, by distant and ferocious multitudes, because

"Unknown, unpitied, unrewarded,
Their hope of life, their health, their wealth, their soul,
Though single."

Fond is of opinion that there are cases in which a belligerent has a right to destroy an unjust and ferocious nation like the Barbary pirates.

These are of course be extreme cases, defying all ordinary means of establishing justice and peace.

The representatives of the people of the Barbary nasty, having always their chief incentive and element in the patriarchal system of the Highlands, brought the British nation at the same time, not merely with the interest and safety of domestic peace and good government necessitated the extirpation of that "barbarian." Treachery and perfidy are always the sword served thousand square miles of the insurgent territory, just to dash many thousand unarmed and experienced army and navy officers, liable to desert our flag in a hollow; millions of lives must be exposed, millions of money expended, health, trade, agriculture, comfort, safety, impaired; privateers may be let loose upon our commerce, foreign nations may be drawn even pounce upon us in the midst of our family quarrel, soon as the patch evinces a quivering upon any of the edges. Humanity, Christianity, and the law, however hideous the spectacle, however repulsive the thought, circumstances combine that nothing short of an confiscation of the same can produce permanent tranquillity in a nation like this, claiming to be free. Whether it is practicable, consistent, or even humanitarian seems to be the only means of perpetuating the peace, harmony, and integrity of this Union, if slavery is the occasion of disturbance, and family, or even if it be claimed that "mind your own business" has not been observed by us, then the Abolitionist would insist just this to be his business. This collision will argue the point, indicate the trouble, and a series of wars are to be expected, unless the entire world the actual and eloquent signal of the end.

PETITIONS TO CONGRESS.

BATTLE CREEK, (Michigan,) July 16, 1861.

DEAR FRIEND:—I have been very busy in circulating petitions, asking for the abolition of slavery by Congress, that we presented in Marshall and Kalamazoo counties, Indiana.

What shall be done with these petitions? The voice of the people ought to be heard. The government must hear it. [Send them to Washington at once.]

The expression of the people, *for the abolition of slavery*, could not be more in place than now, when we should see over the past! The merciful sentiment of prejudice, and the cruel sentiment of interest, clung to the stern necessity of self-defence, and the intelligent conservative is forgetting its dislike for the negro in behalf of the rebellion of the South against order and liberty. So, from necessity and spite, these two classes are becoming desperate for emancipation. What a pity that from high and lowly motives the simple act of justice could not have been accomplished years ago, and civilization saved. Conscience, not the lowest and most selfish desire power, have borne shell the standard of liberty, and the flag of the Republic!

There is, to my mind, a terrible incongruity in the mode of warfare, to establish the grand centre of a free government. Indeed, I am unable to see how it can be done at all, with an interval for battle as the pit to the first principle of democracy—so powerful that, under the same Constitution that the present administration clamor for, they have converted the whole country into a great slave plantation.

All that government can do under this administration—taking Mr. Lincoln's inaugural for their higher policy with regard to slavery—is to feed the troops and bow to the authority of manhood.

I think Congress for relieving our soldiers of the degrading responsibility of hunting the fugitive, and hope they will do as much justice to Mr. Wilson's bill for confiscating personal property. Government has played the dogs-the manger long enough. The people—almost the whole people—are eagerly watching every avenue to the slave's emancipation.

I heard a good mother say yesterday, "I have sent my only little son to the army, and, precious as his life is to me, I willingly risk it, if it will save a slave, and the freedom of the country."

Truly yours, J. B. GRIFFING.

AN APPEAL

To the President of the United States:

Your power has a country which pity this people and their government; and as we are now astonished at the judicial blindness of the Jews, so will future ages wonder at the blindness and obstinacy of a nation, lief in regard to our great national sin. That a nation which professed to be Christian should have sold four millions of slaves in the most crushing bondage ever known on earth, is an insult to common sense, and humanity, and Christianity, but even to abolish slavery, thus interfering with what does not belong to her, and, in attempting to force both sides for us to pause, and to inquire not whether the one secrets the constitutional right to hold slaves, or use them in slavery, to transfer them from one state to another, to buy and sell them, or the other denies the validity of the secession, the matter narrows itself down to a difficulty on account of slavery. The one says Abolitionist claims the right of speech, and dispates it to the contrary, and the other, and persons in authority, or the slaveholder insists that he is entitled to be let alone; his conduct and policy are not to be pried into by another, his institution is to be respected, and not protected by the national sign; the issue is evidently, Freedom or Slavery, a heterogeneous and contrary, it is a matter of life and death, a contest unending.

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COLORED CITIZENS OF CANADA.

At the recent city election in Toronto, C. W., the colored citizens of that place, by a concerted plan, and through the agency of lectures, public meetings, questioning of candidates, and activity at nominations and at the polls.

During a speech of William J. Watkins, Esq., of Rochester, N. Y., in the colored church, where he was having furnished the colored people with an abolitionist, not to show them who were their friends, and the rights of the republic. Therefore, we have no number of Parliament who had hardled for the rights of his fellow-countrymen, and who had defended the negro in Canada, while the ministry and their supporters took a very different course—the President of the Government and the Chief Justice having been heard on several occasions, and the Chief Justice having been heard on several occasions, and the Chief Justice having been heard on several occasions,

Poetry.

For the Liberator.

TRIBUTE TO A DEPARTED FRIEND,

From one who knew her from childhood.

She is gone! yes, gone forever,
From the friends who loved her well;
Passed through Death's mysterious portal,
In the summer land to dwell!

We shall miss her gentle presence,—
Miss her tender, helpful hand;
Miss the blessings that she scattered
Through each little household band.

But if God, in years long vanished,
Thus had taken her away,
Keener far had been our anguish
Than the pangs we feel to-day.

For, though still life's morning freshness
Bloomed unfaded in her heart,
Mid the chequered lot of mortals
Hers had been the sufferer's part.

And we feel that Love Eternal
Has erased each weary pain,
And that, clothed in bloom immortal,
She has won sweet health again.

And her free and happy spirit,—
Here so patient, true and kind,—
There, a wider field of action,
Nobler work of love will find.

Upward, then, may Faith point, ever,
To her life in that bright land,
And sweetly sing of God's uniting
There, again, our broken band!

Ashwood, June, 1861.

From the New York Independent.

COMPROMISE,

Inscribed to the Congress of the United States, assembled in Extra Session, July 4, 1861.

BY EDNA DEAN PROCTOR.

Compromise? who dares to speak it
On the nation's hallowed Day,
When the air with thunder echoes,
And the rocket-lightnings play?
Compromise? while on the dial
Liberty goes ages back—
Scourged and bound, for our denial,
Firmer to the despot's rack?

Compromise? while angels tremble
As we falter in the race?
Cringe, and flatter, and dissemble—
We! who hold such royal place?
Compromise? It suits the craven!
Has our valor stooped so low?
Have we lost our ancient ardor
Face to face to meet the foe?

Compromise is Treason's ally,
Traitor's refuge, coward's raid;
All the wrongs that Justice suffers
Flourish in its deadly shade.
Compromise is base undoing
Of the deeds our Fathers wrought—
They, for Right and Freedom suing—
We, disdaining what they bought.

No! by all the Mayflower's peril
On the wild and wintry sea;
By the Pilgrim's prayer ascending
As he knelt with reverent knee;
By that fairest day of summer
When the tried, the true, the brave,
Name and life and sacred honor
To the Roll of Freedom gave;

By the tears, the march, the battle,
Where the noble, fearless died—
Wild around the cannon's rattle,
Waiting angels at their side—
By our children's golden future,
By our fathers' stainless shield,
That which God and heroes left us
We will never, never yield!

Hear it! ye who sit in council,
We, the People, tell you so!
Will you venture "Yes" to whisper
When the millions thunder "No"?
Will you sell the nation's birthright,
Heritage of toil and pain,
While a cry of shame and vengeance
Rings from Oregon to Maine?

Compromise—then Separation—
Such the order of the two;
Who admits the first temptation,
Has the second's work to do.
Compromise—the sultry silence—
Separation—whirlwind power!
For a moment's baleful quiet,
Will you risk that rending hour?

Who would sail the Mississippi?
Who the mountain ranges hold?
Win Ohio's fertile borders?
Sacramento's sands of gold?
Whose would be our banner's glory?
Who the eagle's flight would claim?
Whose our old, illustrious story,
Patriot graves, and fields of fame?

Compromise—we scorn the offer!
Separation—we defy;
"Firm, and free, and one forever!"
Thus the People make reply.
"Death to every form of treason,
In the Senate, on the field"—
While the chorus swells and echoes,
"WE WILL NEVER, NEVER YIELD."

IN THE RIGHT BE STRONG.

Go boldly forth, and fear no ill,
When fierce opposers rise;
Let mental strength, abounding still,
Such puny foes despise.
Though stung with many a bitter word,
And persecuted long,
Yet let them pass as if unheard,
And in the right be strong!

II.

The noblest causes ever known
Have met with scoff and jeer;
The brave, though journeying alone,
Should never yield to fear.
Go onward—up the rugged steep,
Beyond the lagging throng;
Thy own heart's counsel wisely keep,
And in the right be strong!

III.

Although grown weary, strive not less,
Nor duty leave undone;
Soon will opposers join to bless
The deeds thy daring won.
The strife once over, then will earth
Send forth her sweetest song,
To laud and bless the noble worth
That in the right was strong.

V.

Have faith—have courage—never fear—
The promise is in sight;
The lamp of Truth is shining clear,
To banish Error's night.
Though trials gather thick and fast,
And all the world be wrong,
Onward, still onward, to the last,
And in the right be strong!

LOVE.

God gives us love. Something to love
He lends us: but when love is grown
To ripeness, that on which it throve
Falls off, and love is left alone.—*Tennyson.*

The Liberator.

A GOLDEN WEDDING.

The Golden Wedding of JAMES and LUCRETIA MOTT was celebrated at their residence, Roadside, Chilton Hill, near Philadelphia, on the 10th of April, 1861. The occasion was one of rare interest. Surrounded by their numerous descendants of three generations, and the central attraction of a large assembly of relatives and friends who had gathered in honor of the day, our venerable friends presented a picture of beautiful old age, which thrilled the hearts, and impressed itself indelibly on the memory, of those who had the privilege of witnessing it.

Of the one hundred and twenty-five persons who, fifty years before, had signed their marriage certificate, twenty were still living, three of whom were present. That venerable document was produced, and examined with interest; and the guests desired, and were permitted, the privilege of endorsing it with the following testimonial, to which they appended their names:

"*James and Lucretia Mott, having completed fifty years of married life, we, the undersigned, assembled on this tenth day of April, 1861, to celebrate their Golden Wedding, joyfully record here our names in loving and respectful tribute to them who have given to us, and to the world, another illustration of the beauty and glory of true marriage.*"

Among the pleasant and appropriate poetical contributions on the occasion were the following:—

TO JAMES AND LUCRETIA MOTT,

ON THE FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THEIR MARRIAGE.

Fifty years of joy and sorrow!
Fifty years of toil and rest!
Sometimes fearing for the morrow,
Ever hoping for the best.

Side by side you've walked together,
Fifty stages on Life's road;
To each other nearer growing,
And both nearer unto God.

Oh! how blest that Christian union,
Which the highest ties unite;
Where the sweet appeal is ever
To each other's sense of right!

Outward charms and outward graces
Win the love of early youth;
But the bond that lasts the longest
Is the mutual love of truth.

What a world of thought and feeling
Might these fifty years unfold!
Joys with which no stranger meddled,
Sorrows that were never told.

Faith in God, and in that Presence
Ne'er in manhood wholly lost,
Ever bore your spirits upward,
Whispered hope when tempest-tost.

Yet, not sad has been your pathway;
Not by storms have ye been driven,
When all other hope has failed you,
As a last resort, to Heaven.

But in gladness, and in sunshine,
In th' unbroken household band,
In the tie of friends and kindred,
Ye have seen God's loving hand.

And though Comfort, and her handmaid,
Simple Taste, have decked your home,
Never were your hearts unmindful
Of the suffering millions' moan.

Not as slaves, compelled to labor,—
Not as hirelings, seeking pay,—
But as free and willing workmen,
Ye have labored in your day.

Looking back to years long vanished,
Few the coming ones appear,
Ere the angel opes the portal
Leading to a higher sphere;

Where the joy of knowing—loving—
And imparting truth and good,
Oft in measure here dispensed you,
Still shall be the spirit's food.

In old story, where Elisha
At Elijah's mantle caught,
All the power of bright example
Is the lesson we are taught.

Thus, when all your work is ended,
In this earthly harvest-field,
Some will catch the falling mantle,
And their hearts to duty yield. S. M. P.

In years gone by, when you were young,
And times were good and olden,
When *copper weddings* never dream'd
Of turning into *golden*;
How little thought you of the joys
This day is gladly shedding
Around the autumn of your life—
Your happy "Golden Wedding"!

Happy—for the good are blest
In doing good to others,
In loving those who are distress'd,
And "all mankind as brothers";
Happy indeed—for He has made,
He who alone is able,
Your children, like the "olive plants,"
Around about your table. G. T. B.

LETTER FROM RICHARD D. WEBB.

DUBLIN, June 18, 1861.

DEAR MR. GARRISON: It is currently believed in these parts, that when an American statesman wishes "to make political capital," he picks a quarrel with England; and if he succeeds in making himself particularly disagreeable on our side of the water, he is sure to be a great favorite on his own. Nevertheless, we *were* surprised when we heard what an outcry was made in the United States by Lord John Russell's admission of the seceding States to the position of belligerents, and by the Queen's proclamation of neutrality. These measures seemed so inevitable and so reasonable, that we did not know what to make of the anger they excited. Whether the whites in the South number eight, nine, or ten millions, we do not know. At any rate, they are nearly three-fold more numerous than the thirteen original colonies when they revolted in 1776—and no matter what our opinion of them may be, we cannot hang them, even if we wished to try. They *are* belligerents, and must be admitted to be what they are. In England, people don't understand enough about the value of the Union to you to care much whether it continues or not. A war for its maintenance has nothing in it to stir our blood. The South appear to the English to be anxious for slavery pure and simple—while they suppose the North wishes for the Union and slavery together. When we read in the correspondence of the *Times* of the ferocious hatred with which Northern men are regarded by the slaveholders, and then meet with stories of fugitive slaves being sent back by Northern men to their bitterest enemies, how is it to be expected that we should look upon this as an anti-slavery war, or that we should be able to comprehend your delicate distinctions? I have always regarded this secession business as a sure, certain and speedy death-blow to the American slave system. Its power and its prestige are gone. No matter how indifferent multitudes of Northern men may be to its atrocity and its foolishness, as part of the social system of a free people, it never can again have their confidence and hearty support as heretofore. Notwithstanding this astonishing outburst of indignation against us, I am persuaded there is not one man in five hundred in the three kingdoms, who does not wish well to the North in the present struggle. Sympathy with the slave States and their objects is not whispered by any; and this is a pretty sure test of an honest public opinion in this country, where individual sentiment is expressed with much less danger from the anger of one's neighbors than is the case with you. It might be supposed that the danger to the cotton crop would be greatly felt in England. I have been amazed to remark how little concern is expressed about it. I believe it is generally known among those most concerned, that the world is wide, and that in India, in China and in Africa there may be obtained a supply a hundred fold greater than is required by our wants, if only sufficient means of transit to the respective ports of shipments be provided. Besides, it is known that in the chief cotton-producing districts of the slave States, the soil in the neighborhood of the great rivers and the readiest ports is being greatly deteriorated by the wasteful and destructive application of exhausting slave labor—and that, in consequence, the article produced has been rising in price, and must, before long, be undersold by the cotton of other countries. I have heard that the supply from India has doubled within a year, and we shall doubtless hear the same account from other countries. On the whole, England seems to be very much at her ease, and not to be at all in danger of giving up her dislike to slavery from the dread of a famine of cotton. The snappish, quarrelsome, insulting language of American politicians excites no fears, that I can perceive, nor any other emotion except amazement and some little indignant irritation at its extraordinary folly. Besides, it is the simple truth, that the wealth, strength and courage of England are prodigious, and she knows it so well, that it would take a great deal to frighten her. There is this important difference between the American and the English people—that amongst you, the disposition to go to war is far more active than with us. An English statesman who should evince a pugnacious disposition would at the present time (as for many years past) be sure to lose his popularity. War is known to be immensely expensive, and is not to be lightly undertaken. When it appears inevitable, no people fall to more heartily than the English, or spend their means with more cheerfulness to gain their point.

I have been amazed to find that even some Abolitionists think it possible that England is only hypocritically anti-slavery, after all. The English people are, by no means, Abolitionists after the fashion of Stephen Foster or Parker Pillsbury. They are not thoroughly principled, or deeply grounded, or well indoctrinated. They are apt to be somewhat conceited, on account of their ignorance of and indifference to theories of any kind. Still, they know they gave twenty millions sterling to abolish West India slavery, and they are of opinion that they did a good stroke of business then, and have got value for their money in reputation, and peace of mind, as well as in pounds, shillings and pence. They cannot comprehend a shuffling politician like Mr. Seward, or what the North has to gain from the South if slavery is not abolished.

Events march so rapidly on your side at present, that if, when this reaches you, it is out of date, I hope you will throw it into your waste-paper basket.

I heartily congratulate you on the near approach of the day for which you have so long, so ably, and so faithfully labored. It has been given to few men to do more for the benefit of their fellow-men, and this I am sure you feel to be an ample reward indeed.

Yours, ever,
RICHARD D. WEBB.

THE BATTLE OF IDEAS---THE BATTLE OF BULLETS.

ROCKLAND, (Me.) Sunday, July 14, 1861.

DEAR GARRISON: I came from Framingham on the 4th, directly to Maine. Have lectured three times in Union Centre, once in East Union, and once in Appleton; am to lecture twice in this place to-day; to be in Camden, Tuesday evening; to go to Belfast on Wednesday, the 17th, and to Monroe, to speak there, Sunday, the 21st.

This region has ever been the strong-hold of the Democratic party in Maine. It is wonderful to see how party lines are obliterated, in State and Church! One thought seems to animate all minds—the war, in defence of the government—and by this it is almost universally meant, war in defence of free labor, free schools, free thought, free speech, free soil, free institutions, free men and free women. Whatever demagogues may say about it, I am sure the great mass of the people in Maine, and all over the North, understand they are waging this war for liberty, and against slavery; for the declaration that "all men are created equal, and with an inalienable right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

How can they think otherwise? Jeff. Davis, Stephens, Wigfall, Yancey, Toombs, Rhett, Mason, Tyler, and all who have forced this war upon us, have done it, solely, to sustain slavery and the slave trade. They all declare, in these words, that "SLAVERY AND THE SLAVE TRADE IS THE ONE IDEA THAT UNDERLIES THE SECESSION MOVEMENT." They have also declared that, "but for the support and perpetuity of slavery and the slave trade, they had no cause for secession and a separate confederacy." This being the sole cause of the war on the part of those who have forced it upon us, the people all see and feel that every blow aimed at the overthrow of the rebellion is aimed at the overthrow of slavery. As the President's Message says—"NO COMPROMISE CAN BE A CURE" for the war that is forced upon the North by the South. Slaveholders would not submit slavery and the slave trade to the decision obtained in the primary assemblies of the people and at the ballot-box—to that decision given on the great Battle-field of Ideas, where you and your co-laborers have been fighting for thirty years—but they have thrust upon the North a war of bullets, and will accept no decision, except that which is to be given on the battle-field of bayonets and bullets. The slaveholders had their choice—to settle the question of slavery by a battle of ideas, or a battle of bullets. This was the only alternative offered them by Nature and Nature's God. It must be settled by a war of thoughts or a war of swords. They chose the latter, and have appealed to the battle of bullets. And every body knows that this war of bullets, as well as the thirty years' war of ideas that preceded it, is undertaken, by the North, in effect, solely for Liberty, and against Slavery. The entire South so regard it. The masses in the North so regard it.

It is the universal sentiment of the nation, that the conflict between Liberty and Slavery can be decided only by a battle of bullets. I believe it can be truly and permanently settled only by a battle of ideas. Bullets may kill slaveholders, but an *idea*, alone, can kill slavery. Liberty, as an idea, is infinitely more potent than Liberty as a bullet. The idea is instinct with the life of God; the bullet is instinct with death to man. Liberty, as an idea, brings death to slavery, and life to the slaveholder; Liberty, as a bullet, carries death to the slaveholder, and life to slavery. The idea carries death to tyranny, and life to the tyrant; the sword carries death to the tyrant, and life to tyranny—for the sword is the basis of all tyranny; the bullet, the very corner-stone of slavery.

But the battle of bullets must soon end; the battle of ideas, never.

Yours, H. C. WRIGHT.

THE PEACE PRINCIPLE.

The peace principle is pure and holy, but can be practically realized only on its own plane. War, in the abstract, or *in itself considered*, whether offensive or defensive, *is an evil*. No cavil about this. So, too, pain and sickness are, *in the abstract*, an evil; and yet none the less beneficent in their purpose, as correctives for the violation of the laws of health.

Call slavery a *judgment* on the land—upon the North for its complicity with slavery. Slavery has forced war upon the country; and thus the North is chastised for being *particeps criminis*. But this chastisement is inseparable from what is now a duty—to wit, forcible resistance, as a dernier resort, to the absolute domination of the Slave Power.

I say the peace principle can be practically realized only on its own plane. War, though an evil *in itself*, may be reformatory; and, through the different stages of progress, tending to the plane of the peace principle, by teaching, as in the case of the present war, "the impossibility of oppressing the poor and the needy, or consenting thereto by entering into 'a covenant with death,' without desolating judgments following in the train." Such are the laws of progress. And the Supreme Intelligence being inseparable from its laws, this armed resistance to the domination of the Slave Power may be regarded as *providential*.

A. HOGEBOOM.

GEN. BUTLER'S CONTRABAND OF WAR.

PART I.

Contraband is derived from *contrabando*, a Spanish word, formed of contra, *against*, and bando, a *proclamation or law*. In a general sense, it means all goods imported or exported contrary to law. This is the contraband *of commerce*, and depends upon the regulations of each particular nation within its territorial jurisdiction.

Contraband *of war* comprehends such articles only as are used directly, and sometimes those which may be used indirectly, in carrying on war. Of the first class are arms, munitions, soldiers' uniforms, ships of war, etc.; of the second are saltpetre, chemicals for making fulminating powders, and, under some circumstances, provisions, money, ship-timber, naval stores, and, in general, any articles, destined for the military or naval use of an enemy, though susceptible of other uses.

These a nation at war may prevent neutrals from carrying to its enemies; and, if neutrals are caught in making such conveyance, they may be punished, either personally or by the confiscation of the hostile goods, together with the vessels or vehicles employed in their transportation.

This sort of restraint upon commerce with enemies is applicable to *neutrals alone*, and *depends wholly on the law of nations*. An enemy has a right to supply himself with all kinds of commodities in war as in peace; and the adverse party has an equal right to seize, if he can, and confiscate them, not as contraband of war, but as the property of an enemy. In the present case, it would also be the property of traitors, waging an unprovoked and unprincipled war against their unoffending and only too patient fellow-citizens, against their oaths of allegiance, and against the Constitution and laws they have concurred in making.

There is but one other party who can convey any thing to these enemies, and that is, a citizen of our own. By the laws of war, all traffic, contract, intercourse or correspondence between the enemies of a country and its citizens or subjects, is strictly forbidden. Hence all property of theirs, destined or in process to be transferred to the enemy, or property of the enemy destined to be transferred to our own citizens, is liable to capture and confiscation, not as contraband of war, but as enemy's property.

Such presumptuous, sordid and disloyal citizens, besides suffering such forfeiture, remain amenable to the laws of their country for high treason or misdemeanor, according to the nature and aggravation of the case.

For these reasons, *there can be no contraband of war between belligerents*, and it is immaterial whether the war be foreign or domestic. It follows that slaves cannot be taken under this title.

Is there any right arising from the state of war, by which, without violation of the Constitution or laws, we may capture or receive, employ or free them?

Slaves must be considered either as persons or property. Mr. Madison, in "The Federalist," maintains that they are both. On their personality he justifies the provision of the Constitution giving, on their account, to the slaveholders, a heavy additional representation in the national legislature and executive. Upon their chattelism is based the provision for hunting them as partridges, and requiring the people of the Free States, not to abstain like poor Englishmen from poaching, but to bag the game, and send it back to the lordly owner, when it flies from his warren!

The Constitution affects to deal with slaves as persons only. But it gives Congress the "power *to regulate commerce* with foreign nations, *between the several States*, and with the Indian tribes."

In exercising this power in behalf of the victims of the foreign slave trade, as Congress did the first moment that the Constitution untied their hands, they encountered no constitutional difficulty in treating them as a subject of *commerce*. No other idea appears to have been entertained or suggested on that occasion. But when the question of the power of Congress to prohibit the slave trade "between the several States" came before our Supreme Court, ("*supreme* in mischief,") it was discovered by that learned tribunal, that slaves being *named* in the Constitution as persons, cannot be considered, in a legal sense, as property, but as persons only; and inasmuch as persons cannot be a subject of *commerce*, they decreed that Congress have no authority to prohibit the *American* slave trade! They forgot, or did not pause to reflect, that under this construction, Congress could not have touched the foreign slave trade; and that our treaties with Great Britain for its suppression, and our fleets on the coast of Africa, would all be unconstitutional! Because the term "*foreign nations*" is annexed to *the same enabling words* as the term "*several States*." How the South would have yelled, if such an absurd and monstrous inconsequence had been committed *against* any interest of hers, or in favor of any interest of the *North!*

It does not, therefore, lie in the mouths of the slaveholders to object to viewing slaves as persons, as under that title they have enjoyed, in entire security, for more than twenty years, the lucrative luxury of slave-breeding, and a vast commerce in slaves. And if they do object, it is of no great consequence; for I do not in this discussion make it a paramount object to please and propitiate them, as would seem to be the case with many of the public servants entrusted with the administration of the government and the conduct of the war.

As persons, slaves stand in the same relation to an enemy conquering and occupying the country of their residence, as their masters do. It is a principle of the laws of war, perfectly settled and unquestioned, that *conquerors have the right, to the extent of their conquests, to establish such government and laws as they see fit, subject to the "higher law" alone.* It is true that they usually permit the civil laws of the vanquished to remain in force, and they do so remain as a matter of course, until expressly altered or abolished by the new sovereign. From this rule, however, is necessarily excepted that portion of the territory in the actual occupation, and the area of the operations, of the victorious armies. There, martial law invariably supersedes all constitutional and municipal law, so far as concerns the treatment of the vanquished. Indeed, distinguished jurists have suggested that martial law is as much a part of the common law as the law merchant, or parliamentary law. But, however it may be considered in this respect, its scope is confined to the hostile and the vanquished; except in the case of enemies and emissaries in our bosom, in which Congress, if it deems it necessary, may suspend the privilege of the *habeas corpus*, and thus give to the authorities, both civil and military, the power of restraining, at their discretion, all disloyal, dangerous or suspected persons.

In all the conquered territory, the orders and proclamations of the commanding generals, or of the sovereign power which they serve, are, for the time being, the supreme law; and, by the direction of that power, or with its approval, the commanders of armies may prescribe such changes, and initiate and consummate such reforms and measures of every kind, as they deem best for the satisfaction, security and indemnification of the conquering nation, for the interests of justice, peace and liberty, and for the general welfare of all concerned. They may dissolve the system of society which they find, and substitute any other which they deem more conducive to the improvement and happiness of the vanquished, and the peace and safety of the conquering people, and of mankind.

Thus the British nation, of which we were a part, in the war with the Pretender in 1745, totally abolished the patriarchal constitution of the *Highlanders*. There was much that was painful, and some things unnecessarily harsh, in this radical and enforced reformation, yet the most enlightened statesmen and purest philanthropists of Scotland, as well as England and America, have recognized the great rebellion of the *Chevalier*, to restore his dynasty to the throne, as a providential dispensation, inasmuch as it afforded the United Kingdom a favorable opportunity, and the most effective means, of eliminating from its polity an incongruous and dangerous element.

The castles of the rebels were sacked and burned, cattle, provisions and other moveable property carried off, the inhabitants disarmed or pursued, and sternly shot down; the hereditary jurisdictions, services, customs and costumes of the clans, abolished; the traitor chiefs convicted, attainted and executed to the number of eighty or ninety for high treason, and the territory parcelled out in small leasehold estates to loyal, industrious and skilful cultivators. It was not even allowed to be sold, lest the rebel families should recover possession by purchase. The thoroughness and impartiality of the overthrow are evinced by the fact, that Lady Mackintosh, on a charge of treason, was subjected to imprisonment, and her moveable property carried off, although she was not brought to trial, and notwithstanding that *her husband was actually in the service of the government.* Of course, this was the use of the war power.

In 1797 Napoleon I., having beaten and neutralized the King of Sardinia, conquered Lombardy, and broken and driven from Italy the powerful armies of Austria, was occupied in pursuing the remnants thereof, and pushing his conquests toward Vienna—when the usurping oligarchy of Venice, called a Republic, but in reality one of the foulest and cruelest despotisms that ever oppressed a nation, or disgraced human nature, broke the peace with France, and stirred up insurrections in his rear. Thereupon he turned suddenly upon that accursed and effete aristocracy of assassins, and at one swoop swept them out. He substituted a democratic Republic for the ancient sham. This was the war power, and so far from being deemed a mistake or a reproach, it has always been considered lawful, just and beneficent; and celebrated among the honorable and redeeming traits of the great but too ambitious warrior and statesman, who did it. In crushing these insurrections, he thought it necessary to resort to military executions, as some of our Southern commanders did in the "war of pretexts," against poor distracted and unoffending Mexico!

In 1829-30, the French conquered a piratical and slave State, for centuries the scourge and opprobrium of the Christian nations both of Europe and America, who, through terror of its audacity and ferocity, had for centuries tolerated and even subsidized the blood and slave-hunting conspiracy against the human race. Its area was just equal to the island of Great Britain. Its chivalrous conquerors annihilated the government, dissolved the State, expunging its laws and social forms, its piracy and slavery; and substituting a polity to which the vanquished were strangers, and against which they entertained a mortal antipathy. One slap, dealt by the Dey of Algiers, in the face of a French consul, moved a mighty and Christian people to wipe out under the laws of war that detestable and too long endured "barbarism." What would not that victorious army have done, if they had had our cue to fight and exterminate? if not only their ministers of peace had been threatened with outrage and chased ignominiously away, but also thousands of their peaceable and unoffending fellow-citizens, travelling and sojourning under the sacred guaranties of oaths and compacts, had been horribly lacerated with whips, plundered, mutilated, hung by the neck, hung by the heels, to die slowly by torture, which tortures the imagination; coffined alive and cast into the sea, or tarred and then lit like a candle—for no offence except that they were *Frenchmen*, and would not consent to commit treason, and join in parricidal war against their country? It was among the most damning crimes of Nero that he crucified Christians with their heads downward, and daubed them over with combustibles to burn alive as lights in the night!

In the Revolutionary war, the British received some two thousand fugitives from Southern bondage, and never gave up one of them. With these refugees they peopled Sierra Leone, and the island of *Trinidad*. The descendants of these forlorn creatures, victims of a brutalizing system, are now the owners of about half the shipping and other property of that opulent island.

It is often cited as an illustrious example of an honorable peace, that the Roman victors imposed upon the Carthaginians, as a *sine qua non*, that they should abstain in future from human sacrifices to their God—*Moloch.*

From the foregoing principles and examples it results, that war and conquest, (supposing always the cause to be just,) confer upon the conquerors the right of making as they advance, and confirming in the conditions of peace, any change which they deem conducive to the good of society, in the political and social state and relations of their vanquished enemies; that they may level up and level down castes, orders and degrees; annihilate constitutions and governments, establish democratic Republics in lieu of Oligarchies, enfranchise the enslaved and abolish inhuman customs. And it follows further, that when the victorious armies withdraw, or while they are in possession, the sovereign nation whom they serve may abolish, alter, ordain and establish laws for any and all purposes, which to them may seem good, subject to the laws of God alone.

For it would be the height of iniquity and absurdity for a country, forced by cruel, wicked and unprovoked aggressions, to sacrifice tens of thousands of the lives of its sons, and hundreds of millions of their hard-earned treasure—to confer at once and without probation upon subdued traitors, all the political and personal liberties, immunities and privileges of brave, loyal and untainted citizens, thus capacitating them either to renew their treason and hostility, or to thwart by sharing and abusing those liberties and privileges, all wholesome and necessary measures of prudent and safe restraint, and *perhaps* of rehabilitation.

The Constitution of the United States imposes no necessity for such imbecility, absurdity and injustice. It does not extend *proprio vigore* over a conquered territory. That is an arch-heresy, which has too long survived its inventor, but cannot, it is hoped and believed, long survive its *late* distinguished advocate.

But whatever may betide in this respect, the slave, once freed by the war power, will be free forever.

Not only has our government a right to employ slaves, captured or escaped, in building fortifications, to enlist them in our armies, or let them go free under their protection, *but it is their positive duty to them and the country*, and they will be guilty of a high misdemeanor for which impeachment will lie for every case of neglect or refusal so to do. Suppose they should attempt to return a white refugee, who has had the good luck to escape hanging, burning or burying alive, and to reach Fortress Monroe, or the left bank of the Potomac, or city of New York—would any judge hesitate to issue a writ of *habeas corpus*, and this too with indignation at so daring and heartless a violation of law and justice, and to discharge the intended victim? The case of every black or brown refugee from the enemy is the same in law, and vastly more urgent in fact. *He* would go back to assured and inhuman torture or death. D. L. C.

AN AMERICAN CLERGYMAN IN ENGLAND. Rev. William Henry Channing, a nephew of the eminent Dr. Channing, is pastor of a church in Liverpool, England. The *Unitarian Journal* for the current month publishes a letter from him, dated May 18, from which we make this extract:—"In this day of our nation's trial, I wish to prove that unchangingly I keep the star-spangled banner nailed to the masthead. Never was I so proud and glad to stand under that flag. But I can assure you that the past six months have been a dark time for a thorough-going American—as, thank God, I am, in every pulse, nerve and fibre—to be in a foreign land. I have had many a sore battle to fight; but all the better, for we have *won* them. Among them, I trust, is this business of the 'commissioners' from the 'Confederates.' A few weeks since, prospects looked black enough; but means have been taken to enlist the sympathies of members of Parliament, and to my certain knowledge, Yancey's infernal slave-trade scheme, &c., have been fully exhibited before the Government. If the perjured traitors are recognized, it will be a monstrous outrage: I tell them all that it will be a declaration of war against the Republic of the United States of America. Ah, how glorious this resurrection of our nation is! Europe fairly stands astonished at our resistless energy. Republicanism has sprung from an abyss of shame to a height of honor once more."

☞ Mr. Channing has since returned to Boston.

W. J. WATKINS ON THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

Mr. Watkins, last night, delivered a lecture in the Mechanics' Institute, upon the causes of the American Revolution and its ultimate results.

Mr. WATKINS, after an eloquent opening, said, there were certain men in the United States who tried to hide the real cause of the present struggle, but they could no more do it than whistle the tail off the comet. One man told us it was because Abraham Lincoln had been elected. But no one believed the assertion. It was a convenient pretext for secession; that was all. It was not Lincoln the Secessionists feared, but that all-controlling sentiment which battered down all opposition, and wafted him into the Presidential chair. It was this sentiment, which, like the blessed and invigorating sun-light, would ultimately dispel the darkness of slavery, and amid the hallelujah chorus of redeemed humanity drive it to its native hell. This the slaveholders understood well, and it was because they understood it that the rebellion had been commenced. (Cheers.) We were told by others, that the present state of things was but the natural sequence of Northern aggression upon the rights of the South. Admitting, for the sake of argument, that the Constitution was established for the purpose of securing slavery to the people and their posterity, he asked the question, what constitutional right has the North invaded? Not one. There never was a more causeless rebellion on the score of constitutional rights being invaded than the present. "Oh," but it was objected, "the Northern States have passed Personal Liberty Bills." But who suffered by the loss of slaves? The Border States. But did they inaugurate the war? No, it was South Carolina, who had not lost one slave in a thousand. In fact, the primary, and palpable, and real, and efficient, and only cause of the present war was the existence of that foul, black monster called slavery. (Cheers.) It might be intended by the Administration to fight simply for the preservation of the Union, but they were fighting in fact against slavery. Had there been no slavery, there would have been no rebellion. Having thus stated the cause, the lecturer next proceeded to consider the result of the present contest. It was his opinion that the Slave Power was to be humbled, to be dragged from its present elevated position, and driven into the valley of humiliation. It was bad enough to the South to be humbled at all; but to be humbled by Northern men intensified the humiliation. The North had everything to hope and nothing to fear from it. As a class, the Southerners were haughty and tyrannical. They were impressed with the idea that they were born to command, to lord it over God's heritage. Pride with them was a chronic disease, the prescription for which, written in plain English by Doctor Lincoln—400,000 men and $400,000,000—was likely to produce a most effectual cure, though the dose would doubtless be very nauseating. (Laughter.) The humiliation of the South the lecturer regarded as one of the most important results of the war. And he argued, in conclusion, that it would result in the downfall of slavery. The aid of the colored man was now refused by the President and his advisers, but he believed before the trouble was over they would be glad to accept the services of any man, whatever might be his color. Then he trusted the Administration would boldly proclaim this to be a war against slavery. "Meanwhile, let those who wished for the success of the Government, as every lover of liberty must do, lift their hearts and voices above the noise and strife of battle, and look unto Him who is mighty to save and standing to deliver; for he who is with us is stronger than all who are against us. 'Oppression shall not always reign; there comes a brighter day.' Sometimes the clouds hid the heavens, the lightnings flashed, we heard the thunders of war; we could not even get a glimpse of the blue vault above; but after all, 'God rides upon the whirlwind, and God directs the storm.'" (Loud applause.)—*Toronto Globe.*

THE VISION FULFILLED.

In the *Liberator* of March 10, 1857—four years and four months ago—we published an account of a remarkable spirit-manifestation, through a medium, in a neighboring city, purporting to have been made by the late N. P. Rogers and Professor Follen. Here is a portion of it, which finds its exact fulfilment in the present civil war now raging in the country:—

Charles Follen then indicated his presence by spelling out his name, and said he, too, had a message to Henry C. Wright. A test was called for—a test that might be unmistakably recognized. One of the mediums present directly became *cold*, and much agitated, shuddering greatly, and seemingly suffocating as one drowning, and said, "I am chilled through—but my head is on *fire*. I am dreadfully distressed." The chest heaved convulsively. "I am surrounded by *fire* and *water*." The extremities were cold as if life was indeed passing away. This state lasted but a short time, when the communication continued, the following questions being put, and answered mostly by alphabet:—

"Do you and your associate spirits interest yourselves in the present struggle between the North and South in regard to liberty and slavery?"

"Yes, most deeply we do—ever watching the Anti-Slavery movement with deepest interest."

"Can you tell the result of this conflict?"

"We can—the certain dissolution of the present slaveholding Union, the formation of a Northern Republic on the principle of 'No Union with Slaveholders,' and the abolition of slavery."

"How is this to be done?"

"ONLY BY BLOOD!"

At this point, one of the mediums saw, with the clearness of light, in a trance state, the fearful scene of conflict, and became greatly agitated—wept bitterly—threw up her arms, and exclaimed, "You have never seen A FIELD OF BLOOD! This is frightful! This influence must be removed, or I shall die." Soon a sound trance-like state succeeded, and the following was written with a pencil:—

"This vision shall surely be realized. Waves of desolation shall roll, in quick succession, over this devoted nation. They set at nought all the laws of justice, and defy the Supreme Judge of all the earth, and are filled with their own devices. They have drunken in iniquity like water. I WILL GIVE THEM BLOOD TO DRINK."

"Where will this bloody conflict be?"

"In Washington and the border States."

"Do you approve of this way of abolishing slavery and the Union?"

"There is no other way now left by which to abolish slavery but by BLOOD. The day of *peaceful* settlement of this question of slavery and the Union is past, no more to return. The responsibility of the blood that must flow must rest on those in Church and State, who, twenty years ago, had the power to forestall the fearful, bloody tragedy, but who were too busy in opposing and denouncing abolitionists to do it. The blood of the slave, and of those who shall fall in the conflict between the North and the South—between Liberty and Slavery—will be required at their hands."

This, in substance, and by far the most part in words, is what was given by Charles Follen to H. C. Wright. A presence filled the room while the above was being communicated, that deeply impressed, even to tears, those who were in the circle.

COFFEE AS A REMEDY FOR WHOOPING COUGH. In Dr. George D. Gibbs's work on whooping cough, published in London in 1854, he recommended strong coffee as a specific for the cure of this disease. We have tried it in several instances with marked effect. In one case, the patient was a little girl six years of age. There was not a single "whoop" after she began to take it. She took a table-spoonful and a half of very strong coffee, sweetened, but without milk, three times daily. A young child in the same family was well of the disease in three weeks; no other remedy was used in either case. In another instance, in which we have recently tried it, the same happy result followed, the "whooping" symptom being at once arrested, and the complaint coming to a speedy termination. It is difficult to fix the dose definitely, and this may account for the unsatisfactory result in one or two instances we have heard of, in which a small dose was given. Another important consideration which should not be lost sight of is, that three-quarters, probably, of what is drunk for coffee, is made from nothing but peas or beans. The only sure method is to get the coffee berry itself, and have it burnt and ground under one's own eye. The decoction should be given as strong as possible, and in a quantity only short of enough to cause the unpleasant stimulating effects of this beverage. Children take it very readily. The last patient referred to above was only eighteen months old, and took once a day half a cup of coffee thus prepared, without the least noticeable injurious effect.—*Boston Medical Journal.*

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☞ The following gentlemen constitute the Financial Committee, but are not responsible for any debts of the paper, viz:—Francis Jackson, Edmund Quincy, Edmund Jackson, and Wendell Phillips.

The United States Constitution is "a covenant with death, and an agreement with hell."

☞ "What order of men under the most absolute of monarchies, or the most aristocratic of republics, was ever invested with such an odious and unjust privilege as that of the separate and exclusive representation of less than half a million owners of slaves, in the Hall of this House, in the chair of the Senate, and in the Presidential mansion? This investment of power in the owners of one species of property concentrated in the highest authorities of the nation, and disseminated through thirteen of the twenty-six States of the Union, constitutes a privileged order of men in the community, more adverse to the rights of all, and more pernicious to the interests of the whole, than any order of nobility ever known. To call government thus constituted a Democracy is to insult the understanding of mankind. . . . It is doubly tainted with the infection of riches and of slavery. There is no name in the language of national jurisprudence that can define it—no model in the records of ancient history, or in the political theories of Aristotle, with which it can be likened. It was introduced into the Constitution of the United States by an equivocation—a representation of property under the name of persons. Little did the members of the Convention from the Free States imagine or foresee what a sacrifice to Moloch was hidden under the mask of this concession."—John Quincy Adams.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor. | Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind. | J. B. YERRINTON & SON, Printers.

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Refuge of Oppression.

LET THEM BEWARE.

The Irish citizens have been first and foremost in coming forward to uphold the Constitution, and let the world know that *we have a government.*

They are praised for it. Even from the pulpit, to say nothing of the press, their readiness to fight for *the stars and stripes* has been eulogised. And, surely, they deserve it.

For, if there was any class of citizens who might feel disposed to keep aloof from the struggle, they were the Irish.

After all, the Irish have no reason to thank the United States for any prosperity they may have attained in this country. They have worked more for the improvement of Uncle Sam's Farm than they have for themselves.

The Americans will say that if the Irish have not thrived more, as a body, it is their own fault. This is not true. Because if we take only one section of the field of labor in which the Irish have been employed, that of the building of railroads, it can be proven that, of every *one hundred* laborers, *seventy-five*, at the lowest calculation, have been ruined, and driven to despair by the American (i. e. Yankee) contractors.

The Pilot has frequently and most uniformly raised its voice against the persecution to which the Irish have been exposed in this country.

"*Irish or Catholic*" is the greatest obstacle to an emigrant, aye, more, to an American citizen. For, if a man is a Catholic and born of Irish parents, he will be sure to meet with opposition.

Things are somewhat changed now.

The Irish element has proven indispensable in the present organization of a band of warriors to oppose rebellion. The Irish element has entered the action with an overwhelming power. The Irish are praised and greeted for their readiness. They are *now* found to be good, indeed.

We have reason to think that a great majority of our Irish people believe that henceforward their services will be taken into consideration, and their rights respected.

Far from it! If they had turned Protestants, they might expect fair play. But because, with a whole-souled promptness, they have volunteered to expose their lives in defence of this country, this will not avail them.

Napoleon I. said 'the Italian soldiers (and he raised hundreds of regiments of them: fools that they were!) were *good flesh for the enemies' cannon.* Precisely thus do the Americans now look upon the myriads of Irishmen hurrying to the battle-field.

Unfortunately, the Irish are too ready to trust their enemies. Touch the Irish heart's mellow spot, and he is conquered.

Far from us to regret that the adopted Irish citizens have volunteered in behalf of our government.

But we wish to put them on their guard, not to trust too much, not to think that, after their struggle is over, there will be a terrestrial paradise for them in this country. Far from it. As long as the Irish is synonymous of Catholic, they must be persecuted. It is in the interest of bigotted protestantism to keep them down.

It will form the brightest page of Irish history in this country, that the Irish Catholics have shown so firm and tender and noble an attachment for their adopted country, forgetting their disfranchisements, their persecutions, the burning of their churches; but let no Irishman think that, because he has exposed his life in the defence of the country, and lost an arm, an eye, or a leg, they will be respected or treated decently henceforward.—*Boston Pilot.*

THE CIVIL WAR.

Thus far Congress has not shown any disposition to discharge its whole duty to the country. While every intelligent man in the free States admits that the people of the slave States have cause of complaint against the acts and words of Northern men, and against the deliberate action of several of the Northern Legislatures, the present Congress has refused to entertain any proposition assuring the South that its constitutional rights shall be respected. The reason for this refusal is that the South is in arms, and therefore out of the pale of conciliatory legislation. No importance at all is attached to the fact, that the great crime of rebellion is but the result of the course pursued in a majority of the free States. This being the case, the part of wisdom is for the North to retrace its steps, and give assurance for the future, notwithstanding that the war is going on. But, there is a controlling influence at Washington in favor of enlarging, prolonging and intensifying the war without regard to loss of blood and treasure, or a just remodelling of the government. It is, or should be, well known that we do not belong to the class of namby-pamby philanthropists who would have the magistrate bear the sword in vain. We would give to Jefferson Davis and his accomplices the full measure of the law, but we would avail ourselves of the first opportunity to satisfy the people of the South that they shall receive the protection of the law. Should the national government manfully pursue this course, it would be more effectual in bringing the Southern people back to a sense of their duty than a hundred victories over them in the field. But here is the great stumbling-block: swindling contractors will not be able to make their hundreds of millions of dollars, if the war is brought to a close, either by an overwhelming victory or by informal negotiation. The leaders in Congress shrink from discussion. Even Senator Fessenden, of Maine, has submitted a resolve that war bills shall be passed upon without debate. The pretence for this is, it is necessary to be economical of time. The real reason is, that discussion would disclose the participators in the enormous frauds which have already been perpetrated in every branch of the public service. Congress does not mean a short war. The army any navy are to be filled up the Republican and abolition propagandists, and thousands upon thousands of the noble northern masses will have to lay their bones on Southern soil, that contractors may grow rich, and officers, and congressmen, and governors, and judges be rewarded for their patriotic procrastination by the confiscation of rebel estates. Depend upon it, we shall soon see many a loud-mouthed republican lording it over plantations well-stocked with negroes. The gallant fellows who have gone forth to support the "stars and stripes" have no lot or part in this infamous purpose. But notwithstanding all this, the flag must be sustained and the Union be preserved. It may be regretted that this cannot be accomplished, without great pecuniary advantage to the most sordid of villains in every branch of the government and public service. But the Union must be preserved, and then woe betide those who have put it in peril or roll, in wealth obtained by fraud during the war!—*Boston (Catholic) Pilot.*

STAND BY THE CONSTITUTION.

The time draws near for what all Union men are longing to see, the complete triumph of the National Flag over all its enemies. Let it be signalized by a determination, in every locality, to stand solidly by the Constitution; and to resolve to save our noble country from the desecrating hands of mad-cap Abolitionists.

There is need of such determinations now. The Philadelphia *Inquirer* is an Administration journal, which, in good faith, is standing by the President and the Constitution. Its Washington correspondent, in a letter dated July 13, in which the resolutions of the hot-headed Lovejoy are commented on, says:—"You may depend upon it, there is a deep-laid scheme on the part of the Abolitionists in Congress to commit this Administration to such a course of policy as will indeed make this war a war for the extermination of slavery and slaveholders. This is the first step in the programme. Others will be speedily taken. Now, while the war fever is up, these wily demagogues think that they can carry through any measure, whatever that are directed against the South. Let some member have moral courage enough to move the repeal of the arbitrary rule that prevents all discussion, and let every measure proposed have a full examination." That is from a Republican journal. Not a journal, it is true, of the emancipation stamp of Garrison, Phillips, Boutwell & Co., of this region, but of the school of such noble patriots as Governor Sprague, of Rhode Island. The *Inquirer* believes with President Lincoln, that, because living in Pennsylvania, it has no legal right to interfere with slavery where it exists. But, as there is a desire brewing to interfere, it patriotically sounds the alarm. It tells the country the plot that is plotting. What the correspondent of the *Inquirer* can see in Washington, anybody can see here—namely, that the Northern Secessionists who have been clamoring for thirty years against the Constitution and the Union, are determined to use the war fever to promote their schemes, and suppose they can goad the North into a crusade against the slaveholders and slavery. In what country, under the light of the sun, could so infamous a sentiment as that expressed by Wendell Phillips, on the Fourth of July, be tolerated? We mean that in which he said, that a defeat of General Scott would anger the North into a demand for emancipation? These are his words as to the members of the Administration:—

"I do not believe either of them, nor all of them, nor all their comrades, have the boldness to declare an emancipation policy, until, by a pressure which we are to create the country forces them to it. We are on the one side; the enrolled army of Virginia on the other. A defeat, bloody and cruel, will anger the North into emancipation. A victory that throws the South into madness, and makes her seek any means, in desperation, may force the Government on to emancipation. Let us pray for the life of Jefferson Davis! (Laughter.) God grant him long life, and something of an army! (Renewed laughter.) Let us pray that Heaven, or some power, will put into his heart courage, so that he may not run away too soon (merriment); so that out of the contest may come emancipation."

What infamy! For years it has been, with this Exeter Hall school, perish the Constitution, perish the Union, perish commerce, perish peace, perish national power, but free the slaves: and to this is now added, perish the army that has gone out of the capital, if only out of the noble blood of the citizen soldiery can come the result of emancipation!

And yet the Republicans, who have all along *meant* perhaps only opposition to the late National Administration, or *meant* only opposition to an *extension* of slavery, are now incredulous as to even the existence of such a scheme as is exposed in the Philadelphia *Inquirer.* We have heard Republicans, who we know are sincere when they say it, most earnestly affirm, not only that there is no such design entertained, but that they will oppose it, and class Phillips and his sympathizers among the madmen. But there is Lovejoy's insidious resolution, and the support it has got; every day is multiplying evidences of the mischief it is working; and every day the demand grows more urgent for true patriots who mean to stand together around the Constitution of the Fathers as the first of duties, to call to account severely all who are engaged in this anarchical plot.

The House acted wisely in tabling Lovejoy's batch of Abolitionism, but acted timidly in passing a part, declaring it not to be the duty of the Generals to catch and return fugitive slaves. Who supposed the army was raised to do this? Who supposed that, on the application of even a loyal Union citizen, it was General Patterson's duty to send a troop of cavalry to go out in full chase after a band of runaway slaves? Is not this vote either full of evil, or the veriest nonsense that ever insulted a people? It was no more General Patterson's duty to run after slaves than it was his duty to send such a troop after a runaway cow. But President Lincoln stands pledged to respect private property; the local law of Virginia holds that there is property in the negro held to service as well as the cow; and, as the boy driving his cow to and from pasture was unmolested, so if that boy were a slave, it would be a duty not to molest him. Now, our Generals refuse to receive or employ the runaway slaves of loyal citizens. To do so would *not* be respecting private property. It would be a breach of faith most clear and manifest. It would be a stultification of the promise made by the President. Let it be known that the slaves of loyal Union citizens are to be received into the camps of our Generals, set at work on fortifications; let this be proclaimed throughout Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, Missouri and Kentucky, and what would become of the loyal Union cause in these States? Now the virus of this contemptible Lovejoy resolution consists in this:—that it can be perverted, and will be perverted, by the Secessionists, into a proclamation for slaves to run into our camps; and the members of Congress, who mean to be true to the Constitution, ought to have had manhood enough to have voted the insidious resolution out of the House. This Abolition leader, Lovejoy, is as unconstitutional as is Clark, whom the House has expelled. His course tends directly to the shedding of rivers of precious blood. Davis and Beauregard might well afford to give him a pension.—*Boston Post.*

"We are all for the war here, and when the North subjugates the South, there will be none left living; our women will fight. All we are sorry for is, that your folks don't come along, and give us a chance at them. We will show them that we all have sand in our gizzards. I expect to leave in a few days for Virginia. I take with me three of my negro men, who will die by me. We are raising two regiments of negroes to act as guerrillas in Virginia, and Lincoln's tribe had best keep a good look out, for they swear vengeance against him and his crew; they say Lincoln can't fool them. We hung seven men in this place, a few days since, and there are several more to hang."—*Letter from Georgia.*

Selections.

THE GREAT CONSPIRACY.

We are indebted to the author for a pamphlet of fifty large octavo pages, entitled "The Great Conspiracy—an Address delivered at Mount Kisco, West Chester County, N. Y., on the 4th of July, 1861, by John Jay, Esq." It is an elaborate exposition of the rise and object of the Secession movement, and of the structure of the national government, and is of historical value. Mr. Jay is walking worthily in the footsteps of his illustrious father and grandfather, in supporting the cause of freedom and free institutions. Below we give an extract from his excellent Address.

You remember that, in 1774, the members of the first Congress at Philadelphia, on behalf of the Colonies which they represented, entered into certain articles of association, "under the sacred ties of virtue, honor, and love of country." That, in 1778, the States united in a Confederacy, or what they called "a firm league of friendship with each other," under the title of the United States, and that, under this league made by the States, they continued until 1789, when, "in order to form a more perfect union"—not the States—but, "We, *the people of the United States,*" ordained and established the present Federal Constitution. You remember that, from the date of the peace in '83, when we were a mere league of petty sovereignties, we sank rapidly,—in the words of Mr. Motley, whose conclusive essay in the London *Times* has enlightened Europe,—"into a condition of utter impotence, imbecility and anarchy," which continued until we were rescued from it by "The Constitution of the United States," which made us, in every sense, one nation, with one supreme government; although, for convenience, we retained the plural title under which we had achieved our independence, of "The United States."

Any argument, therefore, addressed to you upon the constitutional right, alleged by the rebels, of a State to secede from the Union would be quite superfluous. Men have been allowed to talk of State sovereignty as it liked them, because ours is a free country, and in ordinary times the utmost liberty of speech is permissible; but the doctrine has not even a respectable foothold. Washington, as if foreseeing the evil it has assisted to bring forth, denounced it as "that monster, State sovereignty." Webster and Jackson successively demolished it; and the argument now insolently advanced by leaders of the rebel States, that, in seceding from the Union, and seizing its property, they are only exercising their reserved rights under the Constitution, is one which to every intelligent and loyal American carries with it its own refutation.

The man who attaches to it the weight of a feather is either singularly ignorant of American history, or his reasoning powers are hopelessly perverted.

The rebels, despite their pretended plea of constitutional right, virtually admit its groundlessness, and fall back on the right of revolution. That is a right which no American can deny, when the causes of justification are sufficient. The simple cry of rebel and revolutionist has no terror for us who remember that Washington and our ancestors occupied the position of both the one and the other.

All, then, depends upon the reality and sufficiency of the assigned causes of this attempt at revolution. Are they such as to justify the effort to break in pieces the American Union? to destroy this last experiment of popular government?

The arguments offered by the insurrectionists and their friends, to show that the Federal Government and the loyal States should quietly allow them to depart and form a separate confederacy, are these:—

That the rebellion or revolution is the act of the people of those States, exercising their sovereign will:—

That they have been compelled to this step in self-defence by the election of Mr. Lincoln, and the refusal of certain Northern States to fulfil the constitutional obligation of returning slaves:—

That the present position of the rebels, and the fact of their having ousted the Federal Government from its forts, and other property, exhibit their strength, make the revolution an accomplished fact, and render the attempt to subjugate the Southern people utterly hopeless:—

That even if they were subjugated, harmonious feeling could never be restored; and that for these reasons, and especially the last, a war to maintain the integrity of the Union would be alike wicked and foolish.

These, I believe, are their strong points fairly stated, and I will briefly state some of the grounds on which we believe them to be, one and all, erroneous and delusive.

In the first place, the fact is clear that the rebellion at the South was not, in its inception, like the rebellion of the American colonies,—a calm, deliberate, determined movement of the people; but that it was a conspiracy originating with a few ambitious politicians, and was by them suddenly precipitated upon the people, whose right to pass upon their acts of secession has been purposely, systematically, and practically denied. "There is," said Webster,—and his words were never before so fearfully illustrated,—"no usurpation so dangerous as that which comes in the borrowed name of THE PEOPLE; which, calling itself their servant, exercises their power without legal right or constitutional sanction."

You all remember the stern rebukes uttered by the Southern press, of the rash precipitancy of South Carolina, and the efforts made by their prominent statesmen, among whom Mr. Stephens was one, to stay the efforts of the rebel leaders to plunge the South into rebellion. Even after several States had, by their conventions,—and the convention of Louisiana was elected by a minority of the people,—been declared out of the Union, and after delegates from those conventions had met in Congress at Montgomery, and extemporized their new confederacy, the bolder part of the Southern press did not hesitate to denounce the usurpation.

The "Augusta *Chronicle and Sentinel*"—a leading paper of Georgia—openly declared that the result had been produced by "wheedling, coaxing and bullying, and all the arts of deception." It said:—

"We know, as well as any one living, that the whole movement for secession and the formation of a new government, so far at least as Georgia is concerned, proceeded on a *quasi* consent of the people, and was pushed through under circumstances of great excitement and frenzy by a fictitious majority."

And then, passing to the Montgomery Congress, it added:—

"The Georgia Convention and the Confederate Congress have gone forward in their work, as none can deny, without explicit and direct authority from the people." * * * "It is time that this assumption of power should cease, and that the people should be heard. Sooner or later they must be heard." * * * "Before the Convention assembles to ratify the permanent Constitution, let them submit it to the vote of the people—or else, let us have an election for a new Convention. For union—for harmony—for strength—we ask this simple act of justice."

Simple justice was not the aim of Jefferson Davis and his co-conspirators. To this day, the people of the South have been allowed no opportunity of passing upon the profoundest question that can affect a nation—the preservation or overthrow of its institutions; and the rebel government is an usurpation of the grossest kind, not only against the people of the United States in their sovereign capacity, but against the people of the States in whose name it assumes to act, and by whose will it pretends to have been established.

The declaration, so solemnly made by the seceding conventions, appealing to the world for the justice of their cause, that Mr. Lincoln's election, the non-execution of the Fugitive Slave Law, and the Personal Liberty Laws of Northern States, compelled them to separate from a government that threatened their dearest rights, is equally disproven out of their own mouths. Listen to the following utterances from the very leaders of the rebellion:—

Mr. Rhett said: "The secession of South Carolina is not the event of a day. It is not anything produced by Mr. Lincoln, or by the non-execution of the Fugitive Slave Law. It is a matter which has been gathering head for years."

Mr. Parker: "It is no spasmodic effort that has come suddenly upon us, but it has been gradually culminating for a long series of years."

Mr. Keitt: "I have been engaged in this movement ever since I entered political life."

Mr. Inglis: "Most of us have had this matter under consideration for the last twenty years."

That these declarations had a broad basis of truth, and that a plot to destroy the Union has been hatching for a long period, and has been deferred only until a convenient opportunity, is no longer a matter of speculation. The election of Mr. Lincoln was not the cause, but only the occasion. Mr. Everett, in a recent letter said, that he was "well aware, partly from facts within his personal knowledge, that leading Southern politicians had for thirty years been resolved to break up the Union as soon as they ceased to control the United States government, and that the slavery question was but a pretext for keeping up agitation and rallying the South."

The Richmond *Enquirer* in 1856 declared, "If Fremont is elected, the Union will not last an hour after Mr. Pierce's term expires;" and a careful examination will show that, from the attempt at nullification by South Carolina in 1832, which was defeated by a stern determination of General Jackson that the "Union must and shall be preserved,"—a sentiment that was enthusiastically responded to by the country at large,—the design has been secretly cherished, by a knot of conspirators at the South, of destroying the Union, whenever the men entertaining this design should no longer be able to control its government. So long as they could enjoy its honors and emoluments, and use its prestige, its treasury, its army, and its navy for their own purposes, they were content that it should stand; but the moment these were wrested from their grasp by the will of the people, that moment the Union was to be destroyed.

So long ago as the year 1799, Judge Marshall, in a letter to Washington, dated at Richmond, remarked:—"To me it seems that there are men who will hold power by any means rather than not hold it, and who would prefer a dissolution of the Union to the continuance of an administration not of their own party." And Mr. Stephens declared, in regard to the present conspiracy, that the ambition of disappointed office-seekers constituted "a great part of the trouble."

General Jackson, after the South Carolina rebellion of 1832 was suppressed, foretold its attempted revival at no distant period, remarking that "the first time the pretence was the tariff, and the next it would be the negro question."

In 1836, twenty-five years ago, a political novel, called the "Partizan Leader," was published by Professor Beverly Tucker, of William and Mary College, in Virginia. It excited no sensation then, but it possesses a singular interest now. It proceeds upon the theory, that the events it describes as then happening would happen twenty years after—that is, in 1856, when Fremont would have probably been elected but for the frauds in Pennsylvania; and it gives, with singular accuracy, the programme of the conspiracy which is now in progress. The author describes the Southern States as seceding "by a movement nearly simultaneous," and immediately forming a Southern confederacy. Let me quote a single paragraph:—

"The suddenness of these measures was less remarkable than the prudence with which they had been conducted. The two together left little doubt that there had been preconcert among the leading men of the several States, arranging previously what should be done. * * * Nor was it confined to the seceding States alone. In Virginia, also, there were men who entered into the same views. * * * Not only had they sketched provisionally the plan of a Southern confederacy, but they had taken measures to regulate their relations with foreign powers."

What a flood of light is thrown upon the conspiracy by these few words from one of the earliest of the conspirators, who seems to have anticipated in part the rôle to be played by his own State of Virginia!

There being indications of her ultimate accession to the confederacy, the author says:—"The leading men" referred to "had determined to wait for her no longer, but to proceed to the execution of their plans, leaving her to follow."

Could the acute novelist have anticipated the proceedings of the pseudo-peace convention, and the conduct of Virginia traitors, headed by an ex-President Tyler and an ex-Governor Wise, he might have eulogised the leaders of the ancient dominion for their treacherous skill in deluding the country with schemes of compromise, while the preparations of the rebels were advancing to completion.

Mr. Everett, who was a warm advocate for the Peace Convention, has told us that "those conciliatory demonstrations had no effect in staying the progress of secession, because the leaders of that revolution were determined not to be satisfied."

In reference to the measures referred to by Professor Tucker, looking towards the relations of the new confederacy with foreign powers, it may be worth while to allude to a recent statement, that, in the days of Mr. Calhoun, a plan for the dissolution of the Union, and the formation of a great slave-holding power, was presented by his friends to Lord Aberdeen, and that some words attributed to that statesman are supposed to have given rise to the hopes of British sympathy, in which Southern politicians have so frequently indulged. It is said on high authority, that, at different times, and especially in 1851, these projects had been broached to members of the British ministry, and that on that occasion they were disclosed by Lord Palmerston to our minister, Mr. Abbott Lawrence, and that the Southern commissioners, disheartened by the coolness with which their overtures were received, and also by the fate of the Lopez expedition, returned discomfited to the United States.

In 1857, Mr. Mason, of Virginia, announced as a fact, on the floor of the Senate, that the British government had changed its opinion on the slavery question; but an early occasion was taken by that government to contradict the assertion of Mr. Mason, the Duke of Argyll declaring that he was instructed by her Majesty's ministers to do so.

Blind as we have all been to the catastrophe that awaited us, unconscious as were the people, both at the North and at the South, of this preconcert among a few leaders in the different States, we can now trace, step by step, the progress of the conspiracy, and read the history of the last thirty years without an interpreter; we can understand the motive of the Texan rebellion, the war with Mexico, the persistent efforts to secure Cuba, the fillibustering expeditions to Central America, and the determination to re-open the African slave trade. We can appreciate, too, the caution with which the plan of the rebellion was concealed, and especially the adroitness with which the people were allowed no time for reflection, no opportunity for action, their consent assumed on the plea of necessary haste, and the acts of secession pushed through the conventions, as charged by the Georgian editor, with no regard to popular rights, and under circumstances of excitement and frenzy by fictitious majorities.

THE WAR AND EMANCIPATION.

And, finally, even if the government had the right (as I have attempted to show) to decree the emancipation of the slaves in the States, and it should be expedient by and by for its own safety to use the right, will it, after all, be a kindness to the slave to do so? That a state of freedom is better for the negro than a state of bondage has, of course, been implied and urged in all that I have said in these successive sermons on this topic, and is not a question to be opened now. But the particular point, concerning which mercy to the slave now bids us look, is this: whether, if emancipation be undertaken by the Federal government, and, as would most likely be the case, against the will of the majority of slaveholders, the slave cut adrift from his present position would not be left in a state of lawlessness and domestic war worse than slavery itself? If the government were only to decree the emancipation of the slaves, and then leave them, in the midst of a strong and vindictive enemy, to their fate, or to get their freedom as best they could, then this question might well startle us. But the same humanity that bids us give freedom to the slave, bids us also provide that freedom be given to him, not with anarchy and violence, but with its proper blessings of order, and prosperity, and peace. It is not possible, nor desirable perhaps, to fix at this time the details of any scheme of emancipation, because we want, if possible, that the scheme should be fixed in the South itself,—the government only taking the position that emancipation there must be, but willing to coöperate with the South, or with any part of the South, in determining the best way to bring it about. But I do not think that we can look for any such thing as a forced expatriation of the colored race, or to colonizing it in any part of our own country in a territory by itself. As a matter of political economy, no country can thus afford to expel so large a portion of its laboring population. The slaves will be needed after emancipation, as now, on the soil where they were born and bred. That there will be difficulties attending emancipation on the soil is, of course, true. We cannot expect that this demon of slavery is to be cast out of the nation without some convulsive struggles of the baser parts of human nature. But, all things considered, and especially the humanity of the question considered, there will be fewer difficulties, I believe, in the way of emancipation on the soil, than of any other scheme; and no difficulties which a great nation like ours, with a firm and Christian determination to do justice to the negro, cannot conquer. In all the fifteen slave States, there are but 350,000 slaveholders—a good deal less than the population of Philadelphia, and considerably less than half of the population of New York. They have great power indeed, but their power is to be essentially broken by this rebellion. The most prominent and mischievous among them will have to flee the country, in order to escape the gallows. The power of the slaveholding class thus enfeebled, the non-slaveholders in the South must rise in political and social importance; and through their cooperation, together with the coöperation of those among the slaveholders who sincerely desire to get rid of slavery, (of which class I cannot but think there is a considerable number,) the general government, sustained by the Christian humanity of the North, will be able, I believe, to work out the problem of emancipation on the soil, with fewer evils than can attend any other mode of emancipation, and finally to a most happy issue.

Is the government to emancipate the slaves, and leave them to their fate? By no means. They are committed, under Providence, to the Christian care of this nation, as a sacred trust, and to be educated into the rights and responsibilities of citizenship, into the power and nobility of manhood. They are our neighbors, towards whom we are to fulfill that "royal law according to the Scripture," which is above every human law, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." With an act of emancipation, let there be a new Executive Bureau established, with a new Cabinet officer, whose duties shall be to care for, and protect, and educate these four millions of new-born freemen, the youngest and tenderest children of the Republic. Let every plantation be turned into an agricultural colony of free laborers. Let the overseer with his lash give way to the cashier with his purse, and the teacher with his book. Let the tie of master and slave be forgotten in that of employer and men. In short, let every plantation become a home, a school, a Christian colony; and let benevolent men and women, of practical power, give their services to these seminaries of freemen for such various offices of instruction and mercy as will be needed. Does any one say, "All this is chimerical"? I answer by asking, is it not Christian? That such a work can be accomplished without labor, without obstacles and discouragement, and here and there a failure, is not to be expected. But is it not a work at least worth trying to do? And is not success in such a work an object worthy of a nation's aim? And if Christianity is true, ultimate success is sure. Let our nation, then, take up this work, which Providence now offers to its hands, with earnest and solemn purpose. By so much as it elevates the slave, will it ennoble itself. Great is our country in ancestry and historic renown; great in martial glory; great in prosperity and population; great in extent of territory, stretching from ocean to ocean; great in its commerce, whitening every sea; great in material resources, filling the land with wealth; great in privileges of civil and social freedom; great in its institutions of charity, of religion, of education; but, greater than all these, Providence now waits, yearns, to crown it over all the nations of the earth, as great in its humanity.—[*Extract from a Sermon by Rev. W. J. Potter, of New Bedford.*

GERRIT SMITH TO OWEN LOVEJOY.

PETERBORO, July 12, 1861.

Hon. Owen Lovejoy, M. C.

My Dear Sir: From its action on your resolutions, I infer that Congress is not disposed to repeal the Fugitive Slave statute.

I judged, after the bombardment of Sumter, that the North would put down the rebellion in a few months. But if the patience of the Cabinet with the pro-slavery threats and deeds of some of our Commanders, and the pro-slavery Congressional voting referred to, are to be taken as reflecting the Northern mind, then did I widely misjudge. For then the North is not in earnest; and if she is not, or is not soon to be, then the rebellion will never be overcome. Our Revolutionary Fathers were in earnest—so much so as to employ not only negroes, but savages. Our enemies are in earnest. Whilst we will not so much as LET the negroes help us, they MAKE them help them. Nay, it seems that when such helpers of our foes desert to us, Congress would still have us return them to our foes. Was ever such infatuation before? Is it possible that either Congress or Cabinet is more concerned to save slavery than to crush the rebellion? Possibly both are. Possibly the people are. Possibly slavery has debauched Congress, Cabinet, and people, beyond recovery. Possibly, having so long succumbed to slavery, it may be as vain to try to arouse us against it, as to arouse the mass of the drunkards against drunkenness, or the mass of the gamblers against gambling. When I saw the refined ladies of the South presenting canes to Preston Brooks in honor of his murderous assault on Charles Sumner, I feared that slavery had utterly and incurably spoiled the American heart. This fear was renewed when I saw the voting on your resolutions. I see that Congress has since spoken against the army's helping slavery. But it would still have the civil power help it—aye, and the army too, behind the civil power.

Our government is now calling for hundreds of millions more of money, and for hundreds of thousands more of soldiers. This is right, if necessary to put down the rebellion. Let that be put down unconditionally and forever, even though at the necessity of arming us all, and reducing us all to poverty. But why take a costly and weary way to put it down, *when a cheap and short one is at hand?* Why choose crushing burdens of debt and immense human slaughter, when both can be avoided? The liberation of the slaves has obviously become one of the necessities, and therefore *one of the rights of the country.* Let the President, in his capacity of Commander of the army, proclaim such liberation, and the war would end in thirty days. The South, beside that she would, when her millions of chattels are transmuted into men, have quite too much to fight against, would, when her slavery is annihilated, have nothing left to fight for. Our army, in the event of the President's Proclamation, would be already large enough. There would then be no squeamishness about letting ten or fifteen black regiments move Southward from Canada and the Northern States: and with that most effective and efficient help, many of our white regiments might be left to "stand still, and see the salvation of the Lord."

That the President is authorized to liberate the slaves is as clear as that he may, when judging there is military necessity for it, order the destruction of all the railroads in the slave States. But it will be said that, on the return of peace, the government would provide payment for the railroads. So could it for the slaves also. Perhaps when the war is over, the government will think it best to recall slavery, and re-establish it more firmly than ever—nay, even suitable; nevertheless, it does not follow that it must be maintained in a state of war. A people may find their railroads an estimable facility in peace, but a fatal one in war. It will also be said that the President cannot be induced to proclaim liberty to the slaves. Why not? His writings abundantly show that he hates slavery, and that he has tolerated it only through a construed necessity. Let Congress invite the Proclamation by repealing the Fugitive Slave act; and, as sure as the war continues, the Proclamation will not be long delayed. Only let Congress encourage the step, and the President will at once end the war, and save the nation from impoverishment, and tens of thousands of families from bereavement, and broken hearts. Will Congress prefer poverty and blood? Fearful will be its responsibility for the guilty preference. Is it apprehended that liberating the slaves would lead to insurrections? That alone can prevent them. The war prolonged, and the South will herself call on our government to protect her from her slaves.

Hitherto, the North has excused itself to itself, and to Europe, for not abolishing slavery. Its plea has been, that it had not the right to do so. But what can be its plea now?—now, when the South has given it the right, and when, by all the rules of war, it is at full liberty to exercise the right? In making war upon us, the South has authorized us to cripple her in all the ways we can.

It may be that we can (though I do not believe that God will let us) put down the rebellion, and yet save slavery. But what if we can? Is slavery so precious to the North, that she can afford to save it at the cost of half her wealth and tens of thousands of her men? One would think, that she had rather put down slavery along with the rebellion, and so blot out forever the sole cause of the rebellion.

This shrinking of Congress from repealing the Fugitive Slave act will, I doubt not, go far to prepare Europe to expect the success of the rebellion, and to prepare her to recognize the new nation. She will measure our earnestness against the rebellion by our earnestness against slavery. *She sees, if we do not, that the war of the South is simply a war for slavery.* A strange spectacle our nation must be in the eyes of Europe! What is there that such a nation as France or England would NOT do to save itself in an appalling rebellion? But, such is the amazing conduct of our nation as to occasion the inquiry—what is there that it will do? What must Europe think of this American chivalry, which regards it as dishonorable to avail itself of an element of weakness in a merciless and dangerous foe? What must Europe think of this greater tenderness for the persons and property, aye, even the conventional property, of foes, than for the persons and property of friends? I once heard an office-seeker, who was intent on making himself acceptable to all parties, speak of "our friends and our opposing friends." The gentle bearing of our government reminds me of the mincing style of the office-seeker. Our government seems to recognise our foes as but "opposing friends."

Can it be that Congress is still trammelled by the absurd regard for the loyal slave States? No State is loyal that would have the negroes work for instead of against the rebellion. No man is loyal who would have it. No man is a true American, who, when America is warred on, will not welcome to her side the services of every American.

I am glad that Congress has resolved to meddle with nothing at this session beyond the war question. But utterly absurd is the inference of many, that it must not therefore meddle with the slave question. *The slave question is the war question. The war began in slavery, and it will end but with slavery.*

Unceasingly, both penwise and lipwise, I am asked what the Abolitionists should do. I answer that the one present work of both Abolitionists and anti-Abolitionists is to put down the rebellion; and that, as the most reasonable, hopeful and efficient means to this end, both Abolitionists and anti-Abolitionists should petition the President to proclaim the liberty of the slaves.

Your friend, GERRIT SMITH.

THE RESULT—IS IT A PROPHECY?

There is a divinity shaping the course of this war, and we must accept its fortunes and its misfortunes with equal trust and hopefulness. There is one thing, and only one, at the bottom of the fight,—and that is, the *negro*. And yet, both North and South are studiously ignoring the fact, and deceiving themselves, and trying to deceive the world, as to the cause of the quarrel! The South pretends to be fighting for independence, but it is fighting for the establishment of human bondage as the basis of republican government. The North, or loyal States, claim to be fighting for the reestablishment of the Constitution and laws, and to have no thought of property or social institutions in their minds. But they know that, until slavery changes its relation to government, and becomes its complete *subject*, instead of its arrogant master, the peace and safety of the republic are impossible.

If our army had been victorious at Manassas, they would have marched on to Richmond, and ended this war on a false basis; both parties ignoring to the last the cause of the war. The God that rules over all, and does exact justice in the end to bond and free, would not permit a compromise of this sort to forestall his providence. And he has awakened the nation, as by the shock of an earthquake.

Would anything short of our unexpected repulse at Manassas have quickened the conscience and judgment of twenty millions of people in regard to this conflict? The ghost of long-murdered liberty to millions of weak and despairing captives leaves its tomb, and haunts our army, and frights it to panic and flight.

Now shall we learn, anew and rightly, our position and duties. We have an enemy to meet who has long defied God and man—who has for generations outraged justice and humanity—and who threatens to extend over a whole continent the diabolism of his rule. Shall we strike the monster where he is vulnerable? Shall we thrust in our spear where the cancer of his crime invites to surgery? Shall we "fight the devil with fire," according to the wisdom of the ancients? Let a paralyzed army and a reeling nation answer.—*N. Y. Times.*

KEEP IT BEFORE THE PEOPLE.

That slavery is the cause of the war, and that we cannot have peace till it is abolished. The voice of the people must be heard, calling aloud for the immediate overthrow of this bloody Moloch, to whom so many human sacrifices have already been offered. We have endured the tyranny of this monster too long. We are now suffering the just penalty of our toleration of such wickedness.

Why are we so timid about attacking the lion in his den? Are we afraid of his power? Why so much hesitating about declaring our purpose to put away this villany? Why do all our officers and leading men put on their gloves, and handle slavery so carefully? Such timidity is base. But let us not blame our officers or government: they are our servants and instruments to do our bidding, and to be used by us at will. We, THE PEOPLE, must speak out, and cry loud and long Let DOWN WITH SLAVERY become the watchword and the battle-cry—let us shout it till every Southron trembles, and till every slave shall join the shout for Freedom. Then we shall have a real and permanent peace—not before.

This Moloch will fatten on our soldiers, slain in bloody strife, and grow strong to crush out our freedom, and put chains on us all, if we let him live. We must take his life—we must utterly destroy him—and every one of his chained victims must be set free.

Shout our war-cry, and soon the angels from heaven shall be heard proclaiming in thunder-tones, "FALLEN! FALLEN! SLAVERY, THE GREAT, THE MOTHER OF HARLOTS, AND OF ALL THE ABOMINATIONS OF THE EARTH!"—*Ashtabula Sentinel.*

VALUE OF "CONTRABAND" SLAVES.

As slaves are esteemed *property* by the laws and customs of the rebellious States, they would be legitimate subjects of confiscation under the provisions of Senator Wilson's bill. Many thousands of them could be confiscated to great advantage to the national army. They could be made exceedingly useful to the troops as laborers, as in handling baggage, driving wagons, taking care of draft and saddle animals, cooking and preparing food, pitching tents, packing up, digging entrenchments, felling and removing trees, and much other hard and disagreeable labor which soldiers have to perform. They would also be valuable as scouts and spies to ascertain the whereabouts and movements of the enemy. Their services would be almost indispensable in collecting the cotton which it is proposed to confiscate. They would know exactly where to find it, and understand to perfection the art of handling cotton bales. These "contrabands" would be willing workers. The lash would not be needed to stimulate them to the performance of the task assigned them. They would take hold, and work for Uncle Sam with a willingness they never felt in toiling for their rebel claimants. What disposition the government may make of the confiscated slaves, after the war is over and the insurrection put down, is for the future to determine. One thing is sure: they will not be returned to the possession of their traitor task-masters. Slave property in slave States that are at war with the Union for the subversion of the government can have no special sanctity; and a loyal slave is entitled to infinitely more respect and consideration at the hands of government than his rebel master.—*Chicago Tribune.*

WHAT CAN AND OUGHT TO BE DONE.

It is in the power of the National Executive—a constitutional and just prerogative of his office as Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy—to so use those powers, that when this conflict is ended, a great and glorious result shall have been achieved—a result worthy of all the sacrifices we may be called upon to make in order to accomplish it, and more important to influences upon the future of our nation than any, not even excepting the glorious Revolution, upon our past career or present condition.

Let the President declare that the principles of the immortal Declaration of Independence shall be [illegible] in practice throughout the United States—that the blessings of liberty shall be recognized as the birthright of every human being within our limits. Set free by a dash of his pen, four millions of helpless beings, guilty of no crime, yet held in a state of bondage infinitely more barbarous than the treatment of a convicted felon, and at once and forever a jubilant nation, relieved from the shame and disgrace of slavery, and freed from its baneful pressure, will reap from the bloody field of war a harvest of prosperity and peace, while a renewed and regenerated Union of free States will take the place of the present anomalous and hostile aggregation of quarrelsome neighbors, who, afflicted with a loathsome disease, are continually bickering as to the cause of their troubles, without taking the least pains to thoroughly eradicate it.—*Sandwich Advocate.*

WHY WAS JOHN BROWN HUNG?

We have looked over the trial again, and we find that John Brown was hung because he was in arms against the United States, because the courts and the government pronounced him a traitor.

The whole North was denounced for the act of Brown and his squad of twenty men. The Senate investigated it. Prominent Republicans from Massachusetts to Kansas were hauled up before the patriot, Senator Mason, and an attempt was made to implicate them in the treason. Men of decided anti-slavery principles were publicly mobbed, and privately jeered at, as aiders and abettors of treason. These things happened a short time ago. The government called out its soldiers to capture John Brown; they guarded the Court House during the trial; they protected the execution field on the day of the hanging. For what was John Brown hung? For treason.

Gen. McClellan has recently captured a thousand prisoners, ten of whom are officers. Government has ordered him to release them on their taking the oath. *Why was not John Brown allowed to take the oath?*

Suppose Massachusetts had seceded instead of South Carolina, and that Wm. Lloyd Garrison and Wendell Phillips had been the leaders of the rebellion. Everybody knows that nothing would have been said about taking the oath in such a case. The captured abolitionists would have been hung instanter.

Moral. Fighting for slavery is justifiable; fighting for freedom is treason.—*Leavenworth Conservative.*

The Liberator.

No Union with Slaveholders!

BOSTON, FRIDAY, AUGUST 2, 1861.

THE NORTH AND THE SOUTH.

NEW YORK, July 21.

TO THE EDITOR:

J. P. B., one of your correspondents, has sent me your paper of July 19, and my attention is claimed by your editorial remarks upon the *right* of secession; and it is to this point we are really to look, after all, throwing aside entirely the fog and sophistry which Everett, Motley, Lincoln and others, in the shape of lamentations on the disruption of so great a Union, and consequent necessity of preserving it by force. We all admit the sad evils arising from the dismemberment of so flourishing and happy a country; but they are wide of the main question. I must premise, that forty-five years' absence from my native city of Boston have not abated my dislike of slavery; but I must say, also, that, during the whole of that period, I have seen no feasible proposal for the abolition of the institution, not bringing greater evils than its existence; while for its *amelioration* and *improvement*, the way was always open. Is it needful to tell you, who in all this period sustained the institution? What built the stupendous cotton factories? What yearly doubled the number of hats, shoes, carriages, and other products of industry? What has built up such an immense shipping interest? What has given such colossal fortunes to the Northern aristocracy? Has it not been this very institution of slavery? Has not the North really had the kernel, and the South the mere shell? If you agree with me, can you be at a loss to know the cause of war, (beyond, of course, that motive of spoils natural to *all* administrations)? Does it strike you that it is to keep slavery secure?—*to keep hold of the slave-chain ourselves*, and continue the enormous profits the North has made by its use? On the other hand, to keep out of the bands of foreign countries the control of the institution? Put together these two motives, the "spoils" of office and slavery, and see if you have not a sufficient motive for the war! Cannot you see that, if subdued at all, the South can only be subdued *under the Constitution*? which the Chicago Convention and the resolutions of the last Congress admitted to guarantee slavery. And is this a war you are in favor of—a war to retain slavery for the continued benefit of Northern aristocracy, and to this end shed oceans of blood, and incur debt and taxation beyond comprehension? No, indeed. Let the *Liberator*, as the organ of sincere abolitionists, advocate a peaceable separation of North and South. *That*, at all events, removes the sin from Northern shoulders, and is so far a gain. The continuance or abolition of slavery at the South we may safely leave to a Power that, in its own good time, will duly regard the oppressed every where. Now, then, as to the right of secession. The Constitution is *utterly silent on the subject*. That naked fact is an equal argument for or against it. Next comes outside evidence. Your article quotes the clause of formation—"by the *people* of the United *States*"—or, as you construe it, by one people, not many. Well, this is a strong argument, and the ground of many eminent opinions; but, is it altogether infallible? Let us see. First, in the very clause you have States recognized—"United *States*." Next, Art. V. of the Consitution provides that Congress may propose amendments, and if accepted by "the *Legislatures* of three-fourths of the several *States*," they become valid. Again. On the termination of the Revolution, all the independent colonies became sovereign States. As such, they *retained* all sovereign power not *specifically conceded* to the Federal government. The right of secession is *not specifically conceded*. Was it, then, retained? On this point, is the opinion, or, rather, inference, any stronger on one side than the other? Lastly. The Constitution was adopted, not by an universal vote of *all the people*, in one day, as in the Presidential election, but by *States*, as such, some more than a year after others. What, then, is the result? Comparing evidence, you have, perhaps, made the right of secession a point of doubt—a mere matter of *inference* either way. And on such a slight basis, we commence coercion and civil war, when, in ordinary criminal jurisprudence, we are directed to give the criminal the benefit of a doubt.

Again, it is said in the Declaration, that "all just government is only by consent of the governed." What was this intended to mean? Something, or nothing? If it applied to thirteen colonies, why not to as many States? The provocation to carry it out has nothing to do with the principle; the "*causa injuriæ*" must rest with the asserters. It is for the seceders to decide, as did the colonies, how much they were oppressed; but all this does not affect the *right* of secession. Massachusetts, in 1814, and again on the admission of Texas, saw nothing in the Constitution against the right of secession. That instrument is the same now. But, be the right what it may, if you want to preserve slavery in the Union, go for war—that is its object; if to be rid of it, go for peaceful separation, and your motto—"No Union with Slaveholders." J. W.

REMARKS. 1. Our correspondent says he has not yet seen any feasible proposal for the abolition of slavery, "not bringing greater evils than its existence." This indicates that, with him, liberty is not a principle—is not the natural condition of man—is not to be trusted in practice; and, therefore, that there is much room for the cultivation of his moral nature. To say that it is a less evil to wrest from a defenceless man all his rights than to restore them when cloven down; less an evil to abolish the marriage institution than to establish and sanctify it; less an evil to drive the laborer to unrequited toil, under the driver's lash, than to pay him honestly for his work, under the spur of hope of reward; less an evil to forbid instruction, and the development of the faculties, than to enlighten the mind and educate the intellect; less an evil to continue a system which requires, for its successful administration, patrols and bloodhounds, yokes and fetters, bloody edicts, and horrible barbarities, than to substitute a free condition of society which abolishes all these abominations; less an evil to continue to buy and sell men, women and children, as though they were cattle or swine, "in lots to suit purchasers," than to hallow the relation of father and mother, husband and wife, parent and child—(for this is our plan, and God's plan, for the abolition of slavery, and a perfectly "feasible" one)—is to evince great blindness of vision and utter moral confusion of mind. If "J. W." desires to know what would be the consequences of immediate emancipation, in the spirit of genuine repentance, and hearty compliance with the will of God, let him "read, learn, mark, and inwardly digest" the fifty-eighth chapter of Isaiah. Or, "remembering those in bonds as bound with them," and making their case his own, let him decide how soon the yoke should be broken, and what would be the results of such an act.

2. "J. W." attributes the great prosperity of the North "to this very institution of slavery"! And he coolly asks, "Has not the North really had the kernel, and the South the mere shell?" We answer, that it evinces not only interior demoralization of spirit, but gross ignorance of the laws of political economy, to argue that a system which is "the sum of all villanies,"—covering a large portion of territory, turning the most fertile soil into barrenness, making labor disreputable and beastly, destroying all motives for energy, accumulation, enterprise and thrift, and making the South "full of the habitations of cruelty,"—can, in itself, either be prosperous to those who maintain it, or the source of prosperity to any other part of the country. Slavery is a curse, and not a blessing—a terrible curse universally, whether regarded in a pecuniary, social, physical, moral, or political view, and nothing but evil flows from it continually. It has cost the North a vast deal more than it has ever produced, and been a powerful check upon its prosperity and wealth; for if free labor had, from the beginning, been substituted for slave labor, the whole country would now be thousands of millions of dollars richer than it is, and possess a much larger population, in a very different stage of development. Slavery is not, and never has been, a self-sustaining institution; it has never been able to "make both ends meet"; it "lays up nothing for a rainy day"; it does not meet its liabilities; its tendency is to irretrievable bankruptcy. It is time to stop this cant about the "immense" indebtedness of the North to the South. The simple fact is, that the South grows a valuable raw material, requiring neither skill nor educated intelligence in its cultivation, which the free North, by her mechanical ingenuity, and manufacturing and commercial enterprise, is enabled to convert into various fabrics of use and value, finding a market in all parts of the world. By what rule of arithmetic, or by what mode of reasoning, the lazy, shiftless, slave-driving South is to be credited for what the North has legitimately done through her own energies, under the inspiration of freedom, we have not the wit to perceive. "Credit to whom credit is due"—but what claim has Slavery to any of the achievements of Freedom?

3. The imputation thrown upon the administration, that its object, by the present war, is "to keep slavery secure, in order to continue the enormous profits (!) the North has made by its use," is too ridiculous to need refutation. It is because the traitorous slave-breeding Secessionists believe, or at least affect to believe, that slavery can have little or no security in the new order of things, that they have withdrawn from the Union, and organized their Southern Confederacy, and commenced a war for the seizure of the National Capital, and the subjugation of the entire North. Are their instincts not as quick and sure as those of our correspondent in this matter?

4. "J. W." thinks that "the continuance or abolition of slavery at the South we may safely leave to a Power that, in its own good time, will duly regard the oppressed every where." This is an easy method of shuffling off duties and responsibilities which that same Power has imposed upon us all, to "execute judgment, and deliver him that is spoiled out of the hand of the oppressor," and to "have no fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness"; but it will produce nothing but fiery retribution. "Let him that stole steal no more"—"Break every yoke, and let the oppressed go free"—"Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself"—these are God's methods of putting an end to slavery, at once and forever.

5. As for the right of secession, we deem it unnecessary for us to re-open that question in our columns. Admitting the revolutionary doctrine laid down in the Declaration of Independence to be true, as against intolerable and long continued oppression and usurpation, we deny that the Secessionists find in it any warrant or justification for their perfidious and piratical conduct; and as the controversy is with them, and their enormous robberies and astounding crimes, we protest making it a matter of abstract reasoning, and not of special application. They have suffered no wrong or injustice at the hand of the general government, but, on the contrary, have always controlled it, until now, to the furtherance of their own slaveholding interests and purposes; and now they resort to every devilish machination to overthrow it. The U. S. Constitution is "the supreme law of the land, any thing in any State Constitution or law to the contrary, notwithstanding"; and that determines its supremacy and its universality alike.

6. To the plea, that "it is for the seceders to decide, as did the Colonies, how much they were oppressed; but all this does not affect the right of secession"—we reply, that it is equally the right of all others to decide the same question; and if the outcry of governmental oppression be a lying pretence for a wicked purpose,—as it surely is in the present instance,—then "the right of secession" is fundamentally affected by it, and cannot exist in reason.

7. How is it that "J. W." has nothing but sneers and censures for the North, and apologies and excuses for the South? His letter, dated at New York, would seem to be better suited to the meridian of Charleston, South Carolina.

NEW PUBLICATIONS.

"THE UPRISING OF A GREAT PEOPLE. THE UNITED STATES IN 1861. From the French of Count Agénor de Gasparin: by Mary L. Booth. New York: C. Scribner, 1861."—pp. 263.

This book, written in France, early in the present year, and last month published (in translation) in this country, takes a cheerful and hopeful view of the present crisis in American affairs. The author rejoices in the substitution of contest for compromise, entertaining a confident expectation that the existing war has made a beginning of the end of slavery in this country. Not that he expects an immediate or a simultaneous termination of it; the country is too large, and the controlling influences too various, to permit this extent of good fortune; but he anticipates an impairing of the Slave Power in various directions, as a result of its desperate attempt to rule or ruin the country, and a steady continuance of this process, until State after State finds itself compelled to abandon, first the rebellion, and then the cause of it. He considers the election of Mr. Lincoln the beginning of a series of triumphs, the completion of which is only a question of time.

Count Gasparin's view of the relation of the churches and ecclesiastical bodies to anti-slavery reform is far more favorable to those bodies than facts will warrant. He has been led to believe that the Congregational and Methodist sects have been active opponents of slavery; that the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions discharged their Choctaw missionaries because the latter would not oppose slavery; that the other "religious societies" (with the single exception of the American Tract Society) take a right position upon this subject; and that the great "American awakening"—which he assumes to be materially different from the "revivals" of previous years—contributed actively to increase the hostility of the North to slavery. We cannot blame him for making such mistakes, for all these things have been asserted in "religious" newspapers which he thought trustworthy; and many people in this country have fallen, through the same means, into the same errors.

In a chapter called "The Present Crisis," the author sketches the steps that have led to our existing position, predicts that neither cotton nor free trade will obtain European support for the rebel slaveholders, and shows that even in the (improbable) event of an ultimate separation of the extreme South, the border slave States will surely recognize the fact that every consideration of honor and welfare tends to identify them with the North rather than with the South.

The "Coëxistence of the two Races after Emancipation" is next considered, and the author strongly maintains both the possibility and the desirableness of a peaceful continuance of black and white in the same community, with the enjoyment of the same rights, and under equal protection by the same laws. He assumes that DeTocqueville's differing judgment was too hastily formed, under the influence of the then recent catastrophe of St. Domingo. And he adduces abundant evidence from the later history of the British West Indies, that the prejudices, formerly deemed ineradicable, *have* been in great part overcome, and that prosperity, with immense intellectual and moral improvement, has followed in the footsteps of freedom. He anticipates a similar result in the United States, and speaks with just severity of the proscription of colored people in some of the States calling themselves free. If Count Gasparin knew how universally the Northern churches still join in separating the colored people into a caste more or less pointedly degraded, he would see more clearly the corrupt state of the popular religion.

Several erroneous statements in this book in regard to the Abolitionists seem to show that its author has judged of them by second-hand information, instead of acquainting himself with the action, the speeches and the writings of their chief representatives. He, however, recognizes the great distinction between them and the Republican party, understanding that the latter is pledged to resist only the *extension* of slavery, while the former oppose its very existence.

The tone of the book is so strongly against a compromise between liberty and slavery, its condemnation of oppression is so energetic and thorough, that one cannot help feeling surprise as well as pain at a single exceptional expression, on page 167 of the translation. It says—

"Upon the ruling question, that of the Territories, the theory of the North evinces justice and clearness; between the ultra Abolitionists, who wish Congress to interfere to close by force all the Territories to slavery, and the South, which wishes Congress to interfere to open by force all the Territories to slavery, it adopts this middle position; all the inhabitants of the Territories shall open or close them to slavery, according to their will. It is the right of the majority, recognized there as elsewhere."

To say nothing of any other error in this paragraph, a moment's reflection would have shown the writer that the right of the majority does not include the right to enslave; and that it by no means "evinces justice" to allow our white neighbor to trample, with impunity, upon the rights of our black neighbor. Surely, such a course would be just neither to the slaves first subjugated by it, nor to the free laborers whose labor thus comes to be stigmatized as degrading, nor to the black women who would be by that act degraded to the position of concubines or breeding cattle, nor to the white women whose husbands, brothers, lovers and sons would yield to the opportunities of licentious indulgence created by slavery.

At the close of the chapter called "The Churches and Slavery," the author administers a hearty rebuke to those who withhold their labors from the cause of the slave on the pretext, true or false, that there are sceptics, rationalists, free-thinkers in the ranks of Abolitionism. He declares that the orthodoxy which draws such conclusions and adopts such a course appears suspicious to him; and he intimates that the scepticism in question may have been caused by the unfaithfulness and ill conduct of the people who most conspicuously claim to be called Christians.—C. K. W.

THE TIME FOR ACTION.

MR. EDITOR—Has the time come for Abolitionists to lay aside their armor, or relax their efforts? On the contrary, ought they not now, more than ever, to be up and doing? These are questions that weigh upon the minds of some who are anxious not to be caught napping, and at a time when they should be most awake.

Could it be made certain that this is the beginning of the end of slavery, this should not satisfy us. We should know *how* it is to end—whether by the uprising of the slaves, and the sacrifices they must make while asserting and maintaining their freedom,—by the consent of their masters, made necessary by the exigencies of their case, and for the purpose of using them to fight the battles of the South,—by the execution of the diabolical threats of some, in case of Northern interference; or by a decree of our government, as the surest, if not the only way to suppress the rebellion, remove its cause, and prevent future outbreaks. This latter is the only way to be desired, and to this our efforts, and those of every patriot and philanthropist, should be directed now. We have been so long accustomed to our old mode of tactics, it seems difficult to change, and adapt it to the change of circumstances we ourselves have created. We have precipitated the present crisis; let us not underrate our ability to affect public sentiment in such a way that the government will be compelled to take this course.

It is well that the people have been made familiar with the thought, that there may be such a thing as "a covenant with death, and an agreement with hell," as it will be easier to impress upon them the truth that such a thing actually exists, and that they are parties to it; and if not from high moral considerations, then from motives of expediency, they may be induced to demand that it shall no longer stand. While the Secessionists are trampling under foot the entire Constitution, our government can only be playing fast and loose, acting with no high and honorable purpose, and can arrive at no satisfactory results, till that portion of it made expressly for the benefit of the rebels is repealed. If the people demand this, the government will act accordingly. Nine-tenths of the people, if not the government itself, are ready for it. Why should we not give the people an opportunity, and ask them to speak? A hundred conventions, held between this and the first of December, and for this specific purpose, and in which a host of such veterans as J. R. Giddings, Gerrit Smith, Beriah Green, and many prominent politicians and clergymen who have never been identified with the anti-slavery movement, would gladly cooperate, may be what is needed, and what Congress and the government may wish. If this is taking too favorable a view of the government, let us make it possible for a Cromwell to arise, and obtain a name greater and more enduring than that of any English leader. J. C.

In the U. S. House of Representatives, on Monday last, Mr. Cox, of Ohio, asked leave to introduce the following resolution:—

Resolved, That there be appointed a committee of one member from each State, who shall report to the House at the next session such amendments to the Constitution as shall assuage all grievances and bring about a reconstruction of the National Union, and that for the preparation of such satisfactory adjustment, and the conference requisite for that end, a commission of seven citizens be appointed, consisting of Edward Everett, Millard Fillmore, Reverdy Johnson, Martin Van Buren, Thomas Ewing, Franklin Pierce and James Guthrie, who shall request from the so-called Confederate States the appointment of a similar commission, who shall meet and confer on the subject in the city of Louisville on the first Monday in September, and that said committee report their action to the next session as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, to be proposed by Congress to the States for their ratification.

Mr. Washburne of Illinois objected to the introduction of the resolution.

Mr. Cox moved a suspension of the rules.

Disagreed to; 42 against 85.

The author of such a proposition is certainly demented, and a commission of lunacy should be taken out in his case forthwith.

A bill, confiscating the property of the Southern rebels, has been passed by Congress—the last section being as follows:—

"SEC. 4. *And be it further enacted*, That whenever any person claiming to be entitled to the service or labor of any other person, under the laws of any State, shall employ such person in aiding or promoting any insurrection, or in resisting the laws of the United States, or shall permit him to be so employed, he shall forfeit all right to such service or labor, and the person whose labor or service is thus claimed shall be thenceforth discharged therefrom, any law to the contrary notwithstanding."

☞ Look at the articles from the Boston *Pilot* and Boston *Post*, in our "Refuge of Oppression" this week, and see how plainly sedition against the government oozes out in every sentence!

THE PROPOSED TAX.

A direct tax and special duties are intended to be levied by Congress on property, real and personal, on distilled liquors, distilling apparatus, vehicles and slaves. Why specified articles are selected, in addition to chattels generally, is not so clear. The measure partakes of the arbitrary, in a conspicuous sense. It can hardly be expected that the seceded States will contribute much to either branch, and especially for their slaves. Now, Maryland, Missouri, Kentucky and Delaware, as well as Western Virginia, all yet belonging to the Union, contain many slaves; and it seems of somewhat doubtful expediency to levy a tax on their negroes, thus making an invidious distinction between them and their more disloyal brethren of the South, who will virtually nullify the tax so far as they are concerned, by repudiating it, and demonstrating to the loyal citizens their price of loyalty imposed by a friendly government. Such course will naturally tend to excite their opposition, and afford the seceders a powerful argument of aggravation, to induce them also to secede. It will make trouble, and is not judicious in their critical condition. Why sting them to exasperation? Again, it is the Republican party which is in power. An act of this kind at office not only admits, but alleges slaves to be property, subject even to taxation. It regards them as chattels. If so, the free-soil doctrine of prohibition to slavery in the territories is a mockery; for, certainly, if the slave be a chattel, an article of property, and the South has a common right to the Territories, it has an undoubted right to convey slaves thither as its acknowledged property. Denial of this right is thus a gross wrong; and the present contention, based as it evidently is on the asserted and denied claim to introduce slavery in the Territories, is an unjust and self-condemnatory war, on the Republican part. This inclines to indicate what the probable result of the struggle will be. Indeed, it is an incipient compromise held out to the South, ready to be completed on the first opportune occasion. It says to that section, whatever we may profess, we actually agree with you in your fundamental and vital doctrine; why fight any longer? Carry slavery where you wish. Let us look at the tax. Our estimated annual expense is four hundred millions. This bill proposes to assess upon the nation an annual tax of thirty millions. To do this, it provides for the districting of the country for the appointment of assessors, collectors and clerks, at three, four, and five dollars a day, with mileage in the bargain. This apparatus will cost from five to ten millions to collect thirty. That will reduce the sum collected to twenty or twenty-five millions net. Simple interest on the debt amounts to twenty-four millions; and the cost of raising the debt at first is not small, in the way of certificates, &c., engraved in very expensive style. Now, how much of the principal will be cancelled by a tax, if the net receipts therefrom are scarcely equal to the simple interest on the same, perhaps less? Again, if the war continue, another four hundred millions will soon be needed; and what then? As it progresses, the tariff becomes more powerless; for commerce and trade diminish, importations are less, people quit tea, coffee and sugar from necessity, office-holders *in duplicate* clamor for their salaries, and where are we then? Try a third year, and are we impoverished, or not? Whence collect these series of millions from a disabled people? Indeed, will the people suffer such policy to continue long, before they interpose to arrest its headlong career? Certainly not. They will perceive nothing but a stagnating debt daily accumulating, and no means of earning the wherewith to pay it, or to procure food and clothing. Such are the paraphernalia of war; and if it has no other object than to conquer a compromise, as above intimated, why not ground arms now, and disperse for home, without farther sacrifice, expense, trouble and bloodshed? Let the compromise be effected, and save the Union here, rather than invite foreign nations to come and wrest away from an exhausted people their national heritage.

The Constitution provides that direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States according to the population, that Congress shall have power to levy and collect taxes, to pay national debts; but, not a word enforcing any particular course. Circumstances suggest the ways and means. Our present circumstances dictate rigid economy. Extravagance is akin to treason. Money is needed: it must come, so long as it can come. When the ability ceases, bankruptcy supervenes. If we ask the question, How long it will take to pay a debt of $400 at the rate of $30 a year, when the interest is $24 annually, we shall see at a glance that it will take over sixty-six years; or, if we allow for its gradual diminution of $6 every year, it will not take much less. Apply this rule to the $400,000,000 annually, for any series of years, and the gain on us becomes more and more formidable. Now, if we cripple this $30 payment by the proposed costs of collection, it will take four, five or more centuries to abolish the debt of one year alone. Years will dwindle to comparative minutes and seconds in the calculation. And yet, such is the course proposed by this bill. It is far from economy. It may be a fine sop for the disappointed office-seekers, who so multitudinously thronged the public purse as it passed into Republican hands. The people generally must pay the assessments, all parties must join; but, the sop will be monopolized by one party, while all unite to sustain the Union. The masses can very appropriately cry out to these assessors and their retinue, as the frogs in the fable cried to the boys, "It may be sport to you; it is death to us."

To avoid this extravagant per centage for collection seems very easy. Let Congress assess each State its proportion; and let each State be responsible for that sum. It can be readily collected, with little or no expense. Every town and city has its collector and treasurer. A State tax is no new thing under the sun; nor is a county tax. Both these are apportioned among the several towns and cities, and are assessed by the respective assessors therein. These know the value of property, and have State valuations and the census to aid them. The same people are to be taxed, and are to pay into their several treasuries. The sum doomed to Massachusetts is about $1,237,000. Our State valuation is about $898,000,000. That makes about $1 38 on $1000. An additional item on our tax-bills to this effect is all that is needed. There is no necessity of creating another horde of officers and offices, with their concomitant expenses, their mileage, blanks, "paper and twine," and letting these fleece the public purse, now so gaunt and flimsy. Massachusetts can send her militia, and she can send her sum of money. She can pass around her own contribution-box, and transmit its contents in the aggregate to Washington. So with other States. Our town assessors, collectors and treasurers are amply adequate to perform this duty, as they are to collect any other State tax. If it be requisite that specie be paid, let it be so understood; and it can be as readily forthcoming to our officers as to a bevy of national ones, a swarm of excise-men.

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RETURN OF FUGITIVE SLAVES.

ROCKLAND, (Me.) July 16, 1861.

DEAR GARRISON: Mr. Lovejoy has introduced into Congress this resolution:—

"That it is no part of the duty of soldiers of the United States to capture or return fugitive slaves."

On this, the New York *Herald*, of July 13th, thus comments:—

"A speedy return to the Union, or the abolition of slavery, is the issue now presented to Jeff. Davis and his confederates. Impressed with the conviction that the war has already reached a point that threatens the most serious consequences to the institution of slavery, *we would earnestly admonish the revolted States that their only hope of safety depends upon their immediate submission to the Union.*

This is the time for a decisive movement in favor of peace, while yet our abolition agitators, and the whole abolition movement of the North, are held in subjection to the one great cause of the Union: subdued and silenced as they are, the only hope of our abolition fanatics now is, that this war will go on until drowned in the fiery furnace, and be consumed; and their only fear is, that *slavery will yet be saved by a timely treaty of peace.* Accordingly, before the South has suffered the humiliation of a disgraceful defeat, and while they may yet command the powerful intervention in their behalf of the Union conservatives of the North, we would urge upon Jefferson Davis and his confederates the saving alternative of submission to the Union. Let them lay down their arms, and trust to the magnanimity of the North, and let them send up their representatives again to Congress, and *they will be able, at once and for the future, to* CONTROL THE POLICY OF THE GOVERNMENT IN BEHALF OF THE PERFECT SECURITY, PROSPERITY AND PERPETUITY OF SOUTHERN SLAVERY."

"THE MAGNANIMITY OF THE NORTH!" Should the slaveholding rebels lay down their arms to-morrow, unconditionally, would the people of the North consent to mount guard over slavery, and to bind and hold four millions of men and women in chains, while these murderers and pirates (for such the United States now declares the rebels) scourge and work, torture and dehumanize them? It is become, or is fast becoming, the settled conviction of the entire Northern mind, that civil war is thrust upon the North by the South solely "in behalf of the perfect security, prosperity and perpetuity of slavery and the slave-trade." All in the North and South know that, as Stephens, the Vice President of the Confederacy of man-stealers, declares, "*Slavery and the slave-trade* is the one idea that underlies the Secession movement"—that this stone, rejected (as Stephens says) by the founders of the United States government, is made the corner-stone of the new Confederacy. To consent to "the perfect security, prosperity and perpetuity of slavery" is all the South ever asked of the North. To compel the North thus to give perfect security to slavery, the kidnapping South has forced us to send to the field of blood 400,000 of our sons, brothers, husbands and fathers, at an expense of $400,000,000. After this enormous outlay of blood and money to resist the man-stealing tyrants, will the Northern people consent to their demands, on condition that they lay down their arms? Only to take them up again when they shall deem other securities to kidnapping necessary!

The *Herald* is mistaken. The dominion of slavery over the North is at an end. It can never regain the power which it had six months ago. This city (Rockland) of 8000 inhabitants, where, I am told, not an Abolitionist could be found one year ago, is now all but unanimous for prosecuting the war till slavery, the cause of all our troubles, is wiped out. The conviction is settling upon all minds, that no settlement of the conflict can ever be reached but by the immediate, or prospective and total abolition of slavery. Whatever comes, the United States Government will never be controlled in behalf of slavery as it has been. It will never be made the watch-dog and blood-hound of slaveholders as it has been. To this the people of the North have been led, (1,) by the battle of Ideas waged by Abolitionists for thirty years; and, (2,) by the battle of bullets and bayonets now forced upon them by the South. The Northern backs will not bend further to the lash and yoke of the kidnappers.

Why should the North try further to deceive the South? The lying promises of the North of help to the South, in case they should dissolve the Union, induced the slaveholders to begin this bloody war. The slaveholders never had inaugurated this war of bullets, only with the expectation of the co-operation of the *Herald* and other papers, and the pro-slavery party of the North. Too late they learn how their friends at the North lied to them. Now these false friends would induce the pirates to lay down their arms by a promise of "perfect security, prosperity and perpetuity to slavery."

So certainly as the South submit with the expectation that man-stealing will be made more secure, prosperous and perpetual, by the magnanimity of the North, so certainly are they doomed to disappointment. Let the South and the North rest assured, that if the war of bullets ends without the abolition of slavery, the WAR OF IDEAS will instantly be renewed, and prosecuted with a purpose more fixed, a courage more indomitable, and an energy more resistless than ever. They will find that the "Abolition fanatics and agitators" are not dead, nor asleep, but only resting on their arms, awaiting the issue of the battle of bullets. If the rifled cannon of this battle can decide the conflict in favor of liberty to all, without regard to class, clime or condition, the Abolition fanatics will be content. If not, they will again gird on their God-appointed, heaven-tempered and irresistible armor, and renew the battle of Ideas against slavery, and never rest till the enslaver and the enslaved, the kidnapper and kidnapped, shall rejoice in the self-evident truth that "all men are created equal, and endowed with an inalienable right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

Yours, HENRY C. WRIGHT.

FREEDOM FOR ALL!

WORCESTER, July 22, 1861.

DEAR GARRISON,—The following sentiments were uttered at the close of a discourse in Trinity Congregational Church, Fitchburg, yesterday afternoon. Perhaps you will deem them to have an appropriate significancy, which will make them of general interest in the perilous passing hour.

"The panic which is reported here, to-day, as having seized the Federal forces in Virginia, is no extraordinary thing in the annals of war. Jehovah often made use of panics for the discomfiture of the foes of Israel. Sometimes, also, for the defeat of the Israelites themselves, when they had sinned against God, and He had risen to judge them, as the same God has now plainly risen to judge slavery at the South, and us at the North, for our past guilty complicity with it. We shall, without doubt, experience yet other reverses in this war, until we have repented of our slaveholding, and have done the work meet for repentance, in the national proclamation of liberty—until, in other words, in compliance with the military necessity which is now plainly upon us, we call upon the loyal free colored men of the North to aid in quelling the pro-slavery rebellion, and until also we declare to the slaves of the South, YOU ARE HEREAFTER FREE."

But to the closing paragraphs of the discourse referred to:—

"We learn that the providential duty of the hour plainly is, to unite in executing the purpose of God. If we believe the Divine purpose in this war to be the overthrow of slavery, then our duty is to CO-OPERATE IN THE FULFILLMENT OF THAT PURPOSE; and it is a great mistake in Christian philosophy and conduct, when we come to a conclusion in regard to what is soon to be, either from the providential course of events, or from any other way of forecasting the future,—it is a mistake for us to stand still to see the salvation of God, indisposed or afraid to act, lest we precipitate the result. And yet, is not this just the position of many of the ministers and people of God now, by reason of which the war dallies, reverses are experienced, and ripening of events is retarded, and there seems to be wanting strength to deliver the near births of Providence?

Let none of us be afraid actively to co-operate with our blessed Lord and Master, the rightful governor of this world, in what we believe to be the designs of Providence with regard to slavery. Let us not be found counselling or observing silence and inaction in regard to it, at the very time when we profess to believe that God is about to overthrow it. As if masterly inactivity, in reference to the relics of barbarism left in our world, were the true policy for ministers and churches, rather than bold aggression; as if we had no holy enthusiasm to be the active executors of the Divine purposes; as if there were no such passages in Paul, Isaiah, and Moses, that read, "We, then, as *workers together with God*, beseech you that ye receive not the grace of God in vain"—and "Ye are my witnesses, saith the Lord"—and "Speak unto the children of Israel, that they go forward."

Our manifest duty is now to co-operate with God for

the overthrow of slavery, by calling upon the Government, in the name of Humanity, of Justice, and of Religion, to decree the national extinction of slavery, by proclaiming LIBERTY THROUGHOUT ALL THE LAND UNTO ALL THE INHABITANTS THEREOF! Let us hold this up to the Government, to the nation, and to the brave army that has sprung to arms more wonderously than the fabulous uprising of armed men of old from the sowing of dragons' teeth:—You are the army of Freedom: you are to conquer a permanent peace only by the overthrow of slavery. That liberty may stand, you must put oppression down. Your providential mission is to put an end to slavery. God, the Age, the Nineteenth Century, the instincts of all Christendom, Christianity itself, will not let us conquer, and keep slavery. When we have paid the uttermost farthing for our past complicity with the great crime of slaveholding, when we have filled up the measure of suffering through slavery, then will the eyes, now holden, be opened. And when we act upon the principle, that liberty for the white man is liberty for the black man, and that one broad banner of Freedom must float over every American, be he swarthy or fair, then, but not till then, will victory perch upon our starry standard, and America will be a country indeed! Speed it, O Father! let thy kingdom come!

H. T. C.

LECTURES BY MR. FOSS.

HARWICH, July 26, 1861.

MR. GARRISON:

DEAR FRIEND,—It is cheering to perceive that the agents of the Mass. Anti-Slavery Society are again actively engaged in their field of labor. The series of lectures which has been given by Mr. A. T. Foss in this vicinity within the last few weeks, has been well attended and highly appreciated. Last Sunday, he spoke three times in this place, very acceptably, to large and intelligent audiences; through the day, at Union Hall, and in the evening at the Orthodox church, of which Mr. Munsell, who has the reputation of being an outspoken anti-slavery advocate, is officiating clergyman. He was listened to with profound interest and attention, especially in the evening, when his discourse, pertinent to the times, and replete with forcible illustrations, was not only characteristically logical, clear and concise, but eminently impressive—reaching the heart as well as convincing the understanding.

Surely, the present is not the time to dispense with our laborers, or slacken anti-slavery exertion. If unremitting appeals to the head and heart of the nation have been demanded to arouse it to a sense of its perilous condition, perhaps a still greater effort is needed, in this transition state of our country, to help turn the current of excitement into right channels,—to influence and modify, as much as may be, the new order of things which must be eliminated from the seething cauldron of agitation into which the nation has been plunged. At this great trial-hour, this terrible crisis in our national history, this day of judgment, when

> "The hand breadth cloud the sages feared
> Its bloody rain is dropping;
> The poison plant the fathers spared
> All else is overtopping,"

it becomes Abolitionists to manifest a willingness cheerfully and manfully to bear, by suffering and sacrifice, in connection with their fellow-countrymen, "the pangs of transformation."

If those who have means suffer this glorious cause to flag for want of pecuniary support, they prove themselves less worthy of the respect and gratitude of mankind and of all future generations than the humblest volunteer soldier on the battle-field, who valiantly pours out his life-blood as a libation to freedom—proving by that crowning act with what a god-like nature man is endowed, and how capable he is of a noble disinterestedness of purpose. It is confidently hoped that means will be generously proffered to enable the Massachusetts Society vigorously to prosecute its work, which at this juncture seems to be to quicken and deepen the growing conviction in the public mind, that Peace can never again dwell within our borders, till every fibre of the poison root of slavery is utterly exterminated.

Z.

A CALL FOR VIGILANCE.

TO THE EDITOR:

I am aware that there are vigilant and clear-sighted watchmen at central positions, watching the signs of the times, and ready to sound an alarm, and it may be deemed impertinent in me to make any suggestion. But it seems to me that this is the most important crisis of the anti-slavery enterprise; that there is great danger that we shall rely too much on the operations of the government and the war, and, like the churches, throw the whole responsibility upon Providence. I suppose it is no part of the object of the administration, from Mr. Lincoln down through the Cabinet, Gen. Scott and all the other Generals, to do any thing to disturb slavery. They are all devout worshippers of the great idol, the Constitution; they wish to conciliate the border States, and the Union men in the seceded States. There is a favorable side to the fact, that such pro-slavery hunkers as Everett, Cushing, Butler, and Drs. Adams, Blagden and Spring are contending for the Union, and of course against the *Slave Power*, if not against slavery itself; and yet it adds greatly to the danger that nothing will be done towards abolition. The action in the Senate, July 18th, on Sherman's and Lane's amendments to the bill for organizing the army; also, McClellan's proclamation and Butler's offer to suppress servile insurrections, and the illegal return of fugitives even by a Massachusetts colonel, all show the tendency of things.

The cry of "No compromise!" is deceptive. It does not mean to repudiate the compromises of the Constitution. If Virginia would return to her allegiance to-day, Gen. Butler's 600 contrabands would be restored, and if any were lost, they would be paid for. Recent events show that the war will be sharp, and probably long, unless cut short by the abolition of its cause.

I think that there is in the minds of many of the people a vague and indefinite idea or hope that, in some way, slavery is to be overturned in this war, and it seems to me that our lecturers should be in the field to arouse the people, so that they shall demand of the government that the cause be removed; that, as a matter of sound policy, of wise statesmanship, as well as of moral right and of a Christian trust in Providence, the slaves should be immediately set free, and, if need be, called upon to aid the government, not as contraband articles, but as men, subject to, to be protected by, and bound to aid the government.

BENJ. CHASE.

Auburn, N. H.

FLORAL MEMENTO. Permit me to call attention to the artistic manner in which Mrs. Knox preserves funeral and bridal flowers, accompanied with poetic tributes, framed plain or elaborate, at choice.

A visit to her room, 59 Anderson street, (near Pinckney street,) will well repay those who may be skeptical as to the degree of perfection this department of the fine arts has attained.

N.

☞ The following colored pupils received diplomas at the recent examination of the public schools in Boston:—

Bowdoin School.—Emma Jackson, Eleanor Steath.

Wells School.—Anna Amenda Williams.

Winthrop School.—Cordelia and Rebecca Downing.

Boston, July 27, 1861. N.

☞ Sketches of Shields Green, John A. Copeland and Lewis S. Leary (John Brown Harper's Ferry men,) have been compiled by Wm. C. Nell, and recently published in the *Pine and Palm*.

☞ The amiable editor of the Memphis *Avalanche* asserts that "Abe Lincoln is the bloodiest tyrant on record. Nero was a saint compared with him"!!—How very moderate and truthful!

RECAPTURED PRIZE BY A BLACK HERO.

The schooner *S. J. Waring*, of Brookhaven, which was captured by the Southern privateer *Jeff Davis*, about 150 miles from Sandy Hook, while on her way from New York to Montevideo, arrived at New York on Sunday afternoon, in charge of Wm. Tillman, her colored steward, who, with extraordinary daring and skill, had slaughtered the pirate captain and two of his mates with a hatchet, and then navigated the vessel, with the aid of his fellow-prisoners, back to New York. It appears that, on the third day out, (July 7th,) the schooner was brought to by the privateer *Jeff Davis*, which sent a boat full of men alongside, and ordered the captain of the schooner to haul down the United States flag, and declared her a prize. They took from her a quantity of provisions, and then put on board a prize crew of five men, taking away Capt. Francis Smith, the two mates, and two seamen, leaving the steward, two seamen, and Mr. Bryce Mackinnon, a passenger, on board. The prize crew were Montague Amiel, a Charleston pilot, in command, one named Stevens as mate, Malcolm Sydney as second mate, and three men. Capt. Smith and his men were put by the *Jeff Davis* on a homeward-bound vessel, soon after their capture, and sent North, arriving in Portland ten days ago. The prisoners brought to New York are named James Milnor, of South Carolina, and James Dorsey, of Point Pleasant, N. J., who appears to be an innocent sort of person.

Tillman, the hero of the tragedy, is a native of Delaware, aged 27 years, but was taken to Providence, R. I., when 14 years of age. He has been a seaman for the past ten years, in the employ of Jones, Smith & Co., of 227 Front Street, New York, who own the schooner. The following is a summary of his testimony before the United States District Attorney:—

The schooner *S. J. Waring* had started on a voyage to Buenos Ayres, in Montevideo, with an assorted cargo, which, with the vessel, was valued at $100,000. On the 7th of July, they fell in with the *Jeff Davis*, and a prize crew of five were put aboard, who were unarmed. To use the language of Tillman, they run 10 days, and didn't find Charleston; we were, however, only 50 miles south of Charleston, and 100 to the eastward. On the voyage, they treated me the best kind of way, and talked the best kind of talk.

One day, the first lieutenant of the pirates was sitting in the cabin, cross-legged, smoking, and he said to me, "When you go down to Savannah, I want you to go to my house, and I will take care of you." I thought, continued the negro, "Yes, you will take care of me, when you get me there." I raised my hat, and said: "Yes, Sir, thank you." But, afterwards, I said to Billy, (the German,) "I am not going to Charleston a live man: they may take me there dead." He had been told by the prize master that be would get rewarded in Charleston, for performing his duty so well in bringing the schooner in; he had also heard conversation not intended for his ears, in regard to the price he would probably bring; and he had heard the prize master say to one of his men: "You talk to that stewart, and keep him in good heart. He will never see the North again," said the prize master, with an oath.

Tillman conferred with two of the seamen about taking possession of the schooner, but they declined adopting any plan. Tillman thought the matter over for three days, and then made an appeal to the German, and said, "If you are a man to stick to your word, we can take this vessel easy." Then we made a plan that I should go to my berth, and when most of them were asleep, he was to give me some sign, or awake me. We tried this for two nights, but no good chance offered. But, last Tuesday night, we caught them asleep, and we went to work. The mate comes to my berth, and he touches me. He says, "Now is your time." I went into my room, and got my hatchet. The first man I struck was the captain. He was lying in a state-room on the starboard side; I aimed for his temple as near as I could, and hit him just below the ear with the edge of the hatchet. With that he made a very loud shriek. The passenger jumped up very much in a fright. I told him, "Do you be still; I shall not hurt a hair of your head." The passenger knew what I was up to; he never said a word more. I walked right across the cabin to the second mate's room, and I gave him one severe blow in the mole of the head,—that is, right across the middle of his head. I didn't stop to see whether he was dead or no, but I jumped on deck, and, as I did so, the mate, who had been sleeping on the companion-way, started from the noise he had heard in the cabin. Just as he rose upon his feet, I struck him on the back of the head. Then the German chap jumped over, and we "mittened" on to him, and flung him over the starboard quarter.

Marshal Murray.—What did you do then?

Tillman.—Then we went down straight into the cabin. The second mate was not quite dead. He was sitting, leaning against his berth. I "catched" him by the hair of the head with my left hand, and struck him with the hatchet I had in my right hand. I told this young German, "Well, let's get him overboard as soon as we can." So we hauled him over on to the cabin.

The Marshal.—Was he quite dead?

Tillman.—No; he was not quite dead, but he would not have lived long. We flung him over the starboard quarter. Then I told this German to go, and call that man Jim, the Southern chap (one of the pirates) here. He called him aft. Says I, "Jim, come down here in the cabin. Do you know that I have taken charge of this vessel to-night? I am going to put you in irons." "Well," says he, "I am willing." He gave right up. I kept him in irons till 8 o'clock the next morning. I then sent the German for him, and I said: "Smith, (the name Milnor went by on board,) I want you to join us, and help take this vessel back. But mind, the least crook or the least turn, and overboard you go with the rest." "Well," said he, "I will do the best I can." And he worked well all the way back. He couldn't do otherwise; it was pump or sink.

Marshal.—Did they beg, any of them?

Tillman.—They didn't have any chance to beg. It was all done in five minutes. In seven minutes and a half after I struck the first blow, the vessel was squared away before the wind, and all sail on. We were 50 miles south of Charleston, and 100 to the eastward.

Tillman said that, at first, he had thought of securing all the men, and bringing them all to New York alive, in irons; but he found this was impracticable. To use his own language, "There were too many for that; there were five of them, and only three of us." After this, I said, "Well, I will get back all I can alive, and the rest I will kill." Tillman says he went away as a steward, but came back as a captain.

Bryce Mackinnon, a passenger, and others on board, recount the same story.—*New York Tribune.*

THE SEVENTH REGIMENT ON "CONTRABANDS."—A correspondent of the Abington *Standard* relates the following incident in the experience of the Seventh Regiment as it passed "through Baltimore:"—

"A fine looking colored man, about 22 years of age, liking the looks of the Massachusetts 7th as it passed, left his master, followed us to Washington, and into camp. His master came to the city, and tracing him to our camp, called upon Col. Couch to deliver him up. The Colonel told him if the slave was willing to go, and the men would give him up, he would submit. The slave consented to see his master, and went with him outside the guard. Here the master tried to arrest him, knowing he was outside our camp; but the slave started back upon the run, his master after him. The guard opened to the right and left, and let the slave pass, but as the owner came up, they charged bayonets. He raved and stormed, all to no purpose, and threatened if we ever came to Baltimore to remember us. The guard replied they should like to go to Baltimore, and clear up all the rebels, adding the regiment could do it in a few hours; and I believe they could, for a *more determined* company of men could not be found."

Something of an excitement was created in town on Saturday, through the arrest of a Missouri "contraband." A Cairoite by the name of Duvall arrested a Missouri fugitive near Mound City, with whom he started for Cairo. When near here, he was set upon by a couple of colored sympathizers, his gun taken from him and himself badly pounded, the three negroes then pushing off for the swamp. Duvall managed to get into town, where he now lies, as I am told, nearly dead. The alarm given, a party of citizens and soldiers started in pursuit of the fugitives. They were overtaken in the swamp near Mound City, and, showing fight, were fired upon; the arm of one was badly shattered, and another, it is thought, wounded. The contraband was captured and brought to the Cairo jail, where he now is, "subject to order." The others, however, escaped and made their way into Mound City, the authorities there refusing to give them up. What further followed then and there, or is to follow, "your deponent saith not."—*Cairo Corr. Chicago Tribune.*

☞ The delivery of fugitive slaves by army officers is being discussed, and a petition is in circulation in Lynn, addressed to Hon. J. B. Alley, asking the removal of Col. Cowdin for delivering a fugitive to his master. It would not seem to be the duty of our army officers to take any notice of slaves—to induce them to run away or to return them if they did run away, and in one case they are as deserving of praise or censure as in the other. If a slave runs away, any citizen of the United States has the legal means of his recovery. But his means are legal, not military—in the Constitution, and the laws made in accordance with the Constitution, and not in the sword or bayonet. He should seek his redress in the law and by the law. We have not sent troops to Virginia to steal negroes, or otherwise interfere with them, more than with other property, and God forbid that our troops should be turned into bloodhounds to scent the track of fugitives. They should have nothing to do with them, *pro* or *con*, more than with the trees, stone walls or houses.

SOUTHERN COMMENTS ON THE LATE BATTLE.

The comments of the Southern press and people upon the late fight near Manassas are just beginning to reach us. So far as received, they are of the most jubilant and extravagant character. The Augusta (Ga.) *Sentinel* remarks:—

"We have met the enemy in force, and they are ours! We have staked all upon Manassas, and won! Remember lion-hearted Bartow's words: "I go to illustrate Georgia." And nobly has he illustrated the Empire State,—her valor, her chivalry, her desperate daring. Though dead, he yet liveth. He fills a soldier's grave, but his memory is in the inheritance of a whole people. On to avenge him! Bartow's, Gartrell's, Goulding's and Anderson's regiments were, we suppose, the representatives of Georgia in the great fight. Heaven smiles on us, on our arms, and on our cause! Then onward! Follow the President, gallant Jeff Davis, who leads the centre. Now for Washington!"

The Memphis papers are absolutely frantic with joy over the first (not the great) battle of Bull's Run. The *Avalanche* says it hopes the sequel will be:

"The utter rout and destruction of the Federal army, and the capture of Washington, with Old Abe and his abolition crew included. Let the conflict rage until the last thieving, murdering abolitionist shall be expelled from the soil of Virginia."

The New Orleans *Crescent* says:

"The battle annals of the American Continent furnish no parallel to the brilliant and splendid victory won by the Southern army on Sunday last over the hired mercenaries and minions of the Abolition despotism. With an inferior force, in point of numbers, we have driven back to their dens the boasting invaders of our soil, scattering them before the autumn wind. The details we publish in our telegraphic column leave no doubt that we have put the enemy to utter rout, and struck him a blow from which it is impossible for him wholly to recover.

We have driven the enemy back from our soil, we have mowed down his men by the hundreds and by the thousands, we have captured his batteries, and sent him howling and panic-stricken from the field of the fight. The blow, in its moral and its physical effects, will prove of incalculable advantage to the Southern cause.

The first regiment of the enemy that crossed over from Washington—the Zouaves of Ellsworth—have fled from the field with only two hundred left of the entire regiment. Retributive justice has overtaken the first of the enemy who put their feet upon the sacred soil of Virginia, and from six to eight hundred of them have been cut down dead upon the land which they insolently dared to invade.

Many a brave Southerner has had to fall, too—but our loss, we are confident, is small in comparison to that of the enemy. Our brave boys fought with heroic courage, but they fell in the holy cause of defence against aggression, and 'it is sweet and honorable to die for one's country.' To the God of Battles let the heart of the whole South yield its tribute of praise and thanksgiving for this most signal and brilliant victory."

From an article in the New Orleans *Picayune*, we take the following:

"Our telegraphic dispatches this morning tell a glorious tale for the South. It is not the bulletins of our friends alone which announce a grand victory for the armies of the South. It is confessed to all its greatness and completeness by the wailings which come to us from the city of Washington, the headquarters of our enemies. It is told in the groans of the panic-stricken Unionists of tyranny who are quaking behind their entrenchments with apprehension for the approach of the avenging soldiery of the South, driving before it the routed remnants of that magnificent army which they had prepared and sent forth with the boastful promise of an eary victory. From Richmond, on the contrary, come the glad signs of exceeding joy over a triumph of our arms, so great and overwhelming as though the God of Battles had fought visibly on our side, and smitten and scattered our enemies with a thunderbolt."

A letter from Harper's Ferry, dated July 25, says:—"A large number of rebel troops slain at Bull Run were from this section. Their dead bodies are being forwarded, and the solemn rites of interment performed by their surviving friends. Winchester, Martinsburg, Charlestown, &c., are lamenting the loss of some of their most prominent citizens. The wail of the widow and orphan is everywhere heard. The bodies of Capt. Ives, Mr. Butler, a rich farmer, and Mr. Harrison of the Virginia line, are among the recent arrivals at Winchester, &c."

According to the correspondent of the New York *Journal of Commerce*, a considerable number of the wealthy and prominent men of Virginia fell in the recent battle. Judge Campbell, in a letter written before the battle, said that a sanguinary contest would be a terrible misfortune, as the flower of the South was with the rebel army.

THE REBEL CAVALRY. The Baltimore *Exchange*, a secession paper, says the cavalry forces in Gen. Beauregard's army must have numbered 7000. The same paper contains the following:—"We have plenty of men in the right place. Movements take place very often, which seem to indicate a retreat; but the Federals will learn to their cost that the word 'retreat' is not in Jeff. Davis's vocabulary. What may seem a sudden retreat will only prove their defeat and ruin in certain localities I could mention."

THE SKIRMISH AT PATTERSON'S CREEK.—The following is an extract from a letter received in Washington from Col. Lewis Wallace of the Eleventh Indiana Regiment, who is a brother of Senator Lane of Indiana:

"My report of the skirmish on Kelly's Island, near Patterson's Creek, is not only true, but, in fact, too lightly colored. There were but *thirteen* of my picket, and at least *seventy* of the enemy engaged. On my side there was but one man killed; on the enemy's side twenty-seven were killed, including those who have since died. This disparity is accounted for by the fact that my men were on the island, under cover, while the enemy had to cross the creek directly under our fire. In the first engagement, the enemy, in the desperation of fear, spurred their horses headlong into a culvert, where, heaped into a helpless mass, they fell an easy prey. Eight of them died there, and were left on the track.

The battle near Carthage, Missouri, was a terrible blow to the secessionists of that region, according to Col. Sigel's official report. The Leavenworth (Ka.) *Conservative* of the 23d ult., learns the following additional concerning it.—"Six families arrived here yesterday from the immediate neighborhood of Carthage. They are confident that the secessionists lost *fifteen hundred men* in that battle. They say it took from Friday till the next Thursday night to bury the dead; and some of the men now here engaged in the burial. About six hundred were found on the original battle-field, and the rest scattered along the whole line of retreat, especially in the timber through which Sigel made his final escape."

A Fort Monroe letter in the New York *Post* says:—

"A curious incident occurred in connection with the capture of the secession prize Enchantress. As the gun-boat Albatross approached her, she 'fought shy,' and when hailed replied that she was 'From Newburyport, bound to Santa Cruz.' At this moment the negro cook appeared on the gunwale, crying out as he leaped into the sea with uplifted hands: 'For God's sake, save me, Captain! She's a secesher, bound to Charleston!' A boat was immediately lowered to save the negro and board the brig. On examining her papers, it was found that her reply to the hail was true, but she was a prize to the Jeff. Davis, and had a prize crew on board. Her cargo is first-class assorted goods, suitable for the Union army. The prize crew proved to be of a variety of nations. One of them was named Riggles, and formerly belonged to the truck of Company 2, New York. The captain had his son on board. The Jeff. Davis's crew behaved very badly with their prize, destroying articles of the cargo which they could not use. The Enchantress is built upon a beautiful model, and is probably worth $8000."

THE RETURN OF OUR HEROES. New York, on Friday, welcomed home her brave sons, the 8th and 71st regiments of State Militia. And such a welcome! Broadway, for miles, was one dense mass of men, women and children, gathered to greet their war-worn husbands, sons and brothers from the bloody field of Bull Run. The great thoroughfare was all ablaze with brilliant bunting and banners, bearing cheering words of love and confidence, spanned the street from end to end. It was well worth the wealth of patriotic self-sacrifice which the brave fellows had bestowed to be the honored recipients of such generous congratulations. Their upward march was a sight to be long remembered.—*Tribune.*

Jeff. Davis sent the following dispatch to his wife at Richmond:

"MANASSAS, July 21.

We have won a glorious, though dearly bought victory. Night closed on the enemy in full flight, and closely pursued. JEFF. DAVIS."

The rebel Congress at Richmond adopted the following, with other resolutions:

Resolved, That we recognize the hand of the Most High God, the King of kings and Lord of lords, in the glorious victory with which He hath crowned our army at Manassas; and that the people of the Confederate States are invited, by appropriate services on the ensuing Sabbath, to offer up their united thanksgiving and praise for this mighty deliverance.

What pious effrontery before high Heaven! It has no parallel in the sanctimonious scoundrelism of mankind. "The Lord shall have them in derision."

AN INCIDENT OF THE BATTLE. The officers who took Mr. Pryor prisoner say that among the other prisoners taken was a very badly wounded rebel officer, who wore the eagle of a Colonel on his shoulder-strap. He appeared to have got in advance of his regiment, and got separated from them, and so cut off. His left arm had been shattered above the elbow, and the useless member was dangling in his coat sleeve. He was also bleeding profusely from a wound in the side, yet waving his sword in the air, and would not give up until surrounded, and a big fellow of one of the Maine regiments rushed up to him, threw down his own gun, and clasped the officer round the body.

His sword then dropped from his grasp, and he sank upon the ground. The first words he said were, "What fools you Yankees are, to attack us with such a handful of men!" "Why," replied his captors, "how many have *you* got?" "There are 90,000 men on the field," he replied, "besides ——." Here his strength failed: he sighed heavily; the blood gushed from his side in a torrent; he called out in a faint tone, "*Emma, Emma,*" repeating the name twice, stretched out his limbs, and expired. He was a very handsome man, about thirty-five years of age.

In no instance did the enemy stand our charge, but retreated to their trenches. We can whip them in a fair field fight, but it is wilful murder to order infantry to charge masked batteries before they are silenced, and we had not sufficient artillery to silence them. Capt. Rickett's Battery, which was attached to our brigade, was destroyed. The enemy have much of our artillery and wounded, for we had but one ambulance, and that was of no use through the woods. There never was a battle fought on this continent with such odds. The rebels must have suffered much more than we did, as a man whom I shot told me that they had been carrying back their wounded for more than two hours. I could see them fall at every volley. Their officers were sacrificed in large numbers, as they were in full uniform, while we were dressed like the men.

One cavalry company charged upon us, and we emptied forty saddles at one discharge. They used the Stars and Stripes to deceive us, and told us not to fire on them, then raised the secession flag and fired on us. This was done repeatedly. We have our colors, but the color sergeants were shot.

Fighting reads very well in print, but for any one to stand with shell, grape and rifle shot singing around his head is very far from pleasant; but it turns a man into a brute, and makes him perfectly reckless and blood-thirsty. At the commencement, on seeing a man fall, I could not help pitying him, but in a short time, I thought no more of a man than of a goat. As soon as we can ascertain the extent of our loss, I will write you, but don't worry about me; "what is to be will be."—*Extract from a letter of a Captain in the 11th Massachusetts Regiment.*

The Washington correspondent of the New York *Journal of Commerce*, an intelligent and reflective writer, but in strong sympathy with the cause of the South, writes as follows:

An intelligent soldier gives me an instance of the loss on the part of the enemy which I have not seen mentioned before, except in general terms. The N. Y. 69th, 79th and 13th, and 2d Wisconsin, charged a large body of the enemy, and drove them in to a piece of wood at the foot of the slope of a hill. This column followed the enemy into and through the woods, both emerging on the other side, but with terrible loss to the enemy. The witness passed through the wood after the troops, and beheld scores and hundreds of men lying, sometimes piled one upon another, dead, while many more, in the agonies of death, were piteously moaning. All the sufferers were of the enemy.

Again, the Black Horse Cavalry was the pride of Virginia, and has been celebrated by Gov. Wise, in some of his speeches. It was composed of the very flower of the best families of Fauquier and Prince William counties. Every man rode his own favorite and choice charger—not one of which was worth in Virginia, less than three or four hundred dollars. Every man had a stake in the soil, and in the community. Every man was a landed proprietor, and a man of culture and standing in society. They were distinguished on the field by their gallant bearing, the splendor of their equipments, and their audacious charges. Nearly every one of them bit the dust. Few even of the noble brutes, their horses, escaped unharmed. The calamity carries mourning into hundreds of families and neighborhoods.

The loss on the Federal side of gallant men is great, but not so large as had been feared.

The 69th (Irish) regiment of New York city returned on Saturday last, after three months' service. They were in the battle of Bull's Run, fought like heroes, and lost over three hundred men. On this account their reception in Philadelphia and New York was most enthusiastic. Col. Corcoran, the commander of the regiment, is a prisoner in Richmond. Patrick Dyer, a private of the 69th, who has been a prisoner at Manassas Junction, arrived at Washington on Friday, having escaped from that place. He says the men who are prisoners there are closely incarcerated, some of them being tied together.

General McDowell attributes his defeat to the superior force of the enemy; that the men composing our army represented every profession in civil life, but were unacquainted with the rules and tactics of warfare; that the teamsters were green and the country new, and that even the artillery could not change their position without creating an alarm. Gen. McDowell also states that he would wager his life that two-thirds of his officers had never before seen a cannon ball in the air.

NORTHERN NEWS IN THE SOUTHERN CAMP. A correspondent of the Charleston *Courier*, writing under date of July 11, says:—"Such are the facilities of communication between Washington and Fairfax that Baltimore papers arrive in our camp on the very day of their publication." In another letter, the same writer says that every movement of the Union army is known, even to details, and that Beauregard has so distributed his troops, that in case he desires to advance upon Washington, or merely fall back upon positions already selected, he can bring the whole army into action with the greatest possible despatch.

A New Orleans paper, speaking of the steamers Massachusetts and South Carolina, which are blockading the mouth of the Mississippi, amiably says—"They are a couple of scavenger vessels, filled with infernal Yankees, who are loafing about the coast, robbing hen-roosts, and frightening women and children."

A letter from Washington to the Hartford *Courant* contains this remarkable statement:—"Mr. McKay, Gen. Mansfield's aid, informs me that a box came directed to him Tuesday morning, which he opened and found to contain the heads of our men who had died or been murdered on the field of battle."

It is a somewhat singular circumstance that the mothers of Col. Slocum, Major Ballou and Captain Tower, all of the Second Rhode Island Regiment, who fell on Sunday last, should all live in this place, almost within a stone's throw of each other.—*Pawtucket Gazette.*

A letter from Harper's Ferry, dated July 23, says the rebels have again occupied Martinsburg, where Gen. Patterson's army were received with so much apparent joy by the people. The re-appearance of the rebels at Martinsburg was hailed with unbounded enthusiasm—the professed Union men being as loud and loyal to the South as ever. Up went the rebel flags, while those who were Union men at heart were obliged to flee from their homes.

THE FREE NEGROES OF TENNESSEE TO BE IMPRESSED. The Legislature of Tennessee has passed an act "for the relief of volunteers," which authorizes the Governor to impress into the army all the free negroes of that State, between the ages of fifteen and fifty years, being sound in mind and body. These "volunteers" are to perform such menial service in the camp as may be required, and to receive therefor regular rations, with eight dollars per month as wages.

HOW THE FIENDS TREATED THE WOUNDED. It was reported that John H. Morris, color-bearer of the 2d Regiment N. Y. S. M., was killed. How this report originated may be gathered from the following statement by Mr. Morris, who is alive at Washington, and who relates the manner in which our wounded were slaughtered by fiendish rebels:—"Being confined in the hospital in Centreville, at the time it was *fired* by the rebels, I had an opportunity of witnessing their actions with regard to the wounded—many of whom they dragged out through the windows, and bayoneted; others were killed by the butts of muskets. I escaped by feigning death, and scarcely daring to breathe. They afterward fired the building, while many were yet inside. Soon afterward they retired, and I made good my escape to Washington." Mr. Morris was wounded in four places, but is in a fair way to recover.

There is astounding evidence before the Potter Investigating Committee, that there are employees in the Washington Navy Yard, who are engaged in aiding the rebels.

DISGRACEFUL CONDUCT OF COL. MILES. Our disaster on Sunday is ascribed to Col. Dixon H. Miles, who commanded the reserve, and failed to come at the critical moment. The evidence of his drunkenness is overwhelming, and his command has been taken away from him. He will probably be court-martialed.—*New York Tribune.*

A Western military man, who was on the field and near where the charge of Southern cavalry which decided the battle was made, expresses the opinion that to the inefficiency of the Commanding General's staff, more than to any other thing, was the disgraceful rout owing. Through this inefficiency, many of Gen. McDowell's orders never reached the officers to whom they were addressed.—*Boston Traveller.*

CHILDREN'S CONVENTION AT LONGWOOD,

CHESTER COUNTY, PA.,

On Seventh day the 17th of the 8th mo., (August) 1861, at 10½ o'clock, A. M.

UNCLE JOSEPH'S SEVENTH ANNUAL LETTER TO THE LITTLE FOLKS.

DEAR CHILDREN,—Before the apple trees were in blossom, or a nest of young robins had pipped their way out of the tiny blue eggs, some boys and girls began to *stir* about our Children's Convention, which we have held annually since 1855. So, some of them wrote a letter, and addressed it to an "uncle" of theirs, proposing to hold it in hot haste, and not wait for the usual time, in the autumn. Way did not open, however. Would you believe it, one of the signers is a *Secessionist?* Time was when he was a brave *boy*, but he seceded into the State of Matrimony. Even thy good name will not Shield thee, William! There are strong indications that others may go, but we must not be discouraged; we can afford to be magnanimous, and yet "sustain our Government," which we are determined to do at all hazards. The time has now arrived for the children to consider this anniversary their own. However, I took the responsibility to see our friend G. W. Peirce about the grand old Park, to go into after the meeting shall be over. As usual, the birds poured out a torrent of warbling, as though they had something to say on the question; and I just thought that if every melodious sound could come down like a snow flake, festooning the Norways, and making a white carpet under their wide-spreading boughs, and you were all there for about five minutes in your little bare feet—wouldn't it be real fun to see 1000 or 1500 little tracks? By the way, that must be multiplied by two, as each fellow would make two impressions. You would be as joyous as the little girl that had tight shoes, and took them off, stocking and all, saying, "*There*, little feets, now be happy, won't you?" I like snow and water. I have thought, sometimes, there would be a baby born, if it is not already, that would make light and fuel out of water. We shall see.

Girls and boys, what do you remember the farthest back? How we should all be amused to hear each tell the story! Well, when I was a "wee little fellow," I had a fashion of running down, and playing by the side of a stream like the Brandywine. Father had cautioned me, without the desired effect. One day, he bad me take off my clothing, and, suddenly as a bird would swallow a worm, soused me neck and heels under the water. I sprang for the shore, but how I came to succeed in getting there, I never could tell. I was so frightened that I did not hear my father calling me to stop. I leaped like a young antelope, ran into the village street, and bounded in at the front door. I learned *a lesson of obedience* that day, and that is the farthest that I can remember away back amidst the star-beams of near half a century.

I wish the traitors could all be taught an effectual lesson. I think they will be. They are like the borers who destroy our beautiful trees.

Children, we must all work and pray, that the Angel of Liberty may cast out the Demon of Slavery which is boring out the heart, and causing the leaves on the tree of the nation to look sallow. The tree must not be suffered to die. When I think of overthrowing oppression, putting down intemperance, tobacco using, profanity, and all other evils, I can't help feeling that little children may aid in the work. I believe in my heart the holy Jesus thought so too, for we read, "And they brought young children to him, that he should touch them; and his disciples rebuked those that brought them. But when Jesus saw it, he was much displeased, and said unto them, "Suffer the little children to come unto me, and forbid them not; for of such is the kingdom of God." "Verily, I say unto you, whosoever shall not receive the kingdom of God as a little child, he shall not enter therein."

There is a cord reaching from where we are, to where the lover of little children dwells. Let every little hand take hold of it, and, as some one said, it will ring the bell; and though we may not hear, the angels will hear, and God will hear, and answer us according to our works.

Come, then, come one, come all! When you think the wagon is full, sit a little closer, and crowd one more little fellow in. Our meeting will occur in August, the anniversary month of British emancipation, when hundreds of thousands of little children, with their parents, were changed from the condition of chattelism into freedom. God hasten the period when the foot-print of a slave shall not pollute our fair land!

A noble little Chester county boy raised six dollars in five cent pieces last winter, and sent it to the committee to relieve the starving people in Kansas. I have never seen him. I hope he will come to the Convention. I would rather shake hands with him than with a chieftain or a conqueror. Let the gallant little State of Delaware, our own counties of Lancaster, Montgomery, and Delaware, all be represented as usual, for we are to have a good time. The order will be first to hold the meeting, then load a couple of wagons with the well-filled baskets, when we will all walk over to the Park, with the distinct understanding that no carriages are to enter the gate.

Affectionately, your Uncle and Friend,

JOSEPH A. DUGDALE.

P. S. The West Chester and Philadelphia cars on the Baltimore Central will arrive at 10 o'clock, A. M., at the Greenwood Station, twenty minutes' walk from Longwood.

PROPOSALS FOR A NEW BOOK OF MARTYRS.—The undersigned respectfully solicits authentic information of every case of outrage and wrong perpetrated by the Southern chivalry upon Northern citizens, and upon Southern men who have suffered on account of anti-slavery principles, in order to put them on record for the information of future generations. Every person who has himself suffered, or who may know of instances of commercial men, teachers, preachers, travellers, young ladies, etc., who have been hung, or killed in any way, tarred and feathered, ridden on rails, or otherwise outraged, with the amount of pecuniary loss incident thereto, together with the amount of debts which remain unpaid for the last fifty years, is desired to write out and forward to the undersigned an accurate account thereof, giving names, dates, localities, etc. Let every communicant give his name in full, and Post Office address, that the facts, if necessary, may be verified.

Editors favorable to the above will please copy, for we want facts to enable us to estimate the value of the "DIVINE INSTITUTION."

L. G. OLMSTEAD, New York.

SLAVERS ON THEIR WAY HOME WITH NEGROES.—We have received reliable information from the African squadron, to the effect that the following vessels have shipped cargoes of negroes on board on the coast, and sailed with them for the Western hemisphere.

The Fairie, said to be of New York.

The Alexina, said to owned by Crocker & Co., New York.

The Storm King (an old name in the trade.)

The brig Martha Post, of Saybrook, Conn., said to be owned by Post and others.

The Storm King is said to have succeeded in getting on board one of the most profitable cargoes of negroes ever shipped from the Congo River. She was neither boarded by man-of-war, nor overhauled in any way. The Falmouth was reported to be getting a pretty large load of negroes.

At a time when these escapes are reported, it is annoying to read of the intended removal of our store-house on the African station from St. Paul de Loanda to St. Helena. The old United States store-house was located, it will be remembered, at Porto Praya; but in consequence of the number of slaves eluding the vigilance of our cruiser off the mouth of the Congo, it was transferred to St. Paul, which is in the centre of the slave-trader's track. The motive alleged to have induced the Commander-in-Chief to go to St. Helena is the brutal treatment of our store-keeper, Mr. Boune, by the Portuguese authorities. All the men-of-war, but one, attached to the coast of Africa fleet, have been recalled.—*Com. Advertiser.*

COMMENCEMENT AT CAMBRIDGE. A correspondent of the N. Y. *Christian Inquirer*, writing about Commencement at Cambridge, says:—

"The chief impression left on my mind by the week at Cambridge is satisfaction at the new life among our scholars, and the signs of better understanding between opposing thinkers. It is too much to anticipate or desire a thorough *fusion* between our radical and conservative men; yet there need be no confusion, and I confess to being refreshed by hearing the voices of Everett and Emerson in the same hall, and seeing those two famous men in different ways, Wendell Phillips and Motley, talking and laughing together over the old times when they were in college together. Time writes marked lines on these two classmates, who were before us a year at Cambridge; and the face of the reformer looks as sharp and militant as a fortress, whilst the historian's has the genial play of a broad landscape, with free rivers, fresh groves, and smiling vineyards. I confess to pleasant associations with both men, but cannot help wishing that the radical would take some lessons from the scholar and patriot." [What lessons?]

EDWARD EVERETT ON THE WAR. The Commencement at Dartmouth College took place on the 25th ult. At the Dinner of the Alumni Association, Hon. Edward Everett made a brief speech, in the course of which he said:—

"In reference to our present national crisis, I would remark that it is not the most unbroken prosperity that is most favorable to the development of national character. The late disasters to our arms need cast no gloom of despondency over the hopes of final success. English people often think it strange that we erected Bunker Hill monument, because they say we were defeated in the battle; but when Gen. Washington learned how bravely the new militia had met the advance of the British regulars, he remarked that "the cause of the country was safe." (Great applause.) The speaker then referred to the many defeats which were our lot in the revolutionary struggle, and to several where public clamor hurried on the army before its preparations were completed. Let no patriot be discouraged in the present conflict. We have an executive at the head of the government whose hands are upheld by twenty millions of free people; with proffers of money in sums far exceeding what is required; with thousands on every side asking not who shall stay at home, but who shall go forth to defend the liberties of the common country. In view of this, I would say that final defeat is utterly impossible. (Loud cheers, and rising of the audience.")

THE MEMORY OF JOHN BROWN HONORED. The correspondent of the Boston *Journal*—"Burleigh"—writing from Charlestown, Virginia, under date of July 19th, says:—

"This town is the real hot-bed of rebellion. The men make no secret of it. In one house where Capt. Doubleday has his headquarters, the man is open and avowed in rebellion. He had the rebel flag in his house after the troop took up their quarters on his grounds. Taunted them with cowardice. Said they dare not come when the troops of Davis were here, and declared, if there was the least chance, he would now strike the blow.

The site on which John Brown was executed is near his house. The New York 29th are encamped on the hill, and the soldiers daily visit the spot by hundreds, singing a song, the refrain of which is:

> "May Heaven's smiles look kindly down
> Upon the grave of old John Brown."

The jail in which he was kept is opposite the hotel of the place, and the court-house in which he was tried is now the headquarters of the Pennsylvania Division Staff. All these were sights of great interest. All the men got some token of the fate of the plucky old man. The people of the town are annoyed at the constant inquiry about the hero of Harper's Ferry,—and perhaps one cause of their bitterness is the commotion created by the arrest and death of Mr. Brown."

MASSACHUSETTS A. S. SOCIETY.

RECEIPTS.

Collections by Parker Pillsbury:

From Worcester A. S. Society, South division,	$6 00
Alfred Wyman, Worcester,	10 00
Mrs. Mary May, balance of pledge,	25 00
S. May, Jr., to redeem pledge in part,	25 00

Collections by C. C. Burleigh:

Danielsonville, $3 35; Plainfield 40c; Oneco, 37c; Rice City, R. I., 3 94; Westport, 49c; East Hampton, 37c; Fall River, 10; Uxbridge, 61c.

Edmund Jackson, to redeem pledge,	$50 00
Henrietta Sargent, donation,	5 00
Contribution 4th July at Framingham,	161 15
Samuel Barrett, to redeem pledge, Jan., 1861,	20 00

EDMUND JACKSON, *Treasurer.*

☞ MERCY B. JACKSON, M. D., having had fifteen years' experience in the Homœopathic treatment of diseases, offers her professional services to the Ladies and Children of Boston and vicinity.

References.—David Thayer, M. D.; Luther Clark, M. D.; John M. Tarball, M. D., Boston. Eliphalet Clark, M. D., Portland, Me.

Rooms No. 20 Bulfinch street. Office hours from 2 to 4, P. M.

☞ ESSEX COUNTY.—A meeting of the Essex county Anti-Slavery Society will be held at Salem, Sunday, Aug. 4, day and evening.

PARKER PILLSBURY, A. T. FOSS, JAMES N. BUFFUM and others will speak. The public are cordially invited.

CHARLES LENOX REMOND, *President.*

LYDIA M. TENNEY, *Sec'y.*

MARRIED—In this city, at the Joy Street Church, Sunday evening, July 8, by Rev. J. Sella Martin, Mr. FREDERICK T. BOAZ to Miss SARAH A. NAOS, of Salem.

DIED—In Cambridgeport, on Thursday, July 25, of cholera infantum, WILLIAM WELLS, son of Wm. Wells and Annie C. Brown, aged 5 months.

In Millbury, July 27, Mr. WM. JACKSON, aged 43.

NOW READY,

SERMONS AND SPEECHES BY GERRIT SMITH: containing his Six Sermons on the Rel[illegible]ason, and three of his recent Speeches—one [illegible] lately, on the War. Price 50 cents.

For sale by ROSS & TOUSEY,
July 19.—4t No. 121 Nassau street, N. Y.

$40 PARKER $40

Sewing Machines,

PRICE FORTY DOLLARS.

THIS is a new style, first class, double thread, Family Machine, made and licensed under the patents of Howe, Wheeler & Wilson, and Grover & Baker, and its construction is the best combination of the various patents owned and used by these parties, and the patents of the Parker Sewing Company. They were awarded a *Silver Medal* at the last Fair of the Mechanics' Charitable Association, and are the best finished and most substantially made Family Machines now in the market.

☞ *Sales Room*, 188 Washington street.

GEO. E. LEONARD, *Agent.*

Agents wanted everywhere.

All kinds of Sewing Machine work done at short notice.

Boston, Jan. 18, 1861. 3m.

IMPORTANT TESTIMONY.

Report of the Judges of the last Fair of the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association.

"FOUR PARKER'S SEWING MACHINES. This Machine is so constructed that it embraces the combinations of the various patents owned and used by Elias Howe, Jr., Wheeler & Wilson, and Grover & Baker, for which these parties pay tribute. These, together with Parker's improvements, make it a beautiful Machine. They are sold from $40 to $120 each. They are very perfect in their mechanism, being adjusted before leaving the manufactory, in such a manner that they cannot get deranged. The feed, which is a very essential point in a good Machine, is simple, positive and complete. The apparatus for guaging the length of stitch is very simple and effective. The tension, as well as other parts, is well arranged. There is another feature which strikes your committee favorably, viz: there is no wheel below the table between the standards, to come in contact with the dress of the operator, and therefore no danger from oil or dirt. This machine makes the double lock-stitch, but is so arranged that it lays the ridge upon the back quite flat and smooth, doing away, in a great measure, with the objection sometimes urged on that account."

IMPROVEMENT IN

Champooing and Hair Dyeing,

"WITHOUT SMUTTING."

MADAME CARTEAUX BANNISTER

WOULD inform the public that she has removed from 223 Washington Street, to

No. 31 WINTER STREET,

where she will attend to all diseases of the Hair.

She is sure to cure in nine cases out of ten, as she has for many years made the hair her study, and is sure there are none to excel her in producing a new growth of hair.

Her Restorative differs from that of any one else, being made from the roots and herbs of the forest.

She Champoos with a bark which does not grow in this country, and which is highly beneficial to the hair before using the Restorative, and will prevent the hair from turning grey.

She also has another for restoring grey hair to its natural color in nearly all cases. She is not afraid to speak of her Restoratives in any part of the world, as they are used in every city in the country. They are also packed for her customers to take to Europe with them, enough to last two or three years, as they often say they can get nothing abroad like them.

Call and see some of the best references in the country. No charge for information.

MADAME CARTEAUX BANNISTER,
No. 31 Winter Street, Boston.

June 14. tf

Poetry.

For the Liberator.

THE FIRST OF AUGUST—OUR COUNTRY.

I.

A sound of wailing and of woe
Comes on each Southern breeze:—
Our brethren fall before the foe,
By Slavery's base decrees!
Rouse ye, within whose veins there flows
The blood of Pilgrim sires,—
Help them to ward the tyrants' blows,
To kindle Freedom's fires.

II.

The despots who've usurped our soil,
And stricken Freedom down,
To keep us bound in vain shall toil,
While God and freemen frown:
The "stronger than the strong man armed"
The tyrant hosts shall bind;
Before Him they shall flee, alarmed,
Like chaff before the wind.

III.

"Hope on, hope ever," henceforth be
Our motto, while we toil
To make the sons of Afric free
Upon Columbia's soil:
Ours is a nobler strife than won
Our fathers' liberty,—
As th' sun outshines the smallest star
Which in the heavens we see.

IV.

The contest let us ne'er give o'er,—
Be active, true, and brave,
Till our fair soil is pressed no more
By foot of panting slave:
Till what so long has been our boast,
That "all men are born free,"
Waves proudly over Freedom's host,
Emblem of Liberty!

Boston, July 22, 1861. JUSTITIA.

For the Liberator.

IMPROMPTU.

Written on reading an account of the disgraceful conduct of Col. Cowdin in returning, to a tyrannical master, a trembling fugitive, who had fled to the Mass. First Regiment for protection.

Great and glorious Sovereign, lead us
In this struggle to do right:
If thy mercy fails to move us,
O, compel us by thy might!

If the panting, trembling bondman
Finds in us a bitter foe;
If our hearts, like Pharaoh's, hardened,
Are regardless of his woe;

If we, Freedom's bliss enjoying,
Dare to place an iron heel
On our poor, down-trodden brother,
Who would fain its blessings feel;

If into the hell of slavery
We return him by our might,
When he, weak, and faint, and helpless,
Seeks to gain the goal by flight;

Then, as thou of old didst follow
With thy judgments, swift and sure,
Those who sought to crush the bondman,
The oppressors of the poor;

Let thy judgments come upon us,
Till we, from the depths, shall call:
"From the weary, wretched bondman
Strike the shackles—let them fall!"

Lo, we look to thee, Jehovah;
Greater than our army thou;
May our people, may our rulers,
Cease to do injustice now!

Let our army be victorious
When it strikes for truth and right;
And the triumph which shall crown it,
Freedom be, for black and white!

Haverhill, Mass. J. M. EMERSON.

For the Liberator.

A SLAVE.

BY MARCIA M. BASSETT.

A slave! a slave!—O God, and is it thus
My weary, weary life must pass away,
In bitter tears and plaintive prayers by night,
[illegible], wasting, brutal toil by day?

A slave! a slave!—and yet they proudly boast
That this is Freedom's sacred, happy land;
While with my manacled and bleeding limbs,
A chattel slave on Freedom's soil I stand!

A slave!—yet, to my heart, I gathered once
A flower of joy—and how my bosom thrilled!
Ah! but the thought went crushing through my brain,
My child's a slave!—horror my being filled.

A slave! a slave!—and is there, then, no light
Across the Future's dark, mysterious sea?
Must Ethiopia stretch her hands in vain?
Is there no land of rest, no day of jubilee?

A slave!—but, ah! the din of war I hear!
I see across the gloom the rocket's glare!
'Tis Freedom ringing hateful Slavery's knell—
God's answer to our earnest, heartfelt prayer!

Chardon, Ohio.

THE CAVALIER'S SONG.

I'm a dashing young Southerner, gallant and tall,
I'm willing to fight, but unwilling to fall;
I'm willing to fight, but I think I may say
That I'm still more in favor of running away:
So forth from my quarters I fearlessly go,
With my feet to the field, and my back to the foe!

The life of a trooper is pleasure and ease,
Just suited to sprigs of the old F. F. Vs.;
No horrible wounds, and no midnight alarms,
Should mar our fair skins, and get rust on our arms;
Through the sweet sunny South we will tranquilly go,
With our feet to the field, and our backs to the foe!

I own twenty niggers, of various shades,
Who burnish my arms for our fancy parades;
My horse prances sideways, curvetting along,
And lovely eyes single me out from the throng
Of dashing young Southerners, all in a row,
With their feet to the field, and their backs to the foe!

My sword is gold-hilted, my charger is fleet,
I am bullion and spangles from helmet to feet;
I am fierce in my cups, and most savagely bent
On slaying the Yankees * * * when safe in my tent;
[illegible], I know how to blow,
With my feet to the field, and my back to the foe.

'Tis well for the hireling, myrmidon crew,
To shed vulgar blood for their red, white and blue;
But when they've attacked us, we always have beat—
Don't misunderstand; I mean, beat a retreat!
And the grass, I'll be sworn, has a poor chance to grow,
With our feet to the field, and our backs to the foe.

Then bring me my horse! let me ride in the van,
A position I always secure, if I can:
For the enemy hardly can hit me, I find,
While running away with an army behind,
As over the ground like a whirlwind I go,
With my feet to the field, and my back to the foe!

Sometimes I put Sambo, and Cuffee, and Clem.,
'Twixt me and the Yankees, who shoot into them;
But when at close quarters, with pistol and knife,
I find it much safer to run for my life;
So the dust from my horseshoes I haughtily throw,
As I dash from the field with my back to the foe.

The Northmen, to catch me, will have to ride fast,
Though I have a misgiving they'll do it at last;
And it cannot be other than awkward, I fear,
To find a great knot underneath my left ear,
As up through the air like a rocket I go,
With a beam overhead and a scaffold below!

Be still, sad heart! and cease repining:
Behind the clouds is the sun still shining.

Selected Articles.

NAT TURNER'S INSURRECTION.

[From the Atlantic Monthly for August.]

During the year 1831, up to the 23d of August, the Virginia newspapers were absorbed in the momentous problems which then occupied the minds of intelligent American citizens:—What General Jackson should do with the scolds, and what with the disreputables,—Should South Carolina be allowed to nullify? and would the wives of Cabinet Ministers call on Mrs. Eaton? It is an unfailing opiate, to turn over the drowsy files of the *Richmond Enquirer*, until the moment when those dry and dusty pages are suddenly kindled into flame by the torch of Nat Turner. Then the terror flares on, increasing, until the remotest Southern States are found shuddering at nightly rumors of insurrection,—until far-off European colonies, Antigua, Martinique, Caraccas, Tortola, recognize, by some secret sympathy, the same epidemic alarms,—until the very boldest words of freedom are reported as uttered in the Virginia House of Delegates with unclosed doors,—until an obscure young man named Garrison is indicted at Common Law in North Carolina, and has a price set upon his head by the Legislature of Georgia. The insurrection revived in one agonizing reminiscence all the distresses of Gabriel's Revolt, thirty years before; and its memory endures still fresh, now that thirty added years have brought the more formidable presence of General Butler. It is by no means impossible that the very children, or even confederates of Nat Turner, may be included at this moment among the contraband articles of Fort Monroe.

Near the southeastern border of Virginia, in Southampton county, there is a neighborhood known as "The Cross Keys." It lies fifteen miles from Jerusalem, the county-town or "court-house," seventy miles from Norfolk, and about as far from Richmond. It is some ten or fifteen miles from Murfreesboro' in North Carolina, and about twenty-five from the Great Dismal Swamp. Up to Sunday, the 21st of August, 1831, there was nothing to distinguish it from any other rural, lethargic, slipshod Virginia neighborhood, with the due allotment of mansion-houses and log-huts, tobacco-fields and "old fields," horses, dogs, negroes, "poor white folks," so called, and other white folks, poor without being called so. One of these last was Joseph Travis, who had recently married the widow of one Putnam Moore, and had unfortunately wedded to himself her negroes also.

In the woods on the plantation of Joseph Travis, upon the Sunday just named, six slaves met at noon for what is called in the Northern States a pic-nic, and in the Southern a barbecue. The bill of fare was to be simple, one brought a pig, and another some brandy, giving to the meeting an aspect so cheaply convivial that no one would have imagined it to be the final consummation of a conspiracy which had been for six months in preparation. In this plot, four of the men had been already initiated,—Henry, Hark or Hercules, Nelson, and Sam. Two others were novices, Will and Jack by name. The party had remained together from twelve to three o'clock, when a seventh man joined them,—a short, stout, powerfully built person, of dark mulatto complexion and strongly-marked African features, but with a face full of expression and resolution. This was Nat Turner.

He was, at this time, nearly thirty-one years old, having been born on the second of October, 1800. He had belonged originally to Benjamin Turner,—whence his last name, slaves having usually no patronymic,—had then been transferred to Putnam Moore, and then to his present owner. He had, by his own account, felt himself singled out, from childhood, for some great work; and he had some peculiar marks on his person, which, joined to his great mental precocity, were enough to occasion, among his youthful companions, a superstitious faith in his gifts and destiny. He had great mechanical ingenuity also, experimentalized very early in making paper, gunpowder, pottery, and in other arts which in later life he was found thoroughly to understand. His moral faculties were very strong, so that white witnesses admitted that he had never been known to swear an oath, to drink a drop of spirits, or to commit a theft. And in general, so marked were his early peculiarities, that people said "he had too much sense to be raised, and if he was, he would never be of any use as a slave." This impression of personal destiny grew with his growth;—he fasted, prayed, preached, read the Bible, heard voices when he walked behind his plough, and communicated his revelations to the awe-struck slaves. They told him in return, that, "if they had his sense, they would not serve any master in the world."

The biographies of slaves can hardly be individualized; they belong to the class. We know bare facts; it is only the general experience of human beings in like condition which can clothe them with life. The outlines are certain, the details are inferential. Thus, for instance, we know that Nat Turner's young wife was a slave; we know that she belonged to a different master from himself; we know little more than this, but this is much. For this is equivalent to saying that, by day or by night, that husband had no more power to protect her than the man who lies bound upon a plundered vessel's deck has power to protect his wife on board the pirate-schooner disappearing in the horizon; she may be reverenced, she may be outraged; it is in the powerlessness that the agony lies. There is, indeed, one thing more which we do know of this young woman: the Virginia newspapers state that she was tortured under the lash, after her husband's execution, to make her produce his papers: this is all.

What his private experiences and special privileges or wrongs may have been, it is therefore now impossible to say. Travis was declared to be "more humane and fatherly to his slaves than any man in the county"; but it is astonishing how often this phenomenon occurs in the contemporary annals of slave insurrections. The chairman of the county court also stated, in pronouncing sentence, that Nat Turner had spoken of his master as only "too indulgent"; but this, for some reason, does not appear in his printed Confession, which only says, "He was a kind master, and placed the greatest confidence in me." It is very possible that it may have been so, but the printed accounts of Nat Turner's person look suspicious: he is described in Gov. Floyd's proclamation as having a scar on one of his temples, also one on the back of his neck, and a large knot on one of the bones of his right arm, produced by a blow; and although these were explained away in Virginia newspapers as being produced by fights with his companions, yet such affrays are entirely foreign to the admitted habits of the man. It must, therefore, remain an open question, whether the scars and the knot were produced by black hands or by white.

Whatever Nat Turner's experiences of slavery might have been, it is certain that his plans were not suddenly adopted, but that he brooded over them for years. To this day there are traditions among the Virginia slaves of the keen devices of "Prophet Nat." If he was caught with lime and lamp-black in hand, conning over a half-finished county-map on the barn door, he was always "planning what to do if he were blind," or "studying how to get to Mr. Francis's house." When he had called a meeting of slaves, and some poor whites came eavesdropping, the poor whites at once became the subjects for discussion; he incidentally mentioned that the masters had been heard threatening to drive them away; one slave had been ordered to shoot Mr. Jones's pigs, another to tear down Mr. Johnson's fences. The poor whites, Johnson and Jones, ran home to see to their homesteads, and were better friends than ever to Prophet Nat.

He never was a Baptist preacher, though such vocation has often been attributed to him. The impression arose from his having immersed himself, during one of his periods of special enthusiasm, together with a poor white man named Brantley. "About this time," he says in his Confession, "I told these things to a white man, on whom it had a wonderful effect, and he ceased from his wickedness, and was attacked immediately with a cutaneous eruption, and the blood oozed from the pores of his skin, and after praying and fasting nine days, he was healed. And the Spirit appeared to me again, and said, as the Savior had been baptized, so we should be also; and when the white people would not let us be baptized by the Church, we went down into the water together, in the sight of many who reviled us, and were baptized by the Spirit. After this, I rejoiced greatly, and gave thanks to God."

The religious hallucinations narrated in his Confession seem to have been as genuine as the average of such things, and are very well expressed. It reads quite like Jacob Behmen. He saw black spirits and white spirits contending in the skies, the sun was darkened, the thunder rolled. "And the Holy Ghost was with me, and said, 'Behold me as I stand in the heavens!' And I looked, and saw the forms of men in different attitudes. And there were lights in the sky, to which the children of darkness gave other names than what they really were; for they were the lights of the Savior's hands, stretched forth from east to west, even as they were extended on the cross on Calvary for the redemption of sinners." He saw drops of blood on the corn: this was Christ's blood shed for man. He saw on the leaves in the woods, letters and numbers and figures of men,—the same symbols which he had seen in the skies. On May 12, 1828, the Holy Spirit appeared to him, and proclaimed that the yoke of Jesus must fall on him, and he must fight against the Serpent when the sign appeared. Then came an eclipse of the sun in February, 1831: this was the sign; then he must arise and prepare himself, and slay his enemies with their own weapons; then also the seal was removed from his lips, and then he confided his plans to four associates.

When he came, therefore, to the barbecue on the appointed Sunday, and found, not these four only, but two others, his first question to the intruders was, How they came thither. To this Will answered manfully, that his life was worth no more than the others, and "his liberty was as dear to him." This admitted him to confidence; and as Jack was known to be entirely under Hark's influence, the strangers were no bar to their discussion. Eleven hours they remained there, in anxious consultation: one can imagine those terrible dusky faces, beneath the funereal woods, and amid the flickering of pine-knot torches, preparing that stern revenge whose shuddering echoes should ring through the land so long. Two things were at last decided: to begin their work that night, and to begin it with a massacre so swift and irresistible as to create in a few days more terror than many battles, and so spare the need of future bloodshed. "It was agreed that we should commence at home that night, and, until we had armed and equipped ourselves, and gained sufficient force, neither age nor sex was to be spared: which was invariably adhered to."

John Brown invaded Virginia with nineteen men, and with the avowed resolution to take no life but in self-defence. Nat Turner attacked Virginia from within, with six men, and with the determination to spare no life until his power was established. John Brown intended to pass rapidly through Virginia, and then retreat to the mountains. Nat Turner intended to "conquer Southampton county as the white men did in the Revolution, and then retreat, if necessary, to the Dismal Swamp." Each plan was deliberately matured; each was in its way practicable; but each was defeated by a single false step, as will soon appear.

We must pass over the details of horror, as they occurred during the next twenty-four hours. Swift and stealthy as Indians, the black men passed from house to house,—not pausing, not hesitating, as their terrible work went on. In one thing they were humaner than Indians, or than white men fighting against Indians,—there was no gratuitous outrage beyond the death-blow itself; no insult, no mutilation; but in every house they entered, that blow fell on man, woman and child,—nothing that had a white skin was spared. From every house they took arms and ammunition, and from a few, money; on every plantation they found recruits: those dusky slaves, so obsequious to their masters the day before, so prompt to sing and dance before his Northern visitors, were all swift to transform themselves into fiends of retribution now; show them sword or musket, and they grasped it, though it were an heirloom from Washington himself. The troop increased from house to house—first to fifteen, then to forty, then to sixty. Some were armed with muskets, some with axes, some with scythes; some came on their masters' horses. As the numbers increased, they could be divided, and the awful work was carried on more rapidly still. The plan then was for an advanced guard of horsemen to approach each house at a gallop, and surround it till the others came up. Meanwhile, what agonies of terror must have taken place within, shared alike by innocent and by guilty! what memories of wrongs inflicted on those dusky creatures, by some,—what innocent participation, by others, in the penance! The outbreak lasted for but forty-eight hours; but during that period, fifty-five whites were slain, without the loss of a single slave.

One fear was needless, which to many a husband and father must have intensified the last struggle. These negroes had been systematically brutalized from childhood; they had been allowed no legalized or permanent marriage; they had beheld around them an habitual licentiousness, such as can scarcely exist except in a slave State; some of them had seen their wives and sisters habitually polluted by the husbands and brothers of these fair white women who were now absolutely in their power. Yet I have looked through the Virginia newspapers of that time in vain for one charge of an indecent outrage on a woman against these triumphant and terrible slaves. Wherever they went, there went death, and that was all. Compare this with ordinary wars; compare it with the annals of the French Revolution. No one, perhaps, has yet painted the wrongs of the French populace so terribly as Dickens in his "Tale of Two Cities"; yet what man, conversant with slave-biographies, can read that narrative without feeling it weak beside the provocations to which fugitive slaves testify? It is something for human nature that these desperate insurgents revenged such wrongs by death alone. Even that fearful penalty was to be inflicted only till the object was won. It was admitted in the *Richmond Enquirer* of that time, that "indiscriminate massacre was not their intention, after they obtained foothold, and was resorted to in the first instance to strike terror and alarm. Women and children would afterwards have been spared, and men also who ceased to resist."

It is reported by some of the contemporary newspapers, that a portion of this abstinence was the result of deliberate consultation among the insurrectionists; that some of them were resolved on taking the white women for wives, but were overruled by Nat Turner. If so, he is the only American slave-leader of whom we know certainly that he rose above the ordinary level of slave vengeance, and Mrs. Stowe's picture of Dred's purposes is then precisely typical of his. "Whom the Lord saith unto us, 'Smite,' them will we smite. We will not torment them with the scourge and fire, nor defile their women as they have done with ours. But we will slay them utterly, and consume them from off the face of the earth."

When the number of adherents had increased to fifty or sixty, Nat Turner judged it time to strike at the county-seat, Jerusalem. Thither a few white fugitives had already fled, and couriers might thence be despatched for aid to Richmond and Petersburg, unless promptly intercepted. Besides, he could there find arms, ammunition, and money; though they had already obtained, it is dubiously reported, from eight hundred to one thousand dollars. On the way, it was necessary to pass the plantation of Mr. Parker, three miles from Jerusalem. Some of the men wished to stop here, and enlist some of their friends. Nat Turner objected, as the delay might prove dangerous; he yielded at last, and it proved fatal.

He remained at the gate with six or eight men; thirty or forty went to the house, half a mile distant. They remained too long, and he went alone to hasten them. During his absence, a party of eighteen white men came up suddenly, dispersing the small guard left at the gate; and when the main body of slaves emerged from the house, they encountered, for the first time, their armed masters. The blacks halted, the whites advanced cautiously within a hundred yards, and fired a volley; on its being returned, they broke in disorder, and hurriedly retreated, leaving some wounded on the ground. The retreating whites were pursued, and were saved only by falling in with another band of fresh men from Jerusalem, with whose aid they turned upon the slaves, who in their turn fell into confusion. Turner, Hark, and about twenty men on horseback retreated in some order; the rest were scattered. The leader still planned to reach Jerusalem by a private way, thus evading pursuit; but at last decided to stop for the night, in the hope of enlisting additional recruits.

During the night, the number increased again to forty, and they encamped on Major Ridley's plantation. An alarm took place during the darkness,—whether real or imaginary does not appear,—and the men became scattered again. Proceeding to make fresh enlistments with the daylight, they were resisted at Dr. Blunt's house, where his slaves, under his orders, fired upon them, and this, with a later attack from a party of white men near Capt. Harris's, so broke up the whole force that they never reunited. The few who remained together agreed to separate for a few hours to see if anything could be done to revive the insurrection, and meet again that evening at their original rendezvous. But they never reached it.

Sadly came Nat Turner, at nightfall, into those gloomy woods where, forty-eight hours before, he had revealed the details of his terrible plot to his companions. At the outset, all his plans had succeeded; everything was as he predicted: the saves had come readily at his call, the masters had proved perfectly defenceless. Had he not been persuaded to pause at Parker's plantation, he would have been master, before now, of the arms and ammunition at Jerusalem; and, with these to aid, and the Dismal Swamp for a refuge, he might have sustained himself indefinitely against his pursuers.

Now the blood was shed, the risk was incurred, his friends were killed or captured, and all for what? Lasting memories of terror, to be sure, for his oppressors; but, on the other hand, hopeless failure for the insurrection, and certain death for him. What a watch he must have kept that night! To that excited imagination, which had always seen spirits in the sky, and blood-drops on the corn, and hieroglyphic marks on the dry leaves, how full the lonely forest must have been of signs and solemn warnings! Alone with the fox's bark, the rabbit's rustle, and the screech-owl's scream, the self-appointed prophet brooded over his despair. Once creeping to the edge of the wood, he saw men stealthily approach on horseback. He fancied them some of his companions; but before he dared to whisper their ominous names, "Hark" or "Dred,"—for the latter was the name, since famous, of one of his more recent recruits,—he saw them to be white men, and shrank back stealthily beneath his covert.

There he waited, two weary days and melancholy nights,—long enough to satisfy himself that no one would rejoin him, and that the insurrection had hopelessly failed. The determined, desperate spirits who had shared his plans were scattered forever, and longer delay would be destruction for him also. He found a spot which he judged safe, dug a hole under a pile of fence-rails in a field, and lay there for six weeks, only leaving it for a few moments at midnight to obtain water from a neighboring spring. Food he had previously provided, without discovery, from a house near by.

Meanwhile, an unbounded variety of rumors went flying through the State. The express which first reached the Governor announced that the militia were retreating before the slaves. An express to Petersburg further fixed the number of militia at three hundred, and of blacks at eight hundred, and invented a convenient shower of rain to explain the dampened ardor of the whites. Later reports described the slaves as making three desperate attempts to cross the bridge over the Nottoway, between Cross Keys and Jerusalem, and stated that the leader had been shot in the attempt. Other accounts put the number of negroes at three hundred, all well mounted and armed, with two or three white men as leaders. Their intention was supposed to be to reach the Dismal Swamp, and they must be hemmed in from that side.

Indeed, the most formidable weapon in the hands of slave-insurgents is always this blind panic they create, and the wild exaggerations which follow. The worst being possible, every one takes the worst for granted. Undoubtedly a dozen armed men could have stifled this insurrection, even after it had commenced operations; but it is the fatal weakness of a slaveholding community, that it can never furnish men promptly for such a purpose. "My first intention was," says one of the most intelligent newspaper narrators of the affair, "to have attacked them with thirty or forty men; but those who had families here were strongly opposed to it."

As usual, each man was pinioned to his own hearth-stone. As usual, aid had to be summoned from a distance, and, as usual, the United States troops were the chief reliance. Colonel House, commanding at Fort Monroe, sent at once three companies of artillery under Lieutenant-Colonel Worth, and embarked them on board the steamer Hampton for Suffolk. These were joined by detachments from the United States ships Warren and Natchez, the whole amounting to nearly eight hundred men. Two volunteer companies went from Richmond, four from Petersburg, one from Norfolk, one from Portsmouth, and several from North Carolina. The militia of Norfolk, Nansemond, Princess Anne Counties, and the United States troops at Old Point Comfort, were ordered to scour the Dismal Swamp, where it was believed that two or three thousand fugitives were preparing to join the insurgents. It was even proposed to send two companies from New York and one from New London to the same point.

When these various forces reached Southampton county, they found all labor paralyzed and whole plantations abandoned. A letter from Jerusalem, dated August 24th, says, "The oldest inhabitant of our county has never experienced such a distressing time as we have had since Sunday night last. . . . Every house, room, and corner in this place is full of women and children, driven from home, who had to take the woods until they could get to this place." "For many miles around their track," says another, "the country is deserted by women and children." Still another writes, "Jerusalem is full of women, most of them from the other side of the river,—about two hundred at Vix's." Then follow descriptions of the sufferings of these persons, many of whom had lain night after night in the woods. But the immediate danger was at an end, the short-lived insurrection was finished, and now the work of vengeance was to begin. In the frank phrase of a North Carolina correspondent,—"The massacre of the whites was over, and the white people had commenced the destruction of the negroes, which was continued after our men got there, from time to time, as they could fall in with them, all day yesterday." A postscript adds, that "passengers by the Fayetteville stage say, that, by the latest accounts, one hundred and twenty negroes had been killed,"—this being little more than one day's work.

These murders were defended as Nat Turner defended his: a fearful blow must be struck. In shuddering at the horrors of the insurrection, we have forgotten the far greater horrors of its suppression.

The newspapers of the day contain many indignant protests against the cruelties which took place. "It is with pain," says a correspondent of the *National Intelligencer*, September 7, 1831, "that we speak of another feature of the Southampton Rebellion; for we have been most unwilling to have our sympathies for the sufferers diminished or affected by their misconduct. We allude to the slaughter, of many blacks without trial and under circumstances of great barbarity. . . . . We met with an individual of intelligence who told us that he himself had killed between ten and fifteen. . . . . We [the Richmond troop] witnessed with surprise the sanguinary temper of the population, who evinced a strong disposition to inflict immediate death on every prisoner."

There is a remarkable official document from General Eppes, the officer in command, to be found in the *Richmond Enquirer* for September 6, 1831. It is an indignant denunciation of precisely these outrages; and though he refuses to give details, he supplies the place by epithets; "revolting"—"inhuman and not to be justified,"—"acts of barbarity and cruelty,"—"acts of atrocity,"—"this course of proceedings dignifies the rebel and the assassin with the sanctity of martyrdom." And he ends by threatening martial law upon all future transgressors. Such general orders are not issued except in rather extreme cases. And in the parallel columns of the newspaper, the innocent editor prints equally indignant descriptions of Russian atrocities in Lithuania, where the Poles were engaged in active insurrection, amid profuse sympathy from Virginia.

The truth is, it was a Reign of Terror. Volunteer patrols rode in all directions, visiting plantations. "It was with the greatest difficulty," said General Brodnax, before the House of Delegates, "and at the hazard of personal popularity and esteem, that the coolest and most judicious among us could exert an influence sufficient to restrain an indiscriminate slaughter of the blacks who were suspected." A letter from the Rev. C. W. Powell declares, "There are thousands of troops searching in every direction, and many negroes are killed every day: the exact number will never be ascertained." Petition after petition was subsequently presented to the Legislature, asking compensation for slaves thus assassinated without trial.

Men were tortured to death, burned, maimed, and subjected to nameless atrocities. The overseers were called on to point out any slaves whom they distrusted, and if any tried to escape, they were shot down. Nay, worse than this. "A party of horsemen started from Richmond with the intention of killing every colored person they saw in Southampton county. They stopped opposite the cabin of a free colored man, who was hoeing in his little field. They called out, 'Is this Southampton county?' He replied, 'Yes, sir, you have just crossed the line, by yonder tree.' They shot him dead, and rode on." This is from the narrative of the editor of the *Richmond Whig*, who was then on duty in the militia, and protested manfully against these outrages. "Some of these scenes," he adds, "are hardly inferior in barbarity to the atrocities of the insurgents."

These were the masters' stories. If even these conceded so much, it would be interesting to hear what the slaves had to report. I am indebted to my honored friend, Lydia Maria Child, for some vivid recollections of this terrible period, as noted down from the lips of an old colored woman, once well known in New York, Charity Bowery. "At the time of the old Prophet Nat," she said, "the colored folks were afraid to pray loud; for the whites threatened to punish 'em dreadfully, if the least noise was heard. The patrols were low drunken whites; and in Nat's time, if they heard any of the colored folks praying, or singing a hymn, they would fall upon 'em, and abuse 'em, and sometimes kill 'em, afore master or missis could get to 'em. The brightest and best were killed in Nat's time. The whites always suspect such ones. They killed a great many at a place called Duplon. They killed Antonio, a slave of Mr. J. Stanley, whom they shot; then they pointed their guns at him, and told him to confess about the insurrection. He told 'em he didn't know anything about any insurrection. They shot several balls through him, quartered him, and put his head on a pole at the fork of the road leading to the court." (This is no exaggeration, if the Virginia newspapers may be taken as evidence.) "It was there but a short time. He had no trial. They never do. In Nat's time, the patrols would tie up the free colored people, flog 'em, and try to make 'em lie against one another, and often killed them before anybody could interfere. Mr. James Cole, High Sheriff, said, if any of the patrols came on his plantation, he would lose his life in defence of his people. One day, he heard a patroller boasting how many niggers he had killed. Mr. Cole said, 'If you don't pack up, as quick as God Almighty will let you, and get out of this town, and never be seen in it again, I'll put you where dogs won't bark at you.' He went off, and wasn't seen in them parts again."

These outrages were not limited to the colored population; but other instances occurred, which strikingly remind one of more recent times. An Englishman, named Robinson, was engaged in selling books at Petersburg. An alarm being given, one night, that five hundred blacks were marching towards the town, he stood guard, with others, on the bridge. After the panic had a little subsided, he happened to remark, that "the blacks, as men, were entitled to their freedom, and ought to be emancipated." This led to great excitement, and he was warned to leave town. He took passage in the stage, but the stage was intercepted. He then fled to a friend's house; the house was broken open, and he was dragged forth. The civil authorities, being applied to, refused to interfere. The mob stripped him, gave him a great number of lashes, and sent him on foot, naked, under a hot sun, to Richmond, whence he with difficulty found a passage to New York.

(To be concluded.)

THE STAMPEDE AT BULL'S RUN.

The correspondent of the New York *World*, who was present at the recent tragical fight at Bull's Run, in Virginia, between the Federal and Confederate forces, brings his description down to the hour of noon, at which time the battle commenced in the fierceness of its most extended fury. His account of the subsequent proceedings of the day is as follows:—

There was a hill at the distance of a mile and a half, to which I have hitherto alluded. From its height, overlooking the whole plain, a few shell had reached us early in the day, and as it was nearer the Manassas road than almost any other portion of the field, more of the enemy's reinforcements gathered about its ridge than to the aid of the beaten rebels in the woods and valleys. Here there was an open battery, and long lines of infantry in support, ready, for a wonder, to let our wearied fellows see the fresh forces they had to conquer.

As the Sixty-ninth and Seventy-ninth wound round the meadows to the north of this hill, and began to cross the road apparently with the intention of scaling it, we saw a column coming down from the farthest perspective, and for a moment believed it to be a portion of Hunter's Division, and that it had succeeded in completely turning the enemy's rear. A wild shout rose from us all. But soon the look-outs saw that its ensigns bore secession banners, and we knew that Johnston or some other rebel General was leading a horde of fresh troops against our united right and centre. It was time for more regiments to be sent forward, and Keyes was ordered to advance with the First Tyler Brigade. The three Connecticut regiments and the Fourth Maine came on with a will; the First Connecticut was posted in reserve, and the other three corps swept up the field, by the ford on the right, to aid the struggling advance.

All eyes were now directed to the distant hill-top, now the centre of the fight. All could see the enemy's infantry ranging darkly against the sky beyond, and the first lines of our men moving with fine determination up the steep slope. The cannonading upon our advance, the struggle upon the hill-top, the interchange of position between the contestants, were watched by us, and as new forces rushed in upon the enemy's side, the scene was repeated over and over again. It must have been here, I think, that the Sixty-ninth took and lost a battery eight times in succession, and finally were compelled, totally exhausted, to resign the completion of their work to the Connecticut regiments which had just come up. The Third Connecticut finally carried that summit, unfurled the stars and stripes above it, and paused from the fight to cheer for the Union cause.

Then the battle began to work down the returning half of the circle, which the enemy described during the day, driven before the desperate charges of our troops, until they reached the very point where Tyler's advance commenced the action. Down the hill, and into the valley thickets on the left, the Zouaves, the Connecticut and New York regiments, with the unconquerable Rhode Islanders, drove the continually enlarging but always vanquished columns of the enemy. It was only to meet more batteries, earthwork succeeding earthwork, ambuscade after ambuscade. Our fellows were hot and weary; most had drank no water during hours of dust, and smoke, and insufferable heat. No one knows what choking the battle atmosphere produces in a few moments, until he has personally experienced it. And so the conflict lulled for a little while. It was the middle of a blazing afternoon. Our regiments held the positions they had won, but the enemy kept receiving additions, and continued a flank movement toward our left—a dangerous movement for us, a movement which those in the rear perceived, and vainly endeavored to induce some general officer to guard against.

Here was the grand blunder, or misfortune, of the battle. A misfortune, that we had no troops in reserve after the Ohio regiments were again sent forward, this time to assist in building a bridge across the run on the Warrenton road, by the side of the stone bridge known to be mined. A blunder, in that the last reserve was sent forward at all. It should have been retained to guard the rear of the left, and every other regiment on the field should have been promptly recalled over the route by which it had advanced, ordered only to maintain such positions as rested on a supported, continuous line. Gen. Scott says to-day that our troops had already accomplished three days' work, and should have rested long before. But McDowell tried to vanquish the South in a single struggle, and the sad result is before us.

As it was, Capt. Alexander, with his Sappers and Miners, was ordered to cut through the abattis by the side of the mined bridge, in the valley directly before us, and lay pontoons across the stream. Carlile's Artillery was detailed to protect the work, and the Ohio and Wisconsin reserve to support the artillery. Meanwhile, in the hill which I have mentioned, the thousand heroic details of federal valor, and the shamelessness of rebel treachery began to reach our ears. We learned the loss of the brave Cameron, the wounding of Heintzelman and Hunter, the fall of Haggerty and Slocum and Wilcox. We heard of the dash of the Irishmen and their decimation, and of the havoc made and sustained by the Rhode Islanders, the Highlanders, the Zouaves, and the Connecticut Third; then of the intrepidity of Burnside and Sprague—how the devoted and daring young Governor led the regiments he had so munificently equipped again and again to victorious charges, and at last spiked, with his own hands, the guns he could not carry away. The victory seemed ours. It was an hour sublime in unselfishness, and apparently glorious in its results!

At this time, near 4 o'clock, I rode forward through the open plain to the creek where the open abattis was being assailed by our engineers. The Ohio, Connecticut and Minnesota regiments were variously posted thereabout; others were in distant portions of the field; all were completely exhausted and partly disevered; no general of division, except Tyler, could be found. Where were our officers? Where was the foe? Who knew whether we had won or lost?

The question was quickly to be decided for us. A sudden swoop, and a body of cavalry rushed down upon our columns near the bridge. They came from the woods on the left, and infantry poured out behind them. Tyler and his staff, with the reserve, were apparently cut off by the quick manœuvre. I succeeded in gaining the position I had just left, there witnessed the capture of Carlile's battery in the plain, and saw another force of cavalry and infantry pouring into the road at the very spot where the battle commenced, and near which the South Carolinians, who manned the battery silenced in the morning, had doubtless all day been lying concealed. The ambulances and wagons had gradually advanced to this spot, and of course an instantaneous confusion and dismay resulted. Our own infantry broke ranks in the field, plunged into the woods to avoid the road, and got up the hill as best they could, without leaders, every man saving himself in his own way.

By the time I reached the top of the hill, the retreat, the panic, the hideous headlong confusion, were now beyond a hope. I was near the rear of the movement, with the brave Capt. Alexander, who endeavored by the most gallant but unavailable exertions to check the onward tumult. It was difficult to believe in the reality of our sudden reverse. "What does it all mean?" I asked Alexander. "It means defeat," was his reply. "We are beaten; it is a shameful, a cowardly retreat! Hold up, men!" he shouted, "don't be such infernal cowards!" and he rode backward and forward, placing his horse across the road, and vainly trying to rally the running troops. The teams and wagons confused and dismembered every corps. We were now cut off from the advance body by the enemy's infantry, who had rushed on the slope just left by us, surrounded the guns and sutler's wagons, and were apparently pressing on against us. "It is no use, Alexander," I said, "you must leave with the rest." "I'll be d—d if I will," was his sullen reply, and the splendid fellow rode back to make his way as best he could. Meantime I saw officers with leaves and eagles on their shoulder-straps, Majors and Colonels, who had deserted their commands, pass me galloping as if for dear life. No enemy pursued just then; but I suppose all were afraid that his guns would be trained down the long, narrow avenue, and mow the retreating thousands, and batter to pieces army wagons and everything else which crowded it. Only one field officer, so far as my observation extended, seemed to have remembered his duty. Lieut. Col. Spiedel, a foreigner, attached to a Connecticut regiment, strove against the current for a league. I positively declare, that, with the two exceptions mentioned, all efforts made to check the panic before Centreville was reached, were confined to *civilians*. I saw a man in citizen's dress who had thrown off his coat, seized a musket, and was trying to rally the soldiers who came by, at the point of the bayonet. In reply to a request for his name, he said it was Washburne, and I learned that he was the member by that name from Illinois. The Hon. Mr. Kellogg made a similar effort. Both these Congressmen bravely stood their ground till the last moment, and were serviceable at Centreville in assisting the halt there ultimately made. And other civilians did what they could.

But what a scene! and how terrific the onset of that tumultuous retreat! For three miles, hosts of federal troops—all detached from their regiments, all mingled in one disorderly rout—were fleeing along the road, but mostly through the lots on either side. Army wagons, sutlers' teams and private carriages choked the passage, tumbling against each other, amid clouds of dust, and sickening sights and sounds. Hacks, containing unlucky spectators of the late affray, were smashed like glass, and the occupants were lost sight of in the debris. Horses, flying wildly from the battle-field, many of them in death agony, galloped at random forward, joining in the stampede. Those on foot who could catch them rode them bare back, as much to save themselves from being run over, as to make quicker time. Wounded men, lying along the banks—the few either left on the field or taken to the captured hospitals, appealed with raised hands to those who rode horses, begging to be lifted behind, but few regarded such petitions. Then the artillery, such as was saved, came thundering along, smashing and overpowering everything. The regular cavalry, I record it to their shame, joined in the melee, adding to its terrors, for they rode down footmen without mercy. One of the great guns was overturned, and lay amid the ruins of a caisson, as I passed it. I saw an artillery man running between the ponderous fore and after-wheels of his gun-carriage, hanging on with both hands, and vainly striving to jump upon the ordnance. The drivers were spurring the horses; he could not cling much longer, and a more agonized expression never fixed the features of a drowning man. The carriage bounded from the roughness of a steep hill leading to a creek, he lost his hold, fell, and in an instant the great wheels had crushed the life out of him. Who ever saw such a flight? Could the retreat at Borodino have exceeded it in confusion and tumult? I think not. It did not slack in the least until Centreville was reached. There the sight of the reserve—Miles' Brigade—formed in order on the hill, seemed somewhat to reassure the van. But still the teams and foot soldiers pushed on, passing their own camps and heading swiftly for the distant Potomac, until for ten miles the road over which the grand army had so lately passed southward, gay with unstained banners, and flushed with surety of strength, was covered with the fragments of its retreating forces, shattered and panic stricken in a single day. From the branch route, the trains attached to Hunter's Division had caught the contagion of the flight, and poured into its already swollen current another turbid freshet of confusion and dismay. Who ever saw a more shameful abandonment of munitions, gathered at such vast expense? The teamsters, many of them, cut the traces of their horses, and galloped from the wagons. Others threw out their loads to accelerate their flight, and grain, picks and shovels, and provisions of every kind lay trampled in the dust for leagues. Thousands of muskets strewed the route; when some of us succeeded in rallying a body of fugitives, and forming them in a line across the road, hardly one but had thrown away his arms. If the enemy had brought up his artillery, and served it upon the retreating train, or had intercepted our progress with five hundred of his cavalry, he might have captured enough supplies for a week's feast of thanksgiving. As it was, enough was left behind to tell the story of the panic. The rout of the Federal army seemed complete.

Another writer who was present says:—

"I cannot describe the scene which followed the panic. All I can say is, that the cavalry dashed upon our men, captured Carlile's and a part of Sherman's guns—shooting the horses; captured soldiers; deliberately shot them after they had surrendered; went into the house used as a hospital, *and killed the wounded men*, and committed barbarities which the most abject savages in the world would scorn to do. One rebel soldier was seen to cut the throat of a helpless wounded soldier! One took a stake from the fence and drove it through the body of a wounded man, pinning him to the earth! These reports are confirmed by several witnesses."

PANICS. The panic which seized General McDowell's army, on Sunday night, brings to mind the still more frightful panic which seized upon the rear guard and reserves of the French army at Solferino. After the victory had been won, and while the Austrians were in full retreat, a body of French horsemen galloped down to the rear to deliver an order, or to bring the news to their comrades. Some one seeing them coming exclaimed, "The Austrians! the Austrians are upon us!" Instantly, a terrific flight commenced, old and grizzly Zouaves mounted artillery horses, cut them loose, and galloped off. In the space of a few seconds, some forty thousand men, infantry, cavalry, artillery, baggage trains, ambulances, stragglers, were rushing and running down the road to Mantua, knocking each other down, trampling the dead and dying under their feet, and hundreds falling exhausted and breathless by the wayside. In this way did a whole division of the French army scamper in the wildest confusion *for fifteen miles!*

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☞ The following gentlemen constitute the Financial Committee, but are not responsible for any debts of the paper, viz:—FRANCIS JACKSON, EDMUND QUINCY, EDMUND JACKSON, and WENDELL PHILLIPS.

The United States Constitution is "a covenant with death, and an agreement with hell."

☞ "What order of men under the most absolute of monarchies, or the most aristocratic of republics, was ever invested with such an odious and unjust privilege as that of the separate and exclusive representation of less than half a million owners of slaves, in the Hall of this House, in the chair of the Senate, and in the Presidential mansion? This investment of power in the owners of one species of property concentrated in the highest authorities of the nation, and disseminated through thirteen of the twenty-six States of the Union, constitutes a privileged order of men in the community, more adverse to the rights of all, and more pernicious to the interests of the whole, than any order of nobility ever known. To call government thus constituted a Democracy is to insult the understanding of mankind. . . . It is doubly tainted with the infection of riches and of slavery. There is no name in the language of national jurisprudence that can define it—no model in the records of ancient history, or in the political theories of Aristotle, with which it can be likened. It was introduced into the Constitution of the United States by an equivocation—a representation of property under the name of persons. Little did the members of the Convention from the Free States imagine or foresee what a sacrifice to Moloch was hidden under the mask of this concession."—JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor. | Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind. | J. B. YERRINTON & SON, Printers.

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SPEECH OF WENDELL PHILLIPS, ESQ.

AT THE

CELEBRATION OF W. I. EMANCIPATION,

At Abington, Mass., Aug. 1st, 1861.

Phonographic Report by JAS. M. W. YERRINTON.

MR. PRESIDENT,—I suppose the day dictates the subject. The great interest of this day is as the anniversary of British Emancipation. That was the greatest blessing, the highest privilege, history shows us was ever given to a people—the power to emancipate, peacefully, nearly a million of chattel slaves. By moral agitation, as the result merely of thought and purpose, like an ordinary change of law, a great people swept out of existence an infamous institution, rooted in old habit, immense wealth, great social power. As far as I know, it is the only instance in history, ancient or modern. Slavery has been every where; has been abolished in various ways; but the English people may boast, as a thoughtful, Christian community, that they have set in history an example of the power of simple principle to change momentous social institutions. I am not about to examine whether it was unalloyed, disinterested religious principle, or whether there mingled with it the self-interest of the commercial classes and the dread of future trouble in national affairs. I only know that, peacefully, by an edict, not by cannon, by an act of Parliament, as the ordinary laws are changed, the whole social condition of the West India Islands was remodelled. What has been the result? There has never been an hour of war in those islands. There has not been one instance of resistance to civil process. The forms of law are guarded, not by bayonets in the hands of white men, but by bayonets in the hands of emancipated slaves. (Applause.) The only complaint is, that the negro will not work for the white man; he finds better employment at home. The only complaint is, that the former slave population is so shrewd, so thrifty, with so much forethought, that, as in our Western States, Iowa and Wisconsin, you cannot find men to hire. Men have the brains to work for themselves: and the English planter cries out to the government, as the farmers of the Western States cry out to the civilized world, "We have wealth, acres; but our neighbors are so fore-handed and independent, we cannot hire any body to work our land. Give us laborers!" That fact, which proves the advancing, essential prosperity of the Western States, proves, in the same way, the well-grounded prosperity of the laboring classes of the West Indies. The real complaint never has been that the black man would not work. The complaint has been, "He can work for himself to so much better advantage, that we cannot get any body to work at a shilling a day."

Again: England exports to these islands, I may safely say, double—perhaps I might say, four times—the amount of manufactured articles that she did in the days of slavery. England never sells without getting her pay for it. No man can pay without work; and if those emancipated slaves buy two or four dollars' worth now, where they bought one before, either they had laid up an immense capital during the slave time, or else they have worked well for it since. (Applause.)

Such is the lesson of to-day. What are the great elements of national prosperity? They are, law contentedly obeyed, hands intelligently, successfully industrious. No British ministry has ever, for twenty odd years, looked into the face of rebellion in the British West Indies. There has been no time when there was not a greater demand for laborers than there was supply. There has been no moment when two looms in England were not kept active to supply the demands of the West Indies for one before. And if to that you add the moral element of the question, marriage, education, religious institutions, have been quadrupled, at the expense and by the care of the former slaves.

That is the picture which has been held up to our country for twenty-five years. What is the use of recurring to it? It is no longer within our reach. We omitted to seize the opportunity—it is gone! Thirty years ago, in England, when Lord Brougham was advocating the emancipation of the slaves, I remember he used with great effect the trite classical story of the sybil who came to the Roman king with nine books for sale, represented as indispensable to the safety of Rome. She named her price;—the proud king waved it aside. The sybil left, burned three of the books, and returned, offering six at the same cost. The confident king waved her a second time aside. She went, and returned again with three, still for the same price. And then Rome bought the sacred pledge of her safety, diminished to one third, at the same sacrifice. Twenty years ago, God set us the example of peaceful, moral emancipation, by ordinary force of law. We dashed it aside. He offers us now, at the same cost, emancipation at the mouth of the cannon—nothing else. The lesson of to-day is not for us; we must seek it further. Far off, beyond those islands, rests the Queen of the Antilles, St. Domingo. Her emancipation was different. The races had rushed to arms. Blood flowed in torrents. England was about to invade the island. Government, pushed to the extremity, at midnight, the sovereignty of the realm slipping from its grasp, in despair, as a means of keeping hold of its territory, proclaimed emancipation. It was won in blood and fire. Half the cities were burned; almost every valley floated with blood; the slave wrote the guaranty of his emancipation in the blood of seventy thousand Frenchmen, sent to subdue him. This is the only lesson left for us to-day,—this, how far short of St. Domingo can the government stop? What is the policy that may save us from that last extremity of bloody emancipation? The British model is gone. The only question for us is, how far short can we stop of St. Domingo?

There are two or three methods before us. The first is—and this most men flatter themselves to be possible—we can conquer the South; we can keep the Union as it was. I deem that a dream. (Applause.) I hold it just this side of lunacy—nothing more. The old Union of '87 is gone beyond recovery. (Cheers.) No million of men in arms can bring it back again. I do not know that I was ever found depreciating the courage of the South. I have held that, in the nineteenth century, the age of money, it would be impossible for a Southern empire, from political and economical reasons, to survive—they would be starved out. I hold that opinion still. But I believe I never have doubted the personal courage and intense earnestness of the Southern States. I stand to-day exactly where I have stood. I know nothing of the future but by the past. Poland, trodden under the heel of an empire whose resources are boundless, is still Poland, in arms. Hungary, crushed by the weight of half Europe on her head, is still Hungary, determined to be free. And Italy, with six centuries of demoralization, has still strangled the purpose of the French Emperor with one hand, and Austria and Russia with the other, and is Italy, united and free. (Loud cheers.) I believe that the five or six millions of Englishmen residing south of Mason and Dixon's line have hearts as bold and wills as determined as Italy, Hungary or Poland; and this nation, in the mere fight of white men and white men, will write her history a copy of the Russian history as to Poland, the Austrian history as to Hungary, and the Italian history, if she goes on to fight as she does to-day. The past proves it; and it seems to me that every thoughtful man must see it. At any rate, such will be the picture of the next ten years. I am well aware that the South has not yet dared to meet the North face to face in open field and fair fight, or at least whenever she has done so, she has been beaten. Witness Kansas and Western Virginia. But for all this, I hold the South deeply in earnest, and able in open fight or by guerilla to drag on the war many years.

But that is not the only question. Foreign countries watch us. England and France watch us. England has no purpose nearer her heart than to cripple and undermine the manufacturing and commercial supremacy of the North. How can she do it? By robbing her of one half of the Union. By seizing the opportunity to plant a rival State at her side. That State, with the underhand support of English money and English arms, can take Mexico for her right wing, and Cuba for her left, and then, with some eighteen millions of inhabitants, holding the black population in chains, she will be one of the best customers that Lancashire has. How much would the British government do to found and uphold such a State? She would do every thing. And I do not believe in any such virtue in the middle classes of Great Britain as would rebuke very severely the administration for the useful crime of acknowledging such a confederacy. For I remember China and India. If, therefore, the war lasts two or three years, it is not a war with the Southern States alone; it is probably a war with the Southern States, supported openly or by stealth by England; specially if the death of Louis Napoleon should free England from fear of French interference or invasion; when, by the time that happens, possibly there may be a fourth party in the play. The slave may take arms in his own hands, and instead of being a counter on this chess board, he may be a player in the game. When that comes, emancipation is to be a hard work, wrung from the bloodiest civil war known to history. Whether it is to come from a divided Union, and afterward the failure of the Southern confederacy to sustain itself, or whether it is to come from the indomitable rage of these Northern States, determined that, through seas of blood, no matter how deep, the stars and stripes shall float to the Gulf, I do not know; but, surely, it will come from the bloodiest war that history has known for half a century. For it is impossible that this war should endure three years or probably two, without the interference of European governments, and probably of the slave. It is almost impossible that this war should continue two or three years, without great probability of the acknowledgment of the Southern confederacy by certain portions of the Northern States. I know the anger, and pride, and determination of the Northern people; but when these looms and workshops have been silent and still for twenty-four months,—when the families of half a million of volunteers have been upon our hands,—those very hands empty and idle,—for support, when no greater progress is made than seems to be now in the conflict, how long will the North endure such a war? I am not sure that she will not find that the better policy is submission, and submit. Mark you! I have no fear of the failure of ultimate emancipation. God has broken up the fountains of this nation, and the slave is to be shaken out of his chains. (Prolonged cheering.) I can believe that the South, driven to the wall, rather than submit to the hated North, might herself, in despair, free the slaves, and writing "Emancipation" on her flag, appeal so to the cupidity of England and the rest of Europe to uphold her, and thus cripple the manufacturing North. She is easily capable of such a master-stroke of cunning statesmanship: and would bear even freedom, even be just, rather than submit to us. The only question is, how can the problem be solved with the least bloodshed, at the least cost, and with the best future? I say that every moment of delay embitters the problem; every moment of delay renders more probable the interference of other governments; every moment of delay renders the South more a unit than she is this week. These are the reasons why I urge upon the government and upon you, the adoption of a policy as speedily as possible. For the present, we have none. Government avows no plan. She has not even a plan of the war, much less a statesmanlike plan of how to relieve herself of the difficulty which created the war.

We drift before the storm, no hand on the helm. Government has been defeated. She deserved to be! Mr. Whiting's letter [Hon. N. H.] complains that England does not sympathize with us. We have no right to the sympathy of England. (Hear, hear.) You and I, near at hand, with our eyes fixed on the crisis, may dimly discern through the cloud that emancipation is inevitable, spite of men and parties. But, three thousand miles off, ignorant of the heady currents that confuse our national position, why should England sympathize with your government, which marks its first step in the war by the return of slaves, and a pledge to put down insurrections? (Applause.) I should blush for Great Britain if she sympathized with such an administration. My lips would be the last to ask her for one word of sympathy for such a government. What does England know? She knows only that, under our, to an Englishman, utterly incomprehensible Federal government, there has arisen, between different sections of the country, a dispute as to certain arrangements of the civil force. She cannot put her hand into the disordered machine intelligently, and therefore she keeps it out. I think she does wisely; I think she does well. Do not misunderstand me while I speak thus of England. It is from no idea of the high character or lofty motives of the English government. It is the most selfish of all European governments, guided by the lowest and most interested motives; and the same is true, to some extent, of her people. But we have no claim to the sympathy of England. Neither have we a right to victory—none at all. The government does not organize victory. I will tell you when, in my opinion, we shall be entitled to victory. When one single secession spy, traitor or pirate has been punished—(loud applause); when the seal of government disapprobation has been set on one single person within their power who has betrayed the Union. (Applause.) John Brown rebelled, it is claimed, against the laws of Virginia. He was hung at Charlestown. The government said Amen! The government has had in its grasp at least fifty, if not a hundred, ten times deeper dyed in the guilt, if guilt it be, of resisting the laws of the Union, and she has dismissed them all! When only one quarter of the clerks in one department at Washington are traitors—*only a quarter*—I will acknowledge that the government deserves victory. (Laughter and applause.) But while she keeps at least two thirds disloyal men in her employ, that is not organizing victory. The battle at Bull Run was wholesale butchery, public murder; and the government of the United States, more than any other power, is guilty of the murder, for they sent out their troops from a city full of traitors in the employ of the government, knowing, or able to know, that every secret of the government was probably communicated to the rebels twelve hours before those troops quitted Washington. Why do they not hang a pirate? Because Jefferson Davis says he will retaliate; and they save the life of some prisoner at Richmond by pardoning a pirate or a spy. At the same time, they please themselves by continuing to give bread to traitors in Washington at the cost of sending out thousands of true men to be butchered on the battle-field. I mean what I say. Murder, with the full knowledge of the government; for the Secretary who keeps his desks full of traitors from pity to their families, or the associations of past years, is the veriest traitor to the government. Every plan, except those made at Washington, succeeds. There has been but one—the blunder at Bethel—that has not succeeded. Missouri, one line of conquest; in Western Virginia, under McClellan, uninterrupted success; because the generals who planned the movements had around them true men. But from the nest of traitors at Washington, they organize nothing but defeat. (Hear, hear.)

Such a government deserve the sympathy of other nations! We have not yet shown that we are a government. When the world doubted whether the United States of America, in the Revolution, were in earnest, Washington hung Andre. He begged to be shot, as a soldier; and Washington replied—"By *nations*, spies are hung. I would cheerfully moderate the punishment, and accede to your wishes; but I must prove to the world, in your person, that this is a nation, and has its rights." (Applause.) And Andre was hung. His fate settled the American Revolution. England knew it was not rebels, but a nation, with which she dealt; and she acknowledged our independence as much in consequence of that act as the surrender of Cornwallis. What the government needs to-day is to prove its earnestness—to prove that it actually holds these rebels, traitors. The government that, in its own capital, sees its prisoners from Bull Run waited upon by the ladies of Washington, and furnished with every luxury, while its troops want food, is not worthy of victory. When were traitors in any other capital waited upon by such attendants, or buoyed up with such respect?

I speak of these things, because the momentous hours of this summer are to decide what is to be the exit out of this war. To-day, government stands strong enough in the power and enthusiasm of the North, strong enough in the fear or forbearance of Europe, to write on her banner EMANCIPATION, and so make it impossible that any English administration should acknowledge the Southern Confederacy. (Applause.) Let her delay it, let that government once advance to break the blockade or acknowledge the Confederacy, and the step is too late. Then we must carry emancipation, if at all, in defiance of England. We carry it now with her sympathy and with her help. This summer is to create a public opinion which, on the opening of Congress in December, is to strengthen the Administration's hands up to the limit of national vigor and life. If we float rudderless, let the South strengthen herself into a long war, let the North settle down to an indifference which compels the government to recruit by drafting, not by volunteers,—the moment we get settled to that, we accept the problem of St. Domingo. We write our history on one of two leaves. Two nations—bitter civil war on the borders—constant conflict; irruption from our own soil to interfere with the slave States—channels of trade changed, disordered, choked—Mexican civilization there. Or we write it on another page—Northern determination, resolved, spite of England, spite of the South, spite of defeat, spite of pecuniary cost, to carry the stars and stripes to the Gulf, and emancipate every slave they cover. (Loud applause.) One or the other. This summer, the problem is not half so difficult. Now the slave watches our banner, counting it herald of his redemption—waiting, longing, expecting, to throw his weight into our scale. Let him see that army penetrate the South under orders to allow no fugitive slave within its lines, and with commanders who return such to their masters, their spirits droop, their purpose dies away. Instead of warm friends, we have sullen, disappointed foes. Now, we advance into the South with four million of the people on our side. What a strength, even if no one of them takes up arms! With the slightest encouragement, they are active on our side. They judge us by acts, not words. Six months may confuse, discourage and alienate them into sullen distrust.

Now, Wall street cries out, We cannot afford to risk bankruptcy again by being citizens of a Union with one slave State in it. Tell them of Disunion as sure soon, in a dozen years, to result in emancipation and bankruptcy: Wall street replies, "Yes, but that dozen years is my harvest. Let the future take care of itself. Disunion risks the question whether New York shall be the commercial capital of the continent for the next fifteen years. At present, with channels of commerce worn as now, I make twenty thousand dollars a year. What may come with Disunion, I know not. From that heady tumult, another man may come up swimming on the topmost wave. For me, my purpose is to make dollars, *just as I have*, and for that I demand emancipation to the Gulf, to save all risk of such wars as this; and I want it *now*, to ensure New York's being the commercial capital of the continent, beyond dispute, *in my time.*"

Now, the North, like a race horse, spurns pain, blood, death itself, in its fierce enthusiasm. Twelve months of enforced idleness and utter poverty may chill the ardor of the masses. Now, therefore, is the accepted time. The helm is within our reach. The question is purely domestic. Wealth, Wall street, is the upper millstone, Anti-Slavery principle the lower; between the two, Jefferson Davis may be ground to powder. The slave holds himself ready, pressing for an opportunity; the North is, to a great extent, a unit. Let the government seize the auspicious moment. They tell us they are ready to obey public opinion. Yes, but one word from them, one act, will largely help to form it. We claim of them statesmanship to lead, not wholly to lean on others.

We, too, are to do our part. We are to visit every man, no matter what his position or his courage, with public rebuke, that fails on the great question of the hour. I acknowledge the courage of Col. Cowdin; I am glad he is a teetotaller; I remember his merits in both these respects; but never, until, in the face of the American people, he takes back the act, though he be covered from head to foot with laurels, will I forget that, without legal necessity, without proofs, with no claim, he thrust back a negro into the hell of Virginia slavery, as his soldier baptism in this war. ("Shame!") No military success is to blot it out. If he were to stand before an hundred batteries, never, till he disavows that act, cruel and illegal, can he fit himself for the society of honorable men. (Applause.)

I know what it is to be a critic. I suppose it is fated I shall always be such. (A voice—"We hope so.") But so long as I stand here, and four million of black men there, no man within the hearing of my voice shall betray their cause without hearing it. (Hearty applause.) And if, with the memory of that sad and bloody week of the surrender of Thomas Sims in the capital of the State, your Governor appoints as the Colonel of a Massachusetts regiment the infamous and brutal United States Marshal who led that surrender, Charles Devens, I shall say here and everywhere, that he has broken the promise of his whole life, forfeited the confidence of his friends, disgraced the office he holds, and insulted the Commonwealth. You may forget, I never shall, until I see them on their knees in public repentance, either the Marshal in the Sims case or the Burns case; and whoever, at such an hour as this, places in the right hand of Charles Devens or of Watson Freeman the broad seal of Massachusetts, I hold him a traitor to the slave question. (Applause.) And the reason is, the American people need to be reminded, to-day, that the kernel of this dispute is slavery; that no man should be sent South of Mason and Dixon's line who has not at least a decently white record behind him. I overlook all political differences. I welcome the Democratic candidate for Governor to his place as a General; I remember him only as a man who differed from me in opinion. I welcome his service in the hour of the nation's need. But the men who have actually hunted slaves are beyond the admissibility to service, even in such an hour as this. (Loud applause.) To trust them with office is to tell the world that Massachusetts people think so little of the guilt of slavehunting, that a few years wash away their horror for it—that Massachusetts looks on their position with such craven dread as to flee for aid to hands red with the blood of pitiable, helpless bondmen. Girt with a million of freemen and women, I do not yet so despair of the Commonwealth. And if I did, I would rather see the Stars and Stripes bow to the Palmetto, than see them held up by men known in the past only as slave-hunters, and who, for aught the public know, stand ready to hunt slaves again. Such men are symbols. When your Governor holds them up to public respect, he confuses and demoralizes the moral sense of the State.

If, during that bitter week while the city rained curses on us, and, at this Marshal's bidding, muskets were levelled at our breasts because we obeyed the plainest of God's laws, some one had said to us, Within ten years, one of the foremost of your little band shall be Governor of the State, and, as such, shall give to that man, without claiming a *public* word of acknowledgment or repentance, one of the highest offices in a war whose cause and justification that Governor well knew to be, that it is a war for the slave, should we not all have indignantly exclaimed, "Is any one of us a dog, that he should do this thing?"

I know some of you may be disposed to look at this question from a broader stand-point. You may be interested in the Union, the old historic associations; I am not. At least, to-day, I am not. To-day belongs to the negro. To-day belongs to the slave. History has consecrated it for his use. Whatever question we discuss to-day, we should discuss as the slave looks at it—from no other stand-point. It is not for us, at least, on the First of August, to plan for the perpetuity of civil institutions. This day belongs to the problem and the method of emancipation. I demand of the government, therefore, if not an immediate avowal of the purpose of emancipation, at least this:—When a man enters the lines of Gen. Scott's or Gen. Butler's division, what is he? Congress, the Republican party, its leaders, have all declared that the Constitution of the United States knows nothing of property in man. When we urged you to declare that Constitution "a covenant with death, and an agreement with hell," you replied, "It knows the black man only as a person." You know that, every one of you. That is the argument of Mr. Sumner; that is the claim of Mr. Giddings. All the Republican policy is founded upon it. The government has constantly refused to pay for slaves lost in war, denying its right to view them as *property*. When that black man enters Gen. Butler's camp, he calls him, by a lawyer's stratagem, "contraband of war." Then he is *property*; for only property can be contraband. It was a convenient resource for the occasion. It was a benevolent dodge. I thank him for it. (Applause.) I am thankful for the shrewd, ingenious turn of the Middlesex lawyer, that saved 850 slaves. But that technical distinction is not broad enough to hold a government. In technical language, unless you repudiate the whole policy of the government, and specially the platform of the successful party, "it won't hold water." There is nothing in it, properly speaking, unless we are right, and then you have no right in the government. On the whole accorded construction of the dominant political party, there is no ground for it. At any rate, it is only a specious, ingenious technicality, wholly unfit for a great people to rest thereon a national question like this.

That black man enters the camp. What is the only fact that Gen. Butler knows in regard to him? This! He was just now outside our lines; he is now inside. That is all he knows. He was outside either as a friend or as an enemy. If he was a friend, he comes here to be protected, and, if he will fight, to be armed. If he was an enemy, he comes here to be imprisoned, and if he has fought, to be hanged. The government of the United States is bound so to regard the blacks. There is no judge to sit under the Fugitive Slave Law, and find out whether that black man was a slave. There is no court sitting in the camp to decide it; there is no authority there competent to settle it. He is a man, with the marks of manhood God has given him. He is capable of firing a musket, and is therefore either to be armed and used, or imprisoned and punished. Let the government of the United States say, through its Lieut. Gen. Scott, or through its Secretary of War, to the various generals of division,—"What we shall do in the future with slavery, we know not; the future will shape itself; but every man, black or white, that enters your lines, hang him or arm him." (Applause.) When they have said it, there is no longer slavery in the Commonwealth of Virginia. The moment they have said it, wherever the stars and stripes float, liberty surrounds them. The moment they have said it, ours is an army advancing into a country where one half of the population is on our side—men, women and children. That is one half the victory. The moment we have said it, the South knows the vigor of the North has touched the point of efficiency. I ask that of the government, leaving Congress to shape its future.

Then I ask this further, that they shall clear all the public offices of secession spies. I said just now, and I hold it, that the battle of Bull Run was butchery, and the government were largely responsible for it, while they keep the public offices full of men with Southern principles. There is sitting at this moment—mark you! Charlestown still exists, with its sky almost yet bearing the shadow of that gibbet whereon hung a man for breaking his allegiance to the government of the United States—there is sitting at this moment, within one hundred miles of it, in the city of Washington, a Committee of the House of Representatives, to find out the *number* of men in the public offices who have refused to take the oath of allegiance. "*The number*"! Why, there ought not to be one there. Instead of a Committee to find out the number of traitors, that House of Representatives should have memorialized the President to remove any Secretary who had in his employ one man who had refused to take the oath of allegiance. (Loud applause.) If I were brother, or son, or father of any man murdered at Bull Run, I should think that the Secretary who kept traitors in his employment run the risk of every life that left Washington in that army. If you and I had marched out of that capital, knowing that, by the criminal weakness of the government, we left behind us in the public offices, with peculiar facilities, therefore, for gaining knowledge of public plans, hosts of men who often avowed their wish for our defeat, we should hardly feel that such a government deserved our blood shed in its defence.

I believe, therefore, that the government should announce what I said in regard to the blacks: Every man that enters the lines, arm him or punish him. And in regard to the public offices, empty Washington of every man, woman and child who will not take the oath of allegiance—every one probably disloyal. (Cheers.) Until that is done, this war is a bloody farce. The government is not fighting; they are only playing with bloody counters—with the lives of 200,000 men. Maps, just finished in Washington, found in the tents of the rebels! The plan of the campaign known to be in possession of the staff of the opposite army! Out of such a nest, no army should be sent. We have a right to ask this of the government. War is horrible. No government, no mere form, is worth a single human life. If we enter it, we enter it for the gravest and most solemn of all purposes; and after that, every step should be taken to make it as efficient as possible. You and I are to create that efficiency. You and I are to save years of this bloody war. I would not take one step, nor refrain from it, out of regard to England or France. (Loud applause.) In one sense, I do not care for their sympathy. If nineteen millions of men are not able to hold their government up, may it tumble down. (Loud applause.) If we need England or France to decree government and justice on this continent, we had better be under a king. (Applause, and cries of "Hear, hear.") I would not, therefore, take a step, nor forbear it, out of any regard to England. With a fair purpose and proper exercise of will, we are able to decide this question. General Scott might have burned over Virginia months ago, and left no woods to conceal the masked batteries of Manassas. Why did he let his hundred thousand men linger in Washington? Better there, than to be sent out to be butchered. Such was not Wellington's conduct when for long months he created an army behind ramparts in Portugal. Occasional employment helped formal drill, while it kept up the spirit of the soldier. But what we may rightfully ask of this government is to put on its banner something worth fighting for; and then to put behind it an army not already betrayed by its own servants.

I know that this may seem like disloyal criticism of the Administration; but this matter is your concern and mine as much as the Administration's. We are to be beggared, our neighbors are to be shot, our national honor is at stake. Whoever seals his lips, I shall not seal mine. (Prolonged applause.) I believe that Gen. Scott is honest; I know that he is able. I have no criticism to make of the secrets or details of military science. But every man who has his eyes open knows that war is a serious and earnest game. The South spares nothing. She goes back to the days of barbarism for her methods. She is in deadly earnest, and we are at play. We pardon traitors at home; we almost smile on them on the other side; and in Washington, they are spoken of as "our friends at the South," and exchange of courtesies takes place. If we have a war worthy of the blood of New England men, it is to be an earnest war, and it is to be made now, if the great purpose of the war is to be saved from the complications which another spring, and the difficulties and embarrassments which another six months cannot fail to bring. If you have any influence, therefore, on members of Congress, on editors, on the creators of public opinion, on your neighbors, on the rank and file of your army, teach them that with Massachusetts bayonets, it is better to be insubordinate, and shoot a Colonel, than it is, unasked, unauthorized, and Heaven-damned, to turn themselves into hunters of slaves. (Loud and prolonged cheers.) Help the government to dare to give the rein to the ardor of the people. That sight of the stars and stripes bowing to the palmetto at Charleston, that flight at Bull Run, will rankle in the history of the Republic for centuries. The only opiate for this ache of the nation's heart is the government bidding the world take note of the cause of this fell disease, avowing her purpose with mortal surgery to cut it out, and then, gathering four million of the oppressed under her flag, plant it, in serene strength, amid shouts of jubilee, on the shores of the Gulf. (Loud applause.)

From the Jefferson, (Ohio,) Sentinel.

FUGITIVE SLAVES.

The prostitution of our military force to the catching and returning fugitive slaves, recently exhibited in Western Virginia, must leave a stain upon the character of those engaged in it, and reflect upon the service in which they are employed.

There is nothing upon which civilized nations look with more detestation than upon this matter of catching slaves. They view it as an act far more disgraceful than that of the original capture of slaves in Africa, inasmuch as the slave who *escapes* from his master shows intelligence, a love of liberty, which is less apparent among the heathens of that barbarous land. Hence a Russian nobleman declared to a distinguished American, that nothing ever transpired in Russia so despotic as the catching of fugitive slaves. It will be recollected that the slave Anderson, while attempting to escape from Missouri, was met on his way by his master, who attempted to force him back to bondage. The slave at once slew his master, and escaped to Canada. He was demanded as a murderer. The Canadian court discharged him, declaring the act to be just and proper, repeating the maxim, that "self-defence was the first law of nature," and he who attempts to enslave a man is unfit for human association, and may be killed with impunity. A gentleman of distinction from England assured me, that the delivery of Anderson as a murderer would have worked a revolution in England. As a nation, we hang the men who seize human beings in Africa, although they are far less guilty than those who seize and enslave them in this Christian land.

When the Mohammedans of Africa enslaved our citizens, we pronounced them pirates, and sent an army and navy, not to seize and send back our friends who escaped from bondage, but to avenge them on those who committed the crime of holding them in servitude. It is the deep moral turpitude of enslaving the human soul which imparts to the act an ineffable disgrace.

The slaves on board the Amistad, in 1840, rose and slew the captain and cook, took possession of the ship, and landed on the shore of Connecticut. The Spanish government denounced them as murderers, but the Supreme Court of the United States, and all civilized men, said they had done their duty nobly, and we sent them back to Africa.

In 1841, the slaves on board the Creole took possession of the ship, slew one of the slave-dealers, and arrived at Nassau. John Tyler, of Virginia, called on the British government to send them back to the United States. But the British Minister insisted that it was no crime to kill a slave-dealer, and refused to deliver them up.

During the revolutionary war, slaves were employed in our armies to fight our battles, and we, as a nation, gave them pensions, instead of seizing and delivering them up to their masters. Even North Carolina, when subsequently passing that most barbarous enactment authorizing the re-enslavement of persons emancipated, had the grace to exclude from such a fate "those who served the country during the recent war."

In 1814, Gen. Jackson armed a battalion of blacks, without inquiring whether they were slaves or not. They fought gallantly, and some of them died like heroes; and the veteran warrior publicly thanked them, and honored them for their valor, instead of surrendering them to their masters. The owners of those killed petitioned Congress for compensation, but that body has ever treated these petitions with disfavor. Methinks the officer who should have dared to catch a slave in Jackson's camp would himself have been remanded out of it as a disgrace to the service.

General Jesup, at one time, permitted the owners of slaves to come within his lines to search for fugitives; but he soon saw the demoralizing effects of such conduct, and not only excluded them from his camp, but prohibited them from coming within certain geographical lines, far more extensive than his encampment, appearing to regard the putridity of a slave-catcher dangerous to the honor of the service. And General Taylor never at any time would permit a slave-catcher to come within his lines.

Again, all these Generals gave liberty to slaves who joined their camps, instead of sending them back to slavery. And, their action was fully and ably vindicated by John Quincy Adams on the 14th of April, 1842. That most illustrious statesman of the age in which he lived declared that the fugitive slave held from the Creator the same right to live, the same right to defend life and liberty, obtain knowledge, and enjoy happiness and heaven, with which God has endowed other men. To invade these rights constitutes a crime against God and humanity. It is an offence against the first, the essential element of our government. It is a violation of the vital principle on which the Republican party came into power, which they stand pledged to maintain. To involve our soldiers in the disgrace of catching slaves, or of serving under officers who disgrace themselves and regiment by catching slaves, constitutes a violation of the President's proclamation, a violation of the contract of enlistment. We advise our soldiers who enter the military service to vindicate the government, to maintain its

dignity and uphold its laws. No man who volunteered for those high and honorable objects expected to serve under slave-catchers, or to maintain the barbarous enactments of Virginia, or become subservient to customs or laws which disgrace the age in which we live. If State laws or State Constitutions are to govern our Ohio troops, they are sworn to uphold those of our State, which knows no slavery, but which looks upon that institution as heathenish and barbarous. Indeed, we all know that it is slavery which has involved us in this war, and every reflecting man understands, that while slavery exists, there can be no real union among these States.

But I hear some men say, we have a Fugitive Slave Law, that the Constitution provides for the delivery of fugitive slaves. I do not propose to argue that question now; for admitting that construction of the Constitution and of the Fugitive Law given by the most arrant slaveholders, yet they only extend to the capture of fugitives who "*escape from one State to another*," but neither dough-face nor slaveholder, until this war, ever held it to be our duty to send an army to Virginia to catch her slaves while they remain in that State. No Constitution, no laws ever authorized a Quartermaster or other military officer to sit in judgment upon the right of a fellow-man to liberty. The act of Judge Key, in passing sentence of slavery upon the fugitive, was the exercise of no power delegated to him. It was rank usurpation, the exercise of a revolting despotism, and the fate of a despot should await him.

But I am astonished to hear men inquire what our army shall do with fugitive slaves. I reply in the same language which I have used for twenty-five years: *Let them alone.* LET THEM TAKE CARE OF THEMSELVES. If Gen. McClellan desires, he may legitimately forbid them from entering his camp, he may forbid his men from employing any one who is not a soldier. He may exclude both master and slave from his encampment, or he may do as Gen. Taylor did, exclude the master only; or he may do as Mr. Adams proposed, *give liberty to the slaves.* But neither he nor any other officer holds the legal or constitutional right to employ our men in catching slaves. And when our neighbors or friends, who have volunteered for the patriotic duty of maintaining our Federal Government, and upholding its honor and dignity, are compelled to see a fellow-being seized within camp by soldiers of their own regiment, dragged before a military coxcomb, and doomed to chains, and sighs, and sufferings, by a petty usurper, it becomes our duty to speak for our soldiers, who are not permitted to speak for themselves.

We are proud of our gallant men who stood forth at Phillippi, and could even look upon their dead bodies with pensive pride, should they fall in honorable battle; but we protest against their being involved in the disgrace of serving under officers who stoop to become the blood-hounds for Southern catchpoles.

JOSHUA R. GIDDINGS.

THE GRAND QUESTION.

FORTRESS MONROE, OLD POINT COMFORT, August 1, 1861.

The rebels have lately been down Back River, and the neighborhood of Fox Hill, and run off all the able-bodied negroes they could lay their hands on, and taken them to Yorktown and other places, to help build fortifications. They are using negroes wherever they can be found, without regard to ownership or other considerations, to construct batteries. Negroes have thereby come to be an element of warfare as much as powder or guns. If there was a depot or factory of powder or guns that Gen. Butler could take or destroy, would he not take or destroy it? Would it not be his duty to do it, and thus inflict a heavy blow on rebellion? There cannot be a moment's hesitation about what would be his duty in such a case. What essential difference is there between it and the gobbling up of hundreds and thousands of negroes to construct batteries behind which rebellion will make a stand? If there was a rebel depot of horses, carts, shovels, wheelbarrows, or other utensils for building fortifications, within striking distance, would there be any reason for hesitating about seizing said horses, carts, and so on, and using them to build batteries for national troops? Since negroes are used in precisely the same way by the rebels, they are just as much instruments and an element of warfare, as powder, guns, horses, carts, and similar utensils; and why should there be any more hesitation about the one than about the other?

The late confiscation law does not touch the question in the only shape in which it is practically presented, or is likely to come up. We have it now before us in precisely this shape, and in this shape it must be treated. Hitherto, the negro question has presented itself, so to speak, in a milder form. Gen. Butler has been called to decide what shall be done with negroes seeking refuge and protection within his lines. It was simply a question whether they should have it or not — a question that was not difficult to decide. The confiscation law does not touch even that question, however; it only applies to negroes actually employed on rebel fortifications, and must be without practical effect or value, since the negroes are in the hands of the enemy, and the rebels the witnesses. So far, therefore, the law is little more or less than parchment to read and look at. The grand question still remains: What shall be done in the case of the great mass of negroes who are being gathered up and taken off by the rebels to build batteries, from districts that are equally accessible to our forces, where, if the effort is only made, we can obtain willing laborers to build our batteries? I say nothing about what shall be done with the negroes when we are done with them, or, what is, perhaps, a greater question still, what shall be done with the women and children, and the aged, dependent on the able-bodied husbands, fathers and sons? Considerations of a warlike nature might decide in favor of taking without ceremony the able-bodied laborers; but humanity interposes a strong plea on behalf of the women, the children, and the sick and aged.—*Correspondence of the N. Y. Tribune.*

PRACTICAL JOKE OF A CHICAGO FIRE ZOUAVE.

A member of the New York Fire Zouaves, who went from this city to join Col. Ellsworth, in April, and who, until then, had been an industrious typo in the *Chicago Tribune* office, was out on picket duty one day last month, when the following incident occurred:

An F. F. V. with rather more than the usual superciliousness of his race, rode up in a carriage from the direction of Alexandria, driven of course by his "servant." Zoo-zoo stepped into the road, holding his bayonet in such a way as to threaten horse, negro and white man at one charge, and roared out, "TICKETS!" Mr. V. turned up his lip, set down his brows, and by other gestures indicated his contempt for such mud-sills as the soldier before him, ending by handing his pass over to the darkey, and motioning him to get out, and show it to Zoo-zoo.

"All right," said the latter, glancing at it, "move on," accompanying the remark with a jerk at the coat collar of the colored person which sent him spinning several paces down the road. "Now, sir, what do *you* want?" addressing the astonished white man.

White man by this time had recovered his tongue. "Want? I want to go on, of course. That was my pass."

"Can't help it," replied Zoo; "it says pass the *bearer*, and the bearer is already passed. You can't get two men through *this* picket on one man's pass."

Mr. V. reflected a moment, glanced at the bayonet in front of him, and then called out to his black man to come back. Sambo approached cautiously, but fell back in confusion when the "shooting-stick" was brandished towards his own breast.

"Where's your pass, sirrah?" asked Zoo-zoo.

"Here, massa," said the chattel, presenting the same one he had received from the gent. in the carriage.

"Won't do," replied the holder of the bayonet. "That passes you *to* Fairfax; can't let any one come *from* Fairfax on *that* ticket. MOVE ON!" A stamp of the foot sent Sambo down the road at a hand gallop.

"Now, sir, if you stay here any longer, I shall take you under arrest to head-quarters," he continued.

Mr. V. grabbed up his lines, wheeled around, and went off at the best trot his horse could manage over the "sacred soil." Whether Sambo ever hunted his master up is not known.—*Chicago Tribune.*

☞ Two fugitive slaves, who escaped to the Pocahontas, state that the rebels are employing five hundred negroes to build fortifications at the mouth of the Rappahannock. But none such must be permitted to enlist in support of the government!

FEELINGS OF THE PEOPLE OF ENGLAND.

ENGLAND, July 5, 1861.

TO THE EDITORS OF THE INDEPENDENT:

SIRS: I am an occasional reader of *The Independent*, and reside in the midst of the cotton-consuming district of England. In common with the bulk of my countrymen, I have been surprised and grieved at the tone of feeling which has prevailed in the press of the United States towards this country, in relation to the present unhappy civil war which rages in your country. In order to put the readers of *The Independent* right on this subject, I am induced to write this letter to express the feelings and the opinions which generally prevail in England on this question. I do it not only in accordance with the bent of my own inclination, but at the suggestion of others who, with myself, are distressed at the false impressions which the people of the United States have of the policy of our Government and the sentiments of the British nation.

It is a matter of deep sorrow to the majority of this nation that an evil of such tremendous magnitude as a civil war should have befallen the United States. Do not mistake me. I do not say that we are sorry that the Northern States have risen as one man in defence of their Federal Government, and in putting down the Southern rebellion—in this we rejoice—but we are grieved that there should be any necessity for war, and the immense loss of human life. In this country there is really a strong desire for the union, the freedom, and the prosperity of the United States. Our newspapers may criticise your character, Government and proceedings, and even show sometimes an improper spirit, and individuals may indulge in hostile criticisms; but still the nation at large, including our politicians, entertain a sincere desire for the good-will and the prosperity of your country. If unkind observations were to become the rule by which the feeling of one country toward another should be determined, I do not know where any of us should be. The press of this country are constantly criticising the institutions, the movements, and the men of their own nation; and if they sometimes turn their attention to America in the same spirit, there is nothing but equality in praise or blame. If we, in England, were to judge the people of the United States by the standard of *The New York Herald*, which we do not, we should entertain bad thoughts of our brethren in the States. The freedom of speech and the press which exists here and with you, involves the possible abuse of the pen and the tongue in the utterance of an evil spirit now and then. Do not confound the sentiments of our Government and people with the occasional utterance of *The Times* or any other newspaper, or the hasty words of an obscure and untrustworthy politician. We feel that we are your brethren in blood, in religion, in love of liberty, and in human progress. We therefore sincerely regret your misfortunes, and wish you soon out of them.

Amongst all classes of the British people there is but one opinion on the merits of the dispute between the North and the South. There may be a few *individuals* who are influenced by connection with the South and by prejudice, to favor the cause of the Secessionists, but as a whole nation we are, without doubt or hesitation, of opinion that justice, truth and right are on the side of the North, and that the South have not a genuine pretence, say nothing of principle, to justify their proceedings. They seceded without any ground of complaint, and in our judgment were influenced only by the spirit of tyranny and monopoly. We regard you in the North, therefore, as fighting in the cause of justice and freedom, against an unscrupulous faction who desire to make the United States a republic, founded upon the detestable principle of slavery.

Believing that the Northern States are engaged in a righteous cause, we have but one intense desire, viz., that they will speedily triumph over the Southern rebellion, and utterly crush the slaveocracy, and rescue the republic from slave dictation. Now that this war has commenced, and that the dispute cannot be settled without bloodshed, our hope is that it will be carried on by the North with vigor, until the South is completely prostrated, and the power of slavery forever destroyed or immensely diminished. Though regretting such a calamity as a civil war, we are inclined to think that the present is an emergency thrust upon the North, in order that they may discharge their duties to the slave and the Republic in reference to the slaveocracy. It is evident to us in this country, that the North has suffered itself to be bullied by the South too long, and that now is the time for emancipating yourselves from the bondage, and asserting the prerogatives of the majority, and the preponderance of wealth and intelligence which are found in the free States.

These sentiments of good-will to the North, and speedy and complete victory over the Secessionists, are the general sentiments of the people of this country. Whilst entertaining them as individuals, our government and nation have long determined to take no part in the struggle, but to remain neutral. This is the only policy possible to us as a nation, and the one which your government has demanded and the press has required. In carrying out this policy consistently, our government has, however, been entirely misunderstood by your press and people. The recognition of the "belligerent rights" of the South has been interpreted as taking sides with the South, or as recognizing a complete equality between the North and the South. This is a total misconception. The constant intercourse between this country and the South, as well as the North, required that our practical policy should be well defined and proclaimed; and, in accordance with the law and custom of old nations, a policy of neutrality required that such recognition should take place. But this expresses no opinion on the dispute or the merits of the contest; it simply recognizes existing facts—two portions of one nation at war—and resolves to allow them to fight it out themselves. Such recognition was unavoidable as a guiding principle of conduct. We will not allow privateers to enter any of our harbors, or to take advantage of any means belonging to our government, nor will we allow British subjects to join them. If our government had not made this recognition, they would have been compelled to treat the privateers as pirates, and to employ their own forces in putting them down. Also, if they had not done so, they could not have acknowledged the blockade of the Southern ports by the Federal Government. It is evident that the blockade is more than closing certain ports for revenue purposes, as contended even by *The Independent* itself—it is to all intents and purposes a regular blockade in accordance with the laws of war. If such were not the case, why should United States ships of war seize, even on the open sea, vessels belonging to the South, and confiscate the goods of private individuals? In fact, in our judgment your government are treating the Southern States as a foreign country at war with themselves, and therefore they recognize the same facts and the same laws as are implied in our recognition of "belligerent rights." Do not, therefore, imagine that in opinion or action we are in favor of the South. If this recognition had not taken place, we should have been required by the circumstances of the case to take sides in the contest; hence, in denying the propriety of our policy, you positively wish us to take a part in the contest. Our best wishes are with you, the people of the North; but our policy is one of fair and strict neutrality.

I have said that I reside in the centre of the cotton-consuming district of England. You seem to imagine that the cotton question blinds our eyes to the true nature of the contest. I beg to inform you that such is not the case. The people of this district are quite calm. If the war and the blockade continue till next winter, the cotton trade of this district will suffer—but will not be destroyed. We are making immense efforts to promote the growth of cotton in India, Africa, the West Indies, and some fifty other places. In India, now some four million bales of cotton are grown, and nothing but good communications to the seaboard are required to secure an immense supply, and this is being rapidly secured. In my opinion, the ultimate result of the Southern rebellion will be the death-blow to slavery. Come what will, this country will no longer be mainly dependent upon the Southern States for the supply of the raw material of cotton, and those States will never again be permitted to dictate to the North.

Your well-wisher, J. E.

☞ The Washington correspondent of the New York *Herald* says, "The Bull Run affair seems to have whetted the appetite of our soldiers for an opportunity to retrieve the credit of our cause. When an order to pack up and move was read to the Seventh Massachusetts Regiment, this afternoon, the enthusiasm of the men was inexpressible. Caps were waved and cheers rent the air."

The Liberator.

No Union with Slaveholders!

BOSTON, FRIDAY, AUGUST 9, 1861.

CELEBRATION OF THE FIRST OF AUGUST AT ABINGTON.

The Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society celebrated the twenty-sixth anniversary of the day when

"Across the Carib sea
Was heard the clash of breaking chains,"

at Abington, on Thursday of last week, August 1st. This celebration has been held for so many years, that it has now become an institution, and it is one that, we doubt not, will be perpetuated until the coming of the jubilee for the four million of slaves in this land. The heavy rain of the previous night, and the threatening aspect of the heavens in the morning, made the gathering smaller, in point of numbers, than in former years, but still, it was sufficiently large to crowd the Town Hall,—where the morning session was held,—to overflowing.

The meeting was called to order, shortly before 11 o'clock, by E. H. HEYWOOD, who, in behalf of the Committee of Arrangements, proposed the following list of officers:—

President—WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Boston.

Vice Presidents—BOURNE SPOONER, Plymouth; Hon. F. W. BIRD, Walpole; JAMES N. BUFFUM, Lynn; Rev. SAMUEL J. MAY, New York; A. J. GROVER, Esq., Illinois; MARY GREW, Penn.; Mrs. CHARLOTTE A. JOY, Hopedale; SAMUEL S. DREW, Dorchester; F. M. VAUGHAN, Middleboro'; EDMUND JACKSON, Boston; E. D. DRAPER, Hopedale.

Secretaries—CHAS. K. WHIPPLE, JAS. M. W. YERRINTON, Boston.

Finance Committee—ELBRIDGE SPRAGUE, J. G. DODGE, LOUISE WELLINGTON, ELIZA WELLINGTON, MARY WILLEY, Dr. T. P. KNOX.

These officers were unanimously accepted by the meeting.

Mr. GARRISON, on taking his position as President, was heartily cheered. He said—

The system of slavery which was abolished twenty-seven years ago by the fiat of British philanthropy was, in its leading features, essentially like that which exists in the Southern part of our country. The number of victims held in bondage was only one fifth as many as are now driven to unrequited toil on our Southern plantations. The slave code of the West Indies was bloody and barbarous. Chains and thumbscrews, whips and drivers and bloodhounds, were the paraphernalia of that horrible system, whose overthrow we have met to celebrate. One would naturally think, that when the effort was first made to abolish a system so palpably wicked and cruel, there would have been an uprising of the people every where in Great Britain, in favor of so humane an object. But the historical fact is, that the fiercest opposition was manifested towards the friends of emancipation from the day when Clarkson and Wilberforce stood foremost in the work of freedom, until the last hour, when the chains of those in bondage were broken.

Twenty-seven years have passed since emancipation took place. You know that it was confidently predicted that such a measure would be productive of vastly more evil than slavery itself. But where are the false prophets who told us that, if the slaves should be liberated, they would ravage the plantations, and carry fire and desolation wherever they might go? Every year has shown that freedom is safe and beneficent. No act of violence has been perpetrated during this long period. The West India islands have ever since been rising in the scale of human improvement and general prosperity. We Abolitionists, therefore, have a right to hold up our heads rejoicingly; to feel that we have been sustained by the righteousness of our cause from the beginning; and that what we are now endeavoring to achieve for our country is to bring about the same auspicious state of things here as exists in the British isles.

I will not detain you by any further introductory remarks; but propose that we commence by singing the hymn on the printed sheet,—

"Blest day of Britain's freedom,
We hail thy brilliant light;
Our vision is extended
To see the joyful sight."

After the singing of this hymn, to the tune of the "Missionary Hymn," Mr. Garrison read the following letter from Hon. N. H. WHITING, who had been expected to preside, but was unavoidably detained:—

BOSTON, July 31, 1861.

W. L. GARRISON:

MY DEAR FRIEND,—I find it will not be convenient for me to attend the Anniversary of West India Emancipation, to-morrow, at Abington. I look upon the event you are to celebrate as one of the greatest oases in the vast desert of crime and oppression with which earth is filled; and it is among the brightest jewels in the historic renown of the nation, or people, by whom the simple act of justice you commemorate was done. How far it can be said, "They builded better than they knew," or wrought from the narrowest and meanest selfishness a deed of peaceful and glorious humanity for a despised race, perhaps we shall never know.

Judging the British nation by its spirit and conduct towards us, since the commencement of our present struggle with the barbarism of slavery, now in open and wanton rebellion against the Constitution and the Union, it will not give us a very exalted opinion of her philanthropy, justice, or honesty.

To England, more than to all other causes, do we owe it that the devil of slavery is so woven into the social and political life of this nation, that, in the effort to cast him out, like the young man in the Scripture, it may be taken up for dead; and though she has been taunting us, with full blown pharisaical pride, through many years, for our faithlessness to the principles contained in our Declaration of Independence, and our criminal connivance at the great crime of oppression, no sooner does the Slave Power, maddened by defeat in a constitutional election, take up arms against the government, for the avowed purpose of seeking its destruction, because it can no longer be used in its remorseless crusade against human freedom, than the moral (or immoral) and political influence of the British government is at once thrown into the scale of rebellion and slavery.

Not a throb of sympathy, not a word of encouragement, is sent across the ocean to a people "struggling in the embraces of the monster Python," who, through British cupidity, as well as American prejudice and avarice, has been suffered to coil around the nation's heart. How icy cold has her boasted philanthropy become! With what carping criticism — with what heartless indifference, or scarcely veiled sympathy with the rebellion—is the progress of this great drama watched by the ruling classes in the British Isles!—although it is manifest that in its development is involved the weal or woe of uncounted millions of our race, in the present and future. With what hot, not to say indecent haste do they express their more than half recognition of the so-called Confederate States, by putting them in the role of "belligerents," entitled to receive the same consideration as the nation with which they have treaties, and with which they have not only had relations of friendship and amity for many years, but for whose support of slavery they have read us many a lecture aforetime! Now rebellion seems riot through the South. The prestige of slavery in the government is lost. It is crippled, hemmed in, and threatened with ultimate destruction. After having gone into an election and failed, the chivalrous slaveholders refuse to submit to the rule of the new administration; and, having thus shown themselves more dishonorable and unprincipled than any company of gamblers that would be tolerated even in the purlieus of our civilization, they proceed to set up a government whose sole origin, scope and purpose is the "propagation, extension and perpetuation of human slavery"! And England — ANTI-SLAVERY ENGLAND (!!)—does not wait for the sun to rise, before she dubs this nest of pirates,—these rebellious slave-propagandists,—these shameless traffickers in human flesh, as even she has been wont to call them,—with the rights of "belligerents"! "O, the offence is rank—it smells to heaven!"

Your Irish correspondent, RICHARD D. WEBB, in his letter published in the last number of the *Liberator*, seems to be greatly surprised at what he calls the outcry raised in this country against the action of the British government, to which I have alluded. "These measures," says Mr. Webb, "seemed so inevitable and so reasonable, that we did not know what to make of the anger they excited." "Inevitable"! "reasonable"! are they? When before, in all the history of Great Britain, has she recognized the belligerent rights of any people, rising in rebellion against constituted authority, before the ink was dry with which their proclamation of independence was written? Was it in the case of Greece, of Hungary, of Poland—of Italy even? When did it ever before occur? For shame! men of England! If you desire the destruction of the American nation, have the manliness to say so, as the organ of the tory interest, *Blackwood's Magazine*, is frank enough to avow, and not seek to hide your jealousy and envy behind so shallow an excuse as Mr. Webb, with the Gregorys and Lord John Russells, offers for the encouragement they are giving to our rebels.

We have had, on this side of the water, a sort of excuse for the British government in their evident anxiety, and apparent necessity, for a supply of cotton; in order to obtain bread for a large number of their people. But Mr. Webb gives up even this poor plea, affirming that "the world is wide, and that in India, in China, and in Africa, there may be obtained a supply a hundred fold greater than their wants." If this be true, it shows an ignorance or malignity even more inexcusable and hateful than we have been disposed to charge them with; and places them before the world as the conscious, deliberate, but not by any means ingenuous allies of slavery, in order to cripple, if not destroy, a formidable, and hitherto successful rival.

It may be true, as Mr. Webb says, that "the wealth, strength and courage of England are prodigious," and at a premium; but her sincerity, liberality and justice, I fear, will only be taken at a large discount. I would fain believe that the great body of the English people are with us in our day of trial, and hope may, in some way, put an effectual veto upon the manifest tendency of cotton and corn to take part in this warfare, and that, too, on the side of slavery. But I think we had better make up our minds to fight this battle against the concealed, possibly the open hostility of the British government. Remembering ever that the gods help them who help themselves, let us show ourselves worthy of victory, and the approval of God and all good men, by seeking to do equal and exact justice to all.

If our government is wise, it will not close this war until the vile system, which is its only cause, is placed beyond the reach of further mischief. In the wild tumult and shock of this great battle with the "Armageddon of the race," we may care little for the negro, and may strive to utterly ignore him; but, more real, potent and terrible than Banquo's ghost, he will not down at our bidding. As hero-like Tillman, as "contraband," as fugitive from Slavery's dark den, as patient and earnest worker in the ranks of the rebel army, he is ever summoning us to judgment. On one side or the other, he is sure to be seen and felt. If we are disposed to treat him as a man, he will play the part of a man towards us; but if, on the contrary, through mistaken policy or relentless hate, we persist in treating him as a thing, to be used only as merchandize, to be driven into the hell of slavery, and trampled in its mire by the nation's armed heel, we must not be surprised if he joins with his master in the work of throttling a nation which the direst calamities, as well as the plainest dictates of justice and God's law, have failed to teach the simplest lesson of ethics, namely, that neither individuals nor nations can serve God and Mammon, freedom and slavery, and live.

I think the day of the negro's emancipation is bursting up the sky. I hope the nation has vitality enough to pass safely through its terrible ordeal. Its destiny is in the hands of its people. At any rate, justice will survive; the right shall endure. By cleaving to this, the great cycle of immortal life is before us. Forsaking these, through all the mutations of being there is written on the arch of heaven, as with a sunbeam, the warning declaration,

"When Faith is lost, when Honor dies,
The man is dead!"

When that occurs, the form or the continuance of any institution is not of the slightest moment.

Perhaps I cannot better close this long letter than by quoting a gem of purest gold with which that chronic hater of abolitionism, George Lunt, was somehow inspired, and say that, with the blessing of God, "We shall never tire of catching the diamond gleam from the forehead of eternal truth. The presence of whatever is purely good in life and thought is always welcome. We revert forever to the grand moral principles to which all ages have appealed. They never lose their force, however degraded we ourselves may be in mind and practice, and an honest sentiment finds its echo in the very hearts of thieves."

Hoping that you may have a pleasant and profitable time at your meeting to-morrow,

I remain, yours, enlisted for the war,

N. H. WHITING.

Mr. GARRISON then made a few remarks in reference to this letter. He said—I am inclined to say a word on the letter of our respected friend, just read in your hearing. The tone of it is one of great severity toward the British government and people. So far as my esteemed friend, Richard D. Webb, is concerned, I am sure that his testimony is worth being taken as he gives it, namely,—that he does not believe there is one man out of five hundred in England who does not heartily sympathize with the North in this struggle to put down the Slave Power. (Applause.) So much for the general heart of England; and, surely, a friend so faithful, so long-tried, so clear-sighted as he is, is not to be suspected of having any desire to bestow the least sympathy upon the traitors who are endeavoring to overturn this government for a most diabolical purpose. It is true, the attitude of the British government is one of neutrality towards us, at the present time. Whether it should take different ground or not, is an open question. Ten millions of people in arms, asserting their right to fashion their own institutions and maintain their own independence, present a formidable difficulty, as it respects the matter of piracy; and as our own government has not yet hung any of the rebels as pirates, although it has caught a good many, I presume that England will hesitate to take the initiative in treating them as such. This is certain—England refuses to allow any of her ports to be used for the purposes of the South, in relation to the captures of our ships by rebel privateers. We cannot expect much of any government, as a matter of disinterested virtue, in a critical emergency; but, as far as the people of England are concerned, I feel warranted in saying that they will never intelligently allow their government to do any act which shall make against the cause of freedom in which we are interested, which shall give any countenance whatever to the Slave Power of America. (Cheers.) [1]

I now have the pleasure of introducing to you, as the first speaker, one who has been, for more than thirty years, a most devoted and faithful friend of the Anti-Slavery cause; one to whom I feel myself so largely indebted for his early countenance and support, that I have no language to express the feelings of my heart towards him. I allude to our beloved friend, Rev. SAMUEL J. MAY.

Mr. May was very cordially welcomed by the audience, and spoke as follows:—

SPEECH OF REV. SAMUEL J. MAY.

For more than thirty years, we have been trying to answer to the people of this country the simple question, that is so fully and abundantly answered by the glorious event which we are here to celebrate—What is to be done with the colored population of the country? This question has been asked in various quarters, and with greater frequency of late than ever before, which satisfies me that the nation—the people of the North, certainly—are coming to perceive that the great issue is now before us, and that the question is to be decided.

Seventy-five years ago, Thomas Jefferson, one of the most far-seeing of all the men of that day, or that have since lived in our country, said (I may not quote his words precisely)—"If we do not liberate them [the slaves] by the generous energy of our own minds, they will liberate themselves by the awful processes of St. Domingo—civil and servile war." The civil war is already upon us; and if we do not make that civil war end in the abolition of slavery, it will inevitably be followed by a servile war. It is obvious enough, and men are every where seeing, that this great commotion which is now agitating this country as it never was agitated before, and as no other country, perhaps, was ever agitated, cannot be allayed until the source of this great trouble is removed. I hope it will not be allayed until then. (Applause.)

I need not say I am a man of peace. I need not say I abhor the custom of war. I have argued against it with all the little power that I have. I believe it one of the greatest follies of which men can be guilty. But, notwithstanding all that has been said on this subject by Noah Worcester, for more than forty years, and all that has been said by Mr. Garrison for more than thirty years, and by those who have labored with him,—notwithstanding all our remonstrances and all our entreaties to the people of our land to settle this great question, this terrible, this intolerable wrong in our midst, by peaceful and Christian means, the people have not heeded us; and Christian ministers, as they are called, and Christian churches, as they assume to be, have even ridiculed us for what we have said on this subject; and now we are plunged into war. How are we to get out of it? The event is to show. All I can say is, that we can never, blessed be God, get out of it, until we have utterly extirpated the *cause* of it (loud cheers); and a great many people throughout the country are coming to see that it is so, and are anxiously asking the question, "What is to be done with the enslaved people of our land?" In reply to this question, I have said again and again, "Why have you not informed yourselves of the happy results of emancipation in the British West Indies?" I am ashamed to say, that there are a great many people, even in this community, who do not know how admirable, how far better than the most sanguine friends of that movement dared to anticipate, have been the results of emancipation in the West Indies. But we all know how industriously, how untiringly, how laboriously, the political press of our country—the *Herald*, the *Commercial Advertiser*, the *Courier and Enquirer*, in New York, and the *Courier*, in Boston, (and, I believe, not less, in former days, the *Daily Advertiser*,) and I know not how many other papers, have tried to make it believed that it is a failure; and I have not a doubt that there are thousands of well-meaning people among us who are now brought to the conviction that slavery ought to be and must be abolished in the country, who tremble at the anticipation of the evil consequences of emancipation, the utter unfitness of the enslaved for freedom. That is, the utter unfitness of human beings for their birthright! You might as well doubt whether men were fit to breathe as whether they are fit to be free. The nonsense of the objection would be so glaring as not to leave us patience to answer it, if it were not that the frequency of the objection has really become a matter of grave importance in the prosecution of this great enterprise. Let us, then, my friends, send out from this meeting to-day as strong an utterance on the subject as we can bring ourselves to give of so plain and obvious a truth; and let us increase our diligence in circulating through the land, wherever we can, the admirable publications of our Society, more especially Mrs. Child's excellent pamphlet, "The Right Way the Safe Way," that wherever the people who are now raising this inquiry are willing to have it answered, they may see how fully and how beautifully it has been answered in those islands where took place the event we are here to celebrate—a glorious event indeed!

The volume of Thome and Kimball, published in 1835, is a most thrillingly interesting narrative of the blessed effects that manifested themselves immediately after the Emancipation Act took effect. In 183–, Mr. Gurney, a very distinguished member of the Society of Friends in England, visited the West India Islands for the express purpose of informing himself, and the people of Great Britain, of the true results of their gift of freedom to the enslaved. His Report showed those results to have been much better than were anticipated.

Numerous articles, published from time to time in the *Liberator*, *Anti-Slavery Standard*, and the *New York Tribune*, have confirmed Mr. Gurney's Report by the most ample and indisputable testimonies. Tracts have been published by the American Anti-Slavery Society, embodying the evidence thus obtained, and eloquently pressing it upon the consideration of the doubting.

In 1858, Rev. Henry Bleby, who had resided and labored as a missionary thirty years in the islands, visited this country. He lectured in several of our principal cities. The substance of his speeches was published in several periodicals, and in pamphlet form, giving the most satisfactory assurances that the emancipation of the enslaved in the British West India islands had been a blessing, in every way, to all concerned.

The same assurances were given to the British public, in 1860, by the Hon. Mr. Hincks, one of the Governors of the West India islands, then on a visit to England. But there has lately been published, by the Messrs. Harpers of New York, a volume which I especially commend to the perusal of all who would prefer the testimony of such as have not been committed to the anti-slavery cause in our country or in England. I refer to the volume entitled, "The Ordeal of Free and Slave Labor."

I have been reminded, in thinking of this meeting to-day, of other evidence of this self-evident truth, that it is safe to treat men as men. I have been thinking of other evidences that have come to me, since I entered upon this work of trying to induce our fellow-countrymen to regard and treat the enslaved population of the land as human beings, and to rely upon the healthful influences of those natural inducements to labor, and to behave as men should, which keep other people in proper subjection to what is reasonable and right. I shall never forget, and I have often used, the brief and all-comprehensive reply which our friend Elizur Wright, very early in our movement, gave to this question, "What shall be done with the enslaved population?" He said, "Take them from under Mr. Lash, and put them under Mr. Cash." (Applause.) That answers the question as well as it can be answered. A folio volume which should be written with the best ability of the most eminent pro-slavery or anti-slavery man in our country, would bring us at last to that conclusion. "*Take them from under Mr. Lash, and put them under Mr. Cash!*" The simplest thing in the world; and that it has always worked well wherever it has been tried, we have the most abundant evidence.

I need not, of course, refer you now to the evidence, with which all anti-slavery persons, men and women, are so familiar, recorded in pamphlets and speeches that we have all of us, I trust, read again and again; but I remember, some twenty-five or more years ago, that excellent old man, Moses Brown, of Providence—one of the earliest and truest friends of the anti-slavery cause—put into my hands several important pamphlets and stouter books, some of which I still have, but the one to which I am now about to refer, I am sorry to say, I have not. I read it, however, with so much interest then, that it made an impression that has not been effaced; I am not conscious that it has been dimmed. Still, as I am going to state the contents from recollection, of course some allowances must be made, notwithstanding my confidence in my memory. It was an account of Mr. Joshua Steele, of England, a man of large West India possessions, who had lived at ease in England, with little or no thought of those who were toiling for him on his far-distant plantations, until he had attained, I believe, nearly, if not quite, the age of seventy years, when a deep religious conviction came over him—those effects that are produced upon the hearts of men by that Spirit which is continually striving with us to will and to do of the good pleasure of the impartial Father of us all. A deep religious conviction came upon him, that he had been living in great unrighteousness, and had been guilty of terrible wrongs (to what extent he knew not) to those whom he held as his property. He therefore settled up his affairs in England, took leave of his friends, and, in 1780, came to the island of Barbadoes, with the determination to devote himself, the rest of his life, to the welfare of his enslaved fellow-beings on his plantations—amounting, I think, to four or five hundred in all.

He found their condition much worse than he had feared. He found the treatment to which they were subjected by his overseers more cruel than he could have believed, and the impositions practiced upon them in various ways by those overseers greater far than he had dreamed of. He gathered about him his enslaved brethren and sisters, acknowledged the wrong of which he had been guilty, and declared to them his intention thenceforward to be with them, and to do for them all that he might. He dismissed his overseers, called to his assistance some young men from England, who had never been contaminated by any immediate connection with the workings of the slave system, opened accounts with all his slaves, who were able to be thus employed, as free laborers, and paid them wages. He encouraged and assisted them in improving their habitations, and gathering about them the comforts of civilized life. I need not go into detail. He did all that, under the circumstances, he knew how to do, to help them to live as human beings should live, and as those who are partaking of the blessings of liberty might live. In effect, so far as he could, he had emancipated his slaves—without, perhaps, giving that name to it; though, if I remember right, (I am not sure on this point,) he informed them that, if they were willing to go from under his hand, they might; but if they pleased to remain, as he wished they might, he should do what he could for them. They all, with few exceptions, if my memory serves me right, chose to remain with him, in the relation of employer and employed. He was permitted to live—although, when he commenced this benevolent operation, he was an old man—ten or fifteen years; and I remember distinctly the details which I read, with eyes filled with delight, of the constantly improving condition of the people in his employment for the whole number of years that he was permitted to live with them. Their expenditures for their own comfort and convenience were vastly greater, but the income from his estates to himself, after having paid his people generously, was greater than it ever had been while they were treated as slaves, and was increasingly greater to the last. (Loud applause.)

Now, friends, if any of you think I have not a good memory, I hope you will hunt up that little pamphlet, and see wherein I am incorrect in my statements.

I will tell you now something that has never been written, but I think should be. Soon after I commenced, under the inspiration of this man, [Mr. Garrison,] who has misled me so much, (laughter,) to labor in this cause, (I think it was in 1835,) as I was on my way to Taunton and New Bedford, I met two gentlemen in the stage, who, somehow or other, had heard who I was, and what I was about. After awhile, they made this fact known to me, and gave me to understand that they were from the Southern States. After conversing upon the subject, and learning what are the principles we avow and the purposes we aim to accomplish, one of the gentlemen said, with a very kindly and earnest manner, "Well, I don't blame you. Slavery is a horrible institution, and, for my part, so far as I have been concerned with it, I have got rid of it, as far as I can." "What," said I, "do you mean? Have you emancipated your slaves?" "Well, they know they may go away if they 've a mind to; but they choose to remain." "Do let me have," said I, "a full account of your experiment, for I am extremely anxious to know all about it." "My name," he said, "is Marshall; I am a lawyer, now settled in Fredericksburg, but I formerly lived on my plantation, which was about fifteen miles from Fredericksburg. I found, as you doubtless know many planters in eastern Virginia have found to their sorrow, that our system of labor was an exceedingly expensive and wasteful one, and it had become evident to me that I was running behind hand, and could not long sustain myself upon the place. Provoked by the mismanagement of the overseer, and in a feeling partly of despair and partly of impatience, I said to my wife, 'I am going to throw the plantation into the hands of the people, and let them see if they can support themselves, and I will go into Fredericksburg, and support myself by my profession.' She gladly consented." He called his slaves about him, forty in number, and told them he was going to Fredericksburg to live; "and," said he, "I am going to give up the plantation to you, and you must see how you can manage it." Instantly, he said, an expression went over their countenances which satisfied him he had touched the right chord. "Master," said they, "you will see how we will manage." Before night, he said, they had had a meeting—the first democratic meeting, I suppose, ever held on a plantation (applause)—and chosen the very men whom he should have selected as the best, to guide them in their new mode of living. They selected two, and called one Colonel, and the other Captain. Of course, they did not want any overseers or drivers any longer.

Mr. Marshall said that, having done this, he went, as soon as possible, to Fredericksburg, where, of course, he was very busy in establishing himself in his profession, so that something like two months passed before he went out to his plantation. Then, happening to think, one day, that it was "play day" among the slaves, he said to his wife, "We will go out, and see how the slaves are getting along." When he approached the house, he saw no signs of jollification at all, and when he got upon the grounds, he found them hard at work. So he called the Captain, or Colonel, and said, "How is this?" He answered, very intelligently and knowingly, "You know that the crop is in just such a situation, that a day's work is very important just now; and you know, master," said he, looking upon into his face, "we can take the day now whenever we 've a mind to." "Certainly," said Mr. Marshall. So he went round the plantation, and was exceedingly gratified at the way in which they had managed it. He praised them highly, for he said they had done admirably well, and went back to Fredericksburg very well satisfied with what he had seen. A few weeks later, there came a messenger, on a foaming horse, to report to him that there was an insurrection on his plantation. "Insurrection!" said he, "what is there for them to have an insurrection about?" You can easily understand that some of his neighbors were not very well pleased at the way in which he had managed his plantation: but you know the plantations are widely separated in that section, and nothing had occurred specially to excite their fears until that day. It did not occur to him what the trouble could be, but in deference to the alarm which he was led to suppose had occurred in the neighborhood, he mounted his horse to go to the plantation, and see what the trouble was. When he got there, the slaves exclaimed, "How did you know this was our play day?" (Laughter and applause.) So he went to the

[1] For strong confirmatory evidence of the correctness of this view, see Letter of the English correspondent of the New York *Independent*, in a preceding column.

neighboring plantation, and allayed the fears of the people there by assuring them that his slaves were only having their "play day," and then returned and spent the day with them. Of course, he was treated like a lord. They took him about the place, and showed him the improvements they had made in their houses—how many convenient domestic utensils they had supplied themselves with; and they were particularly anxious that he should see how well they were managing this and that crop, and all that. He said he was perfectly satisfied that the experiment was an entirely safe one; that it was safe to treat man as man, strange as it may seem! (Applause.) "And," I added, "very unsafe, sir, to treat man as any thing else but man." (Renewed applause.) Very unsafe, as we are finding continually.

This experiment had been going on, Mr. Marshall told me, five years, and his slaves had never been half so comfortable. "Talk about their not being able to take care of themselves!" said he. "My overseers and my agents never have taken half as good care of them as they have taken of themselves, and my plantation has never been so profitable. It is profitable now; I was running behind-hand before."

Now, my friends, you are not surprised at this. You would be almost ashamed that I should tell you the story to convince you of the truth. And yet, just such facts as these are necessary to be spread before the people of our country, to convince them that the real danger resides in the terrible experiment that has been going on so long in our country; that experiment which would make brutes of human beings; subject to the condition of domesticated animals those whom God has created in his own image, and intended should be followers of himself as dear children. That is the fearful experiment that the people of this country have been making for a hundred years; and look at the horrible predicament into which our country is now thrown! God only knows how we are to come out of it. It is a just retribution. I bow reverently and submissively to this vindication of right which is now going on in our midst. Never since I thought of the subject have I dared to pray that I, or any whom I love, or any others, might be exempted from the natural consequences of our sins and our follies. I have long since got rid of those notions of God that led me to fear that he would treat us, wicked, ungrateful, perverse as we may be, with any too great severity. No, I believe that we shall be brought out of this terrible predicament somehow, better, perhaps, than we fear; but yet not until we have been made to feel and penitently to own, that we have been a fearfully wicked people. (Applause.) It is by true, unfeigned, heartfelt repentance alone that this most egregious, Heaven-daring, God-defying system of iniquity, and its consequences, can be utterly done away. (Applause.)

The President then introduced Wendell Phillips, Esq., who was received with enthusiastic applause. His speech—a most timely and able one—may be found on our first page.

At the conclusion of Mr. Phillips's speech, the meeting, after singing another hymn, adjourned for one hour.

[We shall publish the substance of the afternoon proceedings next week.]

BRITISH WEST INDIA EMANCIPATION.

The celebration of the colored citizens of New Bedford, in commemoration of the 27th anniversary of British West India Emancipation, took place at Arnold's Grove on Friday afternoon, August 2d.

The meeting was organized with the following officers.—President, Alfred Swan; Vice-Presidents, Chas. Allen, Rev. Wm. Jackson, Dr. Thomas Bayne, Wm. Henry Johnson; Secretaries, Dr. William P. Powell, Jr., John Freedom.

Rev. Edmund Kelley officiated as Chaplain, and offered prayer.

The following resolutions were offered by Wm. P. Powell:—

Whereas, in order to subjugate the legitimate government of the United States, his un-excellency, the arch traitor and would-be President, Jeff. Davis, issued his proclamation at Montgomery, to commission letters of marque to make reprisals upon the lawful property of loyal American citizens; and,

Whereas, in view of this atrocious fact, several piratical vessels are already in commission, and several vessels and cargoes seized and forfeited, and several loyal colored American citizens sold into life-long slavery, contrary to the codes of civil warfare and international law; therefore,

Resolved, That Wm. Tillman, the colored steward of schooner S. J. Waring, seized by the piratical brig Jeff. Davis, 7th July, for his heroic act, in recapturing said vessel and cargo, by unwillingly taking the lives of the piratical crew, thereby saving valuable property to the amount of $100,000; and also in saving of what is of more value than money, his own liberty, is entitled to the unanimous thanks of the United States Congress.

That a Committee of three be appointed to forward these resolutions to the Hon. T. Dawes Eliot, Representative from this district, and present the same to Congress.

That the proceedings of this meeting, together with the resolutions, be published in the New Bedford *Mercury*, *Evening Standard*, Boston *Liberator*, New York *National Anti-Slavery Standard*.

The resolutions were adopted.

Eloquent and interesting addresses were made by Rev. Mr. Girdwood, Dr. Stearns, Hon. Rodney French, Dr. Bayne, Rev. Thomas Jones, Dr. William Powell, David W. Ruggles and William Henry Johnson.

The following preamble and resolution, offered by Dr. Bayne, were also adopted:—

Whereas, the colored people of this Commonwealth have applied to the Legislature to have the word white stricken from the militia list, that the colored men of this Commonwealth might render loyal service in times of war; and,

Whereas, His Excellency ex-Governor Banks has decided that the grant of such a petition would be unconstitutional—therefore,

Resolved, That we, as colored men, regard it hypocritical and wicked in those that ask us as colored men why we do not go to war.

The assembly was quite large and respectable, and everything was conducted in the most orderly and satisfactory manner.

Washington on Slavery. The following sentimento of Gen. George Washington, in a letter to Gen. Lafayette in 1791, will show with sufficient significance what was his opinion of the peculiar institution at that time:—

"I agree with you cordially in your views in regard to negro slavery. I have long considered it a most serious evil, both socially and politically, and I should rejoice in any feasible scheme to rid our States of such a burden. The Congress of 1787 adopted an ordinance which prohibits the existence of involuntary servitude in our Northwestern Territory forever. *I consider it a wise measure. It met with the approval and assent of nearly every member from the States more immediately interested in slave labor. The prevailing opinion in Virginia is against the spread of slavery in our new Territories*, and I trust we shall have a confederacy of Free States."

If Washington were living to utter such a sentiment as this in Richmond, he would hardly escape being summarily lynched or banished!

☞ Rev. W. H. Channing, lately of Liverpool, but who has since accepted a call to Brixtone Chapel, London, is in Boston, diligently learning all he can regarding the condition and prospects of the country in this emergency, and posting leading English thinkers on the matter. He is looking very well, and is exceedingly absorbed in the state of things. A lecture of his in London has been published in London, and makes a considerable pamphlet. It is one of the best things that have appeared on the subject. It is sold by Walker, Wise & Co., in Boston.

☞ We shall publish, in our next, the able Discourse of Rev. Mr. Mayo, of Albany, at Music Hall.

DISCUSSION ON EMIGRATION.

Reported for the Pine and Palm by James M. W. Yerrinton.

On the evening of the 21st ult., Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Esq., delivered an address in Rev. Mr. Grimes's church, Southac street, on the War and the Haytian Emigration Movement—a verbatim report of which appeared in the *Pine and Palm* of July 23.

While the collection was being taken up, Mr. Garrison said, if any person in the audience desired to ask any questions, he would endeavor to answer them.

George T. Downing.—A great deal of confidence is naturally placed in any remark that falls from our friend Mr. Garrison, because we have known him long and well, and we know that whatever he says, he says in an honest spirit, and not in the spirit of compromise, and that he will speak freely and fully what he thinks. He has drawn several parallels between the old Colonization Society and the new. There are two others, to which he has not alluded. One is this: that both of them seem to desire to create in the minds of the colored people the impression that they cannot be anything in this country. I think that any one who has followed the movements of the two Societies, will admit that this is a fact. Another point is this: that they both aim to keep the light from us, by preventing discussion. I will give an instance. Mr. Hamilton, in connection with Mr. Sipkins, went into several colonization meetings, some years back, and dared to ask certain questions as to the bearing of this movement upon the interests of the colored people, but they were not permitted to discuss the matter. This Society will not allow any colored man to question its motive or plans. I believe I am stating facts. These two parallels have a striking influence upon my mind. If I was allowed to discuss this matter freely, I might look with more favor than I do upon this movement. But finding this depressing influence emanating from the Society, and, also, a disposition on the part of the Society to suppress all discussion, I question the honesty of it.

Mr. Garrison.—I would say, in reply to the statements of our friend Mr. Downing, that whenever or wherever I shall see any such spirit exhibited, I shall feel bound to denounce it in the strongest manner. If this is the spirit which animates those who have the new movement under their charge, it certainly does not indicate the right spirit, nor one that is willing to be "searched as with a candle."

As to the assertion that you cannot rise in the scale of civilization here, I should be sorry to find any colored man retailing that monstrous heresy of the old Colonization Society. I regard it as a libel upon the goodness of God, and the power of Christianity. It may be, that you will suffer yet a good deal from complexional prejudice; it may be, that I am too sanguine in the expectation that all your rights will, at no distant day, be conceded to you; it may be, that the day of emancipation is further off than I now apprehend it to be; but I beg of you not to lose your trust in God, or in the power of his truth, and not to believe that this country is so utterly depraved that the truth cannot find its way into the hearts of the people, and that we cannot, as a nation, be saved. I desire you to believe that you shall rise here in "the good time coming"; that you are not to be always kept down; and to give no countenance to any man, or any body of men, who propagate the disheartening doctrine that you must always be despised and degraded here. And yet, if a man is so morbidly constituted that he cannot take any other view than that, of course he will advocate it; and perhaps we ought to be as charitable towards him as possible, especially if he be a colored man. But when I hear a white man assert that you can never rise here, on account of your complexion, it creates a moral conflagration in my soul. I should be sorry to have any colored man imitate that bad example by expressing his conviction that you must leave the country, before you can gain the possession of your rights, and escape from inevitable degradation.

Wm. W. Brown.—I should be very sorry to have those of our people who are here go away with the impression that the emigration movement advocates the doctrine, that colored men cannot rise in this country. If it should appear that such a doctrine was advocated, I would at once oppose it, as I would slavery in the Southern States. I am glad my friend Garrison has not seen any thing of that kind, for we all know he would oppose it, if he saw it manifested. I have heard colored men say that we cannot rise in this country, but I have never heard any say so connected with this movement.

In regard to the matter of discussion in their journal, that may be a matter of opinion. It may be that they thought the subjects presented were not presented in the manner that they ought to have been. I remember to have heard the expression used by Mr. Redpath, within a day or two, that Thomas W. Higginson could have a column every week to oppose the movement, if he thought fit; or any body who would discuss the subject in a manner that was calculated to enlighten the people, and not abuse the privileges of the press.

I thought it was no more than justice to the movement to make this explanation, for I myself feel an interest in Hayti; but the interest I feel is not sufficient to make me willing that our cause should be damaged here, in order that Hayti may be benefitted by emigration there. Still, we ought to do the persons connected with this movement simple justice. Mr. Garrison's remarks upon Hayti I concur in entirely. I think that they are timely and just, and what we ought to hear upon this subject. It seems to me that we ought to hesitate, before leaving the country, upon every little thing that comes up; but when such a movement as this by the Haytian government is inaugurated, and taken up by people here, we ought to do them justice, and give justice to those who are interested in the movement here.

Mr. Downing.—Mr. Garrison will observe the point of my questions. I mentioned two parallels between the Societies, of which he had not spoken. I wish to have his impressions upon these points.

Mr. Garrison.—I have heard that, in discussing this question, some of the agents employed have held up this desponding view. I cannot speak of my own knowledge upon this point. I only say, that if I shall discover any thing of the kind in a tangible shape, I shall certainly not be sparing of my rebuke. I abhor the old doctrine, and hold it to be very pernicious. It seems to me that the progress of the last thirty years has been very wonderful, in subduing and overcoming this unnatural prejudice; and although much more remains to be done, still, in view of the past, and of the signs with regard to the future, I think we may all of us "thank God, and take courage." I would not have you leave this country on any account; and yet, I admit, it requires almost or quite an apostolic self-sacrifice for you to remain. Notwithstanding the advance in public opinion on the right side, there is still a heavy pressure upon you everywhere. The temptation to go elsewhere among people of your own complexion, where you will no longer be proscribed, is certainly a powerful one; and I think a great deal may be pardoned to one who, feeling that pressure very keenly, desires to get out of this country. Nevertheless, I want to impress it upon your minds, that it will be the noblest work you can do, to stand here in your lot, and, if it must be so, suffer—(applause)—suffer for the sake of the millions in bondage. I want to see the colored people increasing, not diminishing, in number. The slaveholder dreads to have you multiply, and I want you to multiply. He wants you to be shipped out of the country; I would have you resolve not to be shipped out of the country. He understands the bearing of this question very sagaciously upon the slave system. Before God, I do not see how this nation can be really civilized and Christianized, if you go. You are needed to make us Christians, to make us understand what Christianity means; and if you go away from us, and leave us as we are, we shall certainly be damned as a people! We have taken all the nations of the earth into our embrace, with one exception. Only look at the army, as it is going Southward! See how it is composed of all men and nations, except colored men! But they will have a chance, by and by. I say it is significant; that the day is very near at hand, when the last vestige of caste will be destroyed, and there will no longer be any black or any white men to talk about, invidiously and hatefully, but we shall mingle harmoniously together as one people. And may God hasten the day!

THE ATTITUDE OF ENGLAND.

Let us not be unreasonable in our expectations of England in the struggle now pending in this country.

When we say England, we mean sometimes the people of Great Britain, and sometimes their government.

If, when we talk of the duty of England to give sympathy and aid to the North in the existing contest, we mean the *people* of England, it should be remembered that that nation includes as many varieties in feeling, interest, prejudice, principle, and want of principle, as our own. If it be asked—What is the feeling of Americans towards England?—the answer must be that half a dozen widely different states of feeling are cherished and expressed by as many widely different classes here, each possessed of more or less influence through its numbers, its weight, or its activity. Of course, the same variety of feeling exists among the English people in relation to us. The *Times*, and *Blackwood's Magazine*, and the English lady who wrote, a few years ago, a book full of intense laudation of Southern society, effervescent with delight in its manners, customs, morals, religion, and no less in its "peculiar institution," have their circle of sympathizers, and that a large and powerful one. They, certainly, are not to be expected to favor us in preference to the South. Neither can such favor be expected from that large portion of the mercantile class who think free trade the best, and "protection" the worst of all possible things; nor from that large portion of the manufacturing class to whom cotton is the most important of all worldly considerations; nor from those temporal and spiritual dignitaries who have, ever since our Revolution, considered overmuch freedom to be the vice and the danger of this country, and who have constantly looked for its decline and fall in consequence of the amount of democracy (not at all in consequence of the amount of tyranny) incorporated with it. These classes, at least, all great and strong ones, cannot be expected to sympathize particularly with the North. They declare our present trouble be a fulfilment of their oft-repeated predictions.

Are we to expect sympathy, then, from the philanthropists of England? from those of her people who rejoice in the fact that *their* slavery was long since abolished, and who have long urged the duty of a similar abolition on our part, and the shame of our Northern continued complicity with slavery?

These persons feel, no doubt, an active sympathy with the Abolitionists, the people who are laboring, now as heretofore, in the direction of their wishes, and of justice and humanity; but can they be expected to show or to feel any active interest in that United States Government which takes special care that its action against rebellious slaveholders shall not interfere with their slavery?—which makes special protestation of its purpose to protect that wickedness in the loyal States, and to leave it undisturbed even in the hostile ones? Favor and help to the present Administration, in its present attitude, would give no direct help to the overthrow of slavery. Even if such help were given, to the extent of compelling a submission of the rebels, slavery would still exist among them, and exist by our direct connivance, as heretofore; and would still produce the same pestilent brood of troubles, making coastant efforts to overthrow its natural enemy, liberty. While our government concedes a right, not only to its citizens but to its rebels, to hold slaves, what can British philanthropists do but look on and wait, protesting, meanwhile, against such folly and wickedness?

But if, when we say England ought to help us put down the rebellion, we mean the English *government*, we show ourselves to be guided by prejudice rather than reason. Governments, no more than corporations, have souls. They are governed by deliberate considerations of policy. Like Napoleon's idea of Providence, they are on the side of the strongest battalions; and until it is proved which side *is* the strongest, their part is to wait. Is the second to do more than his principal? Everybody sees that our government occupies a position of defence far more than of active forward movement. It keeps as quiet as its Southern assailants will allow. It does as little as possible, except guarding its capital against fire and sword. It makes no attempt to remove known traitors, not merely from the seat of government, but from positions of trust and active occupation *in* the government! It seizes a few actively traitorous persons in the very act of treachery to the government and help to the enemy, and releases them *on parole*, though they are known to be as destitute of honor as of honesty! It issues proclamations against certain persons as pirates; but when they fall into its power, though taken in the very act of murder and robbery on the high seas, *it does not hang them as pirates!* Is the English government to be more active than our own in opposing our rebels? Under such circumstances, what can she do but wait? Before any effective coöperation with us against the South, must she not at least have the assurance of acts more decided than any that have yet appeared, that our government is *in earnest*?—C. K. W.

PLAN FOR TERMINATING THE WAR,

BY DIVISION OF THE UNITED STATES, WITHOUT CONCESSION OF PRINCIPLE OR RIGHT ON THE PART OF THE NORTH.

1. Let the United States be divided into two distinct Federal Republics, each sovereign and independent of the other.

2. The Southern Slaveholding Republic to be bounded by the present boundary between the Slave States and the Free States, unless either of the border Slave States shall determine to be attached to the Northern division.

3. The Western, or yet unsettled part of Texas, and all the Territories now remaining in a territorial condition, to be annexed to the Northern Republic.

4. All the forts, arsenals, navy yards, and other public establishments or property of the United States, to be ceded to the Republic in the boundaries of which they are respectively situated.

5. The District of Columbia, with the city of Washington, to be re-ceded to the State of Maryland, to whichever of the Republics that State shall decide to belong; the proportion of the cost of the public buildings, &c., derived from the Free States, to be reimbursed to the Northern Republic. (The Northern Republic will then establish its capital in a more eligible situation in a free State.)

6. The navigation of the river Mississippi to be free to the citizens of both Republics; and a sufficient number of limited locations on the banks of that river, to its mouth, to be sold by the States bordering on the river to the Northern Republic, on which to erect forts or batteries for the protection of that navigation.

7. The Northern Republic no longer to be obligated to return fugitives from service in the Southern Republic, nor for any crime, not recognized as such by both Republics; nor to take any measure implying a recognition of the right of property in man; and to reserve the right of emancipating any persons coming in any way under its power or dominion.

8. Commerce between the two Republics to be free; and no duties or imposts to be levied by the Governments of either, on imports or exports from one Republic to the other, unless by mutual consent, by treaty, or enactment of the legislatures of both Republics.

9. Travel, residence, domestic and social engagements, commercial transactions, and the exercise of speech, writing and printing to be free, and protected to the citizens of either Republic, in the dominions of the other, and each Government to be responsible for any injury to the persons, property, or rights of the citizens of the other, within its dominions, excepting by legal process for violation of the laws.

Should the above conditions of separation be agreed to by leading men of both sections, the mode of effecting the division is easy. It is only that the President and Congress should recognize the actual independence of the seceded States, simply as a fact, accomplished by them, which could not be prevented; and then Commissioners might be appointed on both sides, to negotiate a treaty of peace, which might be on the above or similar terms, and which, when ratified by the Senate, would complete the separation.

It is said that the Government and States of the Southern Confederacy will not agree to the above conditions, and will prefer to continue to resist the Federal Government by war, rather than consent to them; if so, then, after trial by Conference, (which ought to be made,) their refusal will not render it necessary for the Northern Government to give up a single one of these conditions, or any principle of right, or to continue this sanguinary conflict; the Northern Union has only to enact this plan of separation itself; to recognize the independence of the Southern Confederacy; to withdraw their armies from the seceded States; to take possession, by those forces, of the Territories claimed in the above project, still holding Washington and the Southern forts, and blockading the Southern ports; to expunge from the Constitution, by Art. 5, the provision for the return of fugitives from service; and then simply holding on to that position, without any further aggressive movement, the States of the Southern Confederacy, in view of the inevitable loss of many of their slaves, cut off from all foreign commerce and intercourse, and standing in a worse position than this plan would allow them, would soon find themselves compelled to agree to these stipulations, or such others as we might choose to impose.

Let us now look at the advantages which would accrue to the Northern States, from the separation of the Southern on the above plan.

1. If adopted immediately, there would be a cessation of hostilities, (which might be anticipated by an armistice,) a great saving of lives, treasure, and other blessings, and a peace secured, which might be permanent; as the causes of war now occurring between the two sections would be removed.

2. The Northern Republic and its citizens would be exempted from the recognition of the right of human property, and from all obligations to the support of slavery, directly or indirectly.

3. The maintenance of Northern and Western freedom could not be again imperilled, or secretly undermined, by unprincipled parties, having a supposed interest again to favor the ascendancy in the Union of the slaveholding power.

4. There would be no further necessity for a burdensome standing army, by the Northern Republic, now always required, for the suppression of servile insurrection, or defence against Southern Indians.

5. The vast expenditure of the revenue, now chiefly collected at the North, and more proportionally disbursed at the South, would be economised.

6. The great reproach of the American Union in Europe and elsewhere, as a nation professing ultra principles of freedom, and yet cherishing slavery in its bosom, would be removed from the Northern Republic, and its high reputation and influence consequently reëstablished.

7. The regions covered by the Northern Republic would be vastly larger than those of the Southern, and, freed from the weakening, impoverishing, and corrupting influence of connected slavery, would invite a more intelligent immigration, and soon rise to an empire second to none on the earth, and take its rank with the first class of nations.

8. And lastly, The impossibility of preserving slavery at the South, when the Northern support should be withdrawn from it, from the perpetual escape of slaves and danger of insurrection, would compel emancipation for safety, and thus make this measure of separation the speediest and most peaceable one of abolishing slavery that can be devised; the prosecution of the war, however successful, while the Union is insisted on, cannot do it. J. P. B.

BATTLE IN MISSOURI.

Union Troops Victorious—Defeat of McCulloch's Army.

Springfield, Mo., 24. A battle occurred to-day at Tug Spring, 19 miles south of this place, between Gen. Lyon's forces and Ben McCulloch's troops. Eight of the former were killed, and 30 wounded; while 40 of Ben McCulloch's rebels were killed and 44 wounded. Gen. Lyon took 80 stand of arms and 15 horses and wagons. Our cavalry, 270 strong, made a charge on a body of rebels said to be 4000 strong, cutting their way through, and routing them with a loss of only five cavalry. The charge was most gallant and terrible. Several dead rebels were found with their heads cloven clear through. The enemy retired during the night, and Gen. Lyon took possession of the field. Another battle is momentarily expected, the enemy being in large force west of Springfield.

A Colored Crew Refuse to go into Baltimore, for fear of being sold into Slavery. The brig Robert C. Wright, Capt. Garland, arrived at New York, on Sunday, under the following peculiar circumstances:—It appears that the brig sailed from Cuba, having on board an entire crew of colored men, who, when they learned she was bound for Baltimore, refused to go to that port, alleging that when they arrived, they would be sold into bondage. No persuasion or assurance on the part of the captain and his officers could alter the feelings of the colored men, and they resolved on measures unwise, but in their minds the only one by which they should escape a life of slavery. They took a favorable opportunity, and rose *en masse*, and informed the captain and officers, if they persisted in going into Baltimore, they would, by force, take possession of the vessel, and bring her into a Northern port. The superior numbers of the colored crew, and their determined attitude, led Captain Garland to fear for the life of himself and officers; and after vainly attempting to mollify the exasperated negroes, he was obliged to alter his course. On arriving at New York, the crew were taken in charge by the harbor police, and committed for trial.

The *Tribune* correspondent writes:—"A letter from a prominent secessionist at Fernandina, Florida, to a gentleman now in this city, received by the way of Louisville, states that all property owned by Northerners will be confiscated in October. This is held out as a reward and inducement to the soldiers, who in no other way can get any pay. In a postscript on business is the following: 'There is, in the interior, a well organized negro soldiery, who are ready to defend the soil, and to whom a bonus of $10 is offered for every scalp of an invading foe; and I assure you they are anxious for a contest.'"

Mr. Robert McGraw, brother of Henry McGraw, who accompanied Arnold Harris in the expedition to recover the body of Col. Cameron, has received intelligence from his brother, through Baltimore. Messrs. McGraw and Harris are comfortably cared for at Richmond. Mr. McGraw has been assigned prison quarters in a tobacco warehouse. The rebel leaders propose to exchange Messrs. Harris and McGraw for two of the officers of the piratical vessel captured by our fleet. This is the sublimity of impudence. Messrs. Harris and McGraw were taken prisoners while proceeding upon a mission of mercy under a flag of truce, and the pirates were captured in actual hostility not recognized as legitimate by any Christian people.

Indianians Hung. A man by the name of Elijah Thomas, and his son, formerly of this city, were hung in Missouri by rebels, at the family residence on the line of the Hannibal and St. Joseph Railroad. Mr. Thomas hoisted the Stars and Stripes on his housetop, but hauled them down to prevent an attack. He was visited and asked if he raised the Union flag, and answering in the affirmative, he and his eldest son were seized and taken to the woods, and hung on the same tree.—*Lafayette Courier.*

Two "contrabands" have just reached the Pocahontas, off Acquia Creek, saying that they escaped recently from Mosquito Point, at the mouth of the Rappahannock. They add that they were part of a force of 500 negroes that had been drafted from the plantations within reach, to erect fortifications at that point, for which work preparations were being made when they sloped.

Haytian Independence. In the U. S. Senate, on Monday last, Mr. Sumner presented the resolutions of the Legislature of Massachusetts, instructing the Senators, and requesting the Representatives, from that State, by all means to encourage the recognition of the Republic of Hayti. Laid on the table, and ordered to be printed.

GENERAL BUTLER ON THE CONTRABAND QUESTION.

The following interesting letter from Gen. Butler has been received at the War Department:—

"Headquarters Department of Virginia, Fortress Monroe, July 30, 1861.

Hon. Simon Cameron, *Secretary of War:*

Sir,—By an order received on the morning of the 26th July from Major-General Dix, by a telegraphic order from Lieut-General Scott, I was commanded to forward, of the troops of this department, four regiments and a half, including Col. Baker's California regiment, to Washington via Baltimore. This order reached me at 2 o'clock, A. M., by special boat from Baltimore. Believing that it emanated because of some pressing exigency for the defence of Washington, I issued my orders before daybreak for the embarkation of the troops, sending those who were among the very best regiments I had. In the course of the following day, they were all embarked for Baltimore, with the exception of some 400, for whom I had no transportation, although I had all the transport force in the hands of the Quartermaster here, to aid the Bay line of steamers, which, by the same order from the Lieutenant-General, was directed to furnish transportation. Up to and at the time of the order, I had been preparing for an advance movement by which I hoped to cripple the resources of the enemy at Yorktown, and especially by seizing a large quantity of negroes who were being pressed into their service in building the intrenchments there. I had five days previously been enabled to mount, for the first time, the first company of Light Artillery, which I had been empowered to raise, and they had but a single rifled cannon, an iron six-pounder. Of course, everything must and did yield to the supposed exigency and the orders. This ordering away the troops from this department, while it weakened the posts at Newport News, necessitated the withdrawal of the troops from Hampton, where I was then throwing up intrenched works to enable me to hold the town with a small force, while I advanced up the York or James river. In the village of Hampton, there were a large number of negroes, composed in a great measure of women and children of the men who had fled thither within my lines for protection, who had escaped from marauding parties of rebels who had been gathering up able-bodied blacks to aid them in constructing their batteries on the James and York rivers. I had employed the men in Hampton in throwing up intrenchments, and they were working zealously and efficiently at that duty, saving our soldiers from that labor under the gleam of the mid-day sun. The women were earning substantially their own subsistence in washing, marketing, and taking care of the clothes of the soldiers, and rations were being served out to the men who worked for the support of the children. But by the evacuation of Hampton, rendered necessary by the withdrawal of troops, leaving me scarcely 5,000 men outside the Fort, including the force at Newport News, all these black people were obliged to break up their homes at Hampton, fleeing across the creek within my lines for protection and support. Indeed, it was a most distressing sight to see these poor creatures, who had trusted to the protection of the arms of the United States, and who aided the troops of the United States in their enterprise, to be thus obliged to flee from their homes, and the homes of their masters, who had deserted them, and become not fugitives from fear of the return of the rebel soldiery, who had threatened to shoot the men who had wrought for us, and to carry off the women, who had served us, to a worse than Egyptian bondage. I have, therefore, now within the Peninsula, this side of Hampton Creek, 900 negroes, 300 of whom are able-bodied men, 30 of whom are men substantially past hard labor, 175 women, 225 children under the age of ten years, and 170 between ten and eighteen years, and many more coming in. The questions which this state of facts raises are very embarrassing.

First, What shall be done with them? and, *Second*, What is their state and condition?

Upon these questions I desire the instructions of the Department.

The first question, however, may perhaps be answered by considering the last. Are these men, women, and children slaves? Are they free? Is their condition that of men, women, and children, or of property, or is it a mixed relation? What their *status* was under the Constitution and laws, we all know. What has been the effect of rebellion and a state of war upon that *status*? When I adopted the theory of treating the able-bodied negro fit to work in the trenches as property, liable to be used in aid of rebellion, and so contraband of war, that condition of things was in so far met, as I then and still believe, on a legal and constitutional basis. But now a new series of questions arise. Passing by women, the children certainly cannot be treated on that basis; if property, they must be considered the incumbrance, rather than the auxiliary of an army, and, of course, in no possible legal relation, could be treated as contraband. Are they property? If they were so, they have been left by their masters and owners, deserted, thrown away, abandoned, like the wrecked vessel upon the ocean. Their former possessors and owners have causelessly, traitorously, rebelliously, and, to carry out the figure, practically abandoned them to be swallowed up by the Winter storm of starvation. If property, do they not become the property of the salvors? But we, their salvors, do not need and will not hold such property and will assume no such ownership; has not, therefore, all proprietary relation ceased? Have they not become thereupon men, women, and children? No longer under ownership of any kind, the fearful relicts of fugitive masters, have they not by their masters' acts, and the state of war, assumed the condition, which we hold to be the normal one, of those made in God's image? Is not every constitutional, legal, and moral requirement, as well to the runaway master as their relinquished slaves, thus answered? I confess that my own mind is compelled by this reasoning to look upon them as men and women. If not free born, yet free, manumitted, sent forth from the hand that held them, never to be reclaimed.

Of course, if this reasoning thus imperfectly set forth is correct, my duty as a humane man is very plain. I should take the same care of these men, women and children, houseless, homeless and unprovided for, as I would of the same number of men, women, and children, who for their attachment to the Union had been driven or allowed to flee from the Confederate States. I should have no doubt on this question, had I not seen it stated, that an order had been issued by General McDowell in his department, substantially forbidding all fugitive slaves from coming within his lines, or being harbored there. Is that order to be enforced in all Military Departments? If so, who are to be considered fugitives slaves? Is a slave to be considered fugitive, whose master runs away and leaves him? Is it forbidden to the troops to aid or harbor within their lines the negro children who are found therein, or is the soldier, when his march has destroyed their means of subsistence, to allow them to starve because he has driven off the Rebel master? Now shall the commander of regiment or battalion sit in judgment upon the question, whether any given black man has fled from his master, or his master fled from him? Indeed, how are the free born to be distinguished? Is one any more or less a fugitive slave because he has labored upon the Rebel intrenchments? If he has so labored, if I understand it, he is to be harbored. By the reception of which, are the Rebels most to be distressed, by taking those who have wrought all their Rebel masters desired, masked their battery, or those who have refused to labor, and left the battery unmasked.

I have very decided opinions upon the subject of this order. It does not become me to criticise it, and I write in no spirit of criticism, but simply to explain the full difficulties that surround the enforcing it. If the enforcement of that order becomes the policy of the Government, I, as a soldier, shall be bound to enforce it steadfastly, if not cheerfully. But if left to my own discretion, as you may have gathered from my reasoning, I should take a widely different course from that which it indicates.

In a loyal State, I would put down a servile insurrection. In a state of rebellion, I would confiscate that which was used to oppose my arms, and take all that property, which constituted the wealth of that State, and furnished the means by which the war is prosecuted, beside being the cause of the war; and if, in so doing, it should be objected that human beings were brought to the free enjoyment of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, such objection might not require much consideration.

Pardon me for addressing the Secretary of War directly upon this question, as it involves some political questions as well as propriety of military action.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

BENJAMIN F. BUTLER."

Gen. Scott will not recognize the Southern Confederacy by exchanging prisoners. He will release on parole of honor. All the Confederate troops, sixty in number, recently taken prisoners in Western Virginia, and conveyed to Grafton, have been released on their parole. Those recently under Col. Pegram, also taken prisoners, have likewise been released.

The rebel sympathizers of Baltimore have subscribed $2000 for provisions for the rebel prisoners at Washington.

Sunday last was observed in the churches at Memphis, Tenn., as a day for thanksgiving for the success of the Southern army in the late battle.

☞ Fifty subscribers of the New York *Tribune* in Worcester have discontinued that sheet on account of the course it has pursued during the war.

☞ It is stated that considerable English gold is in circulation at Richmond, which has been advanced for the new cotton crop.

CHILDREN'S CONVENTION AT LONGWOOD,

CHESTER COUNTY, PA.,

On Seventh day the 17th of the 8th mo., (August) 1861, at 10½ o'clock, A. M.

UNCLE JOSEPH'S SEVENTH ANNUAL LETTER TO THE LITTLE FOLKS.

Dear Children,—Before the apple trees were in blossom, or a nest of young robins had pipped their way out of the tiny blue eggs, some boys and girls began to *stir* about our Children's Convention, which we have held annually since 1855. So, some of them wrote a letter, and addressed it to an "uncle" of theirs, proposing to hold it in hot haste, and not wait for the usual time, in the autumn. Way did not open, however. Would you believe it, one of the signers is a *Secessionist?* Time was when he was a brave *boy*, but he seceded into the State of Matrimony. Even thy good name will not Shield thee, William! There are strong indications that others may go, but we must not be discouraged; we can afford to be magnanimous, and yet "sustain our Government," which we are determined to do at all hazards. The time has now arrived for the children to consider this anniversary their own. However, I took the responsibility to see our friend G. W. Peirce about the grand old Park, to go into after the meeting shall be over. As usual, the birds poured out a torrent of warbling, as though they had something to say on the question; and I just thought that if every melodious sound could come down like a snow flake, festooning the Norways, and making a white carpet under their wide-spreading boughs, and you were all there for about five minutes in your little bare feet—wouldn't it be real fun to see 1000 or 1500 little tracks? By the way, that must be multiplied by two, as each fellow would make two impressions. You would be as joyous as the little girl that had tight shoes, and took them off, stocking and all, saying, "*There*, little feets, now be happy, won't you?" I like snow and water. I have thought, sometimes, there would be a baby born, if it is not already, that would make light and fuel out of water. We shall see.

Girls and boys, what do you remember the farthest back? How we should all be amused to hear each tell the story! Well, when I was a "wee little fellow," I had a fashion of running down, and playing by the side of a stream like the Brandywine. Father had cautioned me, without the desired effect. One day, he had me take off my clothing, and, suddenly as a bird would swallow a worm, soused me neck and heels under the water. I sprang for the shore, but how I came to succeed in getting there, I never could tell. I was so frightened that I did not hear my father calling me to stop. I leaped like a young antelope, ran into the village street, and bounded in at the front door. I learned *a lesson of obedience* that day, and that is the farthest that I can remember away back amidst the star-beams of near half a century.

I wish the traitors could all be taught an effectual lesson. I think they will be. They are like the borers who destroy our beautiful trees.

Children, we must all work and pray, that the Angel of Liberty may cast out the Demon of Slavery which is boring out the heart, and causing the leaves of the tree of the nation to look sallow. The tree must not be suffered to die. When I think of overthrowing oppression, putting down intemperance, tobacco using, profanity, and all other evils, I can't help feeling that little children may aid in the work. I believe in my heart the holy Jesus thought so too, for we read, "And they brought young children to him, that he should touch them; and his disciples rebuked those that brought them. But when Jesus saw it, he was much displeased, and said unto them, "Suffer the little children to come unto me, and forbid them not; for of such is the kingdom of God." "Verily, I say unto you, whosoever shall not receive the kingdom of God as a little child, he shall not enter therein."

There is a cord reaching from where we are, to where the lover of little children dwells. Let every little hand take hold of it, and, as some one said, it will ring the bell; and though we may not hear, the angels will hear, and God will hear, and answer us according to our works.

Come, then, come one, come all! When you think the wagon is full, sit a little closer, and crowd one more little fellow in. Our meeting will occur in August, the anniversary month of British emancipation, when hundreds of thousands of little children, with their parents, were changed from the condition of chattelism into freedom. God hasten the period when the foot-print of a slave shall not pollute our fair land!

A noble little Chester county boy raised six dollars in five cent pieces last winter, and sent it to the committee to relieve the starving people in Kansas. I have never seen him. I hope he will come to the Convention. I would rather shake hands with him than with a chieftain or a conqueror. Let the gallant little State of Delaware, our own counties of Lancaster, Montgomery, and Delaware, all be represented as usual, for we are to have a good time. The order will be first to hold the meeting, then load a couple of wagons with the well-filled baskets, when we will all walk over to the Park, with the distinct understanding that no carriages are to enter the gate.

Affectionately, your Uncle and Friend,

JOSEPH A. DUGDALE.

P. S. The West Chester and Philadelphia cars on the Baltimore Central will arrive at 10 o'clock, A. M., at the Greenwood Station, twenty minutes' walk from Longwood.

DIED—In Roxbury, July 31st, Dr. Amos [illegible], (formerly of Groton,) in the 73d year of his age. Among the earliest to espouse the unpopular cause of the enslaved millions in our land, he remained steadfast to the end—allowing no considerations of professional success, or local respectability, or religious standing, or social position, to abate his zeal, or limit his action. His public identification with that cause dates back more than twenty-seven years. It was at an Anti-Slavery Convention in Groton, where Dr. F. presided, on the 1st of October, 1834, that George Thompson, Esq., the eloquent advocate of negro emancipation from England, made his introductory speech—the commencement of that extended series which so electrified the friends and so alarmed the enemies of those in bondage at the South. His residence was, for many years, the hospitable home of the agents and lecturers of the American and Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Societies, of which he was an honored officer, as well as President of the Middlesex County Anti-Slavery Society. The service rendered to our cause, in its infancy, by so decided and uncompromising an adhesion as he gave to it, was, in view of his position, exceedingly valuable and important. Though not permitted to live to see the abolition of slavery, his departure was at an hour full of promise in that direction—it being more and more manifest that that beneficent act will be essential to the life of the republic, and the only solution of the terrible conflict which is now going on in the land.

"O, Age! thy silver crown
Into the dust drops down:
O, Death! thy sunset shadows close the eyes.
Earth's weary winter ends;
The withered leaf descends;
The winged seed is wafted to the skies.

What glorious visions ope
Beyond the cloudy cope
Of poor Mortality's contracted span!
O, Death! where is thy sting?—
Now blooms the second spring,
And youth and love renew the aged man.

Give to the dust its own!
Glad Soul, ascend thy throne!
In triumph rise—the onward march is given!
From sphere to sphere ascend!
Thy bliss shall never end—
For thine is life, love, harmony and heaven!"

☞ A. T. FOSS will speak at
North Beverly, Sunday, August 11.

☞ E. B. HEYWOOD will speak on "The War," at
Rutland, Sunday, Aug. 11, 10 1-2, A. M.
Hubbardston, " " " 5, P. M.

HOPEDALE
HOME SCHOOL.

THE next Term of this Reformatory and Progressive Institution will commence on *Wednesday, Sept. 4*, and continue Fifteen weeks. For full particulars, please address WM. S. HAYWOOD, *Principal*.
Milford, Mass., Aug. 6, 1861.

TRANSIENT BOARDERS.

THE subscriber has just opened house No. 77 Myrtle st., for the accommodation of transient Boarders. The location is a pleasant one, within a few minutes' walk of the most central portions of the city. Every exertion will be made for the comfort of those who may favor the house with a call. Rooms furnished with or without board. Terms moderate.
Boston, Jan. 7. S. NEWELL.

Poetry.

A TRUMPET-BLAST.

BY JOHN G. WHITTIER.

[The following lines, written eighteen years ago, sound like prophecy fulfilled at the present crisis.]

O! for God and duty stand,
Heart to heart, and hand to hand,
Round the old graves of the land!

Whoso shrinks or falters now,
Whoso to the yoke would bow,
Brand the craven on his brow!

Freedom's soil has only place
For a free and fearless race;
None for traitors false and base.

Perish party! perish clan!
Strike together, while ye can,
Like the arm of one strong man!

With one heart and with one mouth
Let the North unto the South
Speak the word befitting both:

What though Issachar be strong,
Ye may load his back with wrong
Over *much* and over *long*.

Patience, with her cup o'errun,
With her weary thread outspun,
Murmurs that *her* work is done.

Boldly, or with treacherous art,
Strike our blood-wrought chain apart!
Break the Union's mighty heart!

Work the ruin, if ye will!
Pluck upon your heads an ill
Which shall grow and deepen still!

With your bondman's right arm bare,
With his heart of black despair,
Stand alone, if stand ye dare!

Onward with your fell design—
Dig the gulf, and draw the line—
Fire beneath your feet the mine!

Deeply when the wide abyss
Yawns between your land and this,
Shall ye feel your helplessness.

OUR BOY FOR EVERMORE.

Now lay your head close to my heart,
My wife Elizabeth!
Our Tommy is no more distrest:—
The neighbors say, 'Tis death:
We know the child has gone to rest,—
A word that comforteth.

How often, wife, we deemed the boy
Too early [illegible] for earth!
[illegible] he was no idle toy,
To wake a transient mirth:
Our Lord had lent him as a joy
To sanctify our hearth.

He never pain'd our hearts, you know,
Save in this bitter grief:
'Tis well the tears awhile should flow
To give the breast relief;
But, lest we sin in doing so,
Let sorrow's time be brief.

Why question aught the Lord's decree?
'Twere wiser to adore
The grace hid in grief's mystery
We knew not of before,
That Tommy in our minds shall be
Our boy for evermore.

Let not our faith grow faint nor cold;
God's goodness claims our praise,
That makes the cup of sorrow hold
The joy of many days,—
For Tommy, never growing old,
The same shall be always.

The child of scarce five summers, we
Shall see him every day,—
Now skipping in his sinless glee,
Out on the lawn at play;
Now, meekly bending at your knee,
His evening prayer to pray.

He stands on tiptoe at the gate,
Before the sun goes down,
In glad expectance wont to wait
Our coming from the town;—
He runs with eager haste elate
To catch you by the gown.

At table, on his 'customed chair,
The while the grace is said,
He shuts his eyes with reverent air,
And gently bows his head:
His knife, his fork, his napkin there,—
Our Tommy is not dead!

We see the cherub in the skies
Among [illegible] children stand,
[illegible] to the Lord, whose gracious eyes
Smile on the loving band:
Our Harriet, with glad surprise,
Grasping his tiny hand.

Ere yet nineteen, our firstling died
In bloom of maiden grace:
Her brother now is by her side,
Who never saw her face
Till she became his gentle guide
Around the heavenly place.

When on their children honors fall,
Men give it proud report:
What glory that the King should call
Our children to his court,
To stand before him in his hall,
Where heavenly ones resort!

How gently with us God has dealt!
So deals he with us still;
The double sorrow we have felt,
He never meant for ill:
The Finer lights the fire to melt
The metal to his will.

THE LIE.

BY JENNIE FISH.

The moon was shining, dim and warm,
The cloud-mists floated by;
You told her that you loved her, but
God knows you told a lie.

You held one arm around her waist,
And gazed into her eye;
Her hungry heart drank in the words,
Nor dreamed you told a lie.

The dandelion at your feet
Had closed its yellow eye;
It heard the vow, but could not tell
The maiden 'twas a lie.

A bird, with head beneath its wing,
Slept on a bush close by;
It half awoke, but never guessed
You told the maid a lie.

The fragrant breath of early spring
Came with the zephyr's sigh,
But nought to her was half so sweet
As that dark, treacherous lie.

Days came and passed, then weeks, then months,
And years flew swiftly by,
And then the maiden came to know
'Twas all a wicked lie.

And now she gazes on thy form
Not even with a sigh,
Save at the wreck of sin, and thanks
Her God, it *was* a lie.

MINISTERING SPIRITS.

There are, who, like the seers of old,
Can see the helpers God has sent,
And how life's rugged mountain side
Is white with many an angel tent:
They hear the heralds whom our Lord
Sends down his pathway to prepare;
And light, from others hidden, shines
On their high place of faith and prayer.

Selections.

NAT TURNER'S INSURRECTION.

[From the Atlantic Monthly for August.]

[CONCLUDED.]

Of the capture or escape of most of that small band who met with Nat Turner in the woods upon the Travis plantation, little can now be known. All appear among the list of convicted, except Henry and Will. General Moore, who occasionally figures as second in command, in the newspaper narratives of that day, was probably the Hark or Hercules before mentioned; as no other of the confederates had belonged to Mrs. Travis, or would have been likely to bear her previous name of Moore. As usual, the newspapers state that most, if not all the slaves, were "the property of kind and indulgent masters." Whether in any case they were also the sons of those masters is a point ignored; but from the fact that three out of the seven were at first reported as being white men by several witnesses,—the whole number being correctly given, and the statement, therefore, probably authentic,—one must suppose that there was an admixture of patrician blood in some of these conspirators.

The subordinate insurgents sought safety as they could. A free colored man, named Will Artist, shot himself in the woods, where his hat was found on a stake, and his pistol lying by him; another was found drowned; others were traced to the Dismal Swamp; others returned to their homes, and tried to conceal their share in the insurrection, assuring their masters that they had been forced, against their will, to join,—the usual defence in such cases. The number shot down at random must, by all accounts, have amounted to many hundreds, but it is past all human registration now. The number who had a formal trial, such as it was, is officially stated at fifty-five; of these, seventeen were convicted and hanged, twelve convicted and transported, twenty acquitted, and four free colored men sent on for further trial, and finally acquitted. "Not one of those known to be concerned escaped." Of those executed, one only was a woman: "Lucy, slave of John T. Barrow"; that is all her epitaph, shorter even than that of Wordsworth's more famous Lucy;—but whether this one was old or young, pure or wicked, lovely or repulsive, octoroon or negro, a Cassy, an Emily, or a Topsy, no information appears; she was a woman, she was a slave, and she died.

There is one touching story, in connection with these terrible retaliations, which rests on good authority, that of the Rev. M. B. Cox, a Liberian missionary, then in Virginia. In the hunt which followed the massacre, a slaveholder went into the woods, accompanied by a faithful slave, who had been the means of saving his life during the insurrection. When they had reached a retired place in the forest, the man handed his gun to his master, informing him that he could not live a slave any longer, and requesting him, either to free him or shoot him on the spot. The master took the gun, in some trepidation, levelled it at the faithful negro, and shot him through the heart. It is probable that this slaveholder was a Dr. Blunt,—his being the only plantation where the slaves were reported as thus defending their masters. "If this be true," said the Richmond *Enquirer*, when it first narrated this instance of loyalty, "great will be the desert of these noble-minded Africans." This "noble-minded African," at least, estimated his own desert at a high standard: he demanded freedom,—and obtained it.

Meanwhile the panic of the whites continued; for, though all others might be disposed of, Nat Turner was still at large. We have positive evidence of the extent of the alarm, although great efforts were afterwards made to represent it as a trifling affair. A distinguished citizen of Virginia wrote three months later to the Hon. W. B. Seabrook of South Carolina,—"From all that has come to my knowledge during and since that affair, I am convinced most fully that every black preacher in the county east of the Blue Ridge is in the secret." "There is much reason to believe," says the Governor's message on December 6th, "that the spirit of insurrection was not confined to Southampton. Many convictions have taken place elsewhere, and some few in distant counties." The withdrawal of the United States troops, after some ten days' service, was a signal for fresh excitement, and an address, numerously signed, was presented to the United States Government, imploring their continued stay. More than three weeks after the first alarm, the Governor sent a supply of arms into Prince William, Fauquier, and Orange Counties. "From examinations which have taken place in other counties," says one of the best newspaper historians of the affair, (in the Richmond *Enquirer* of September 6th,) "I fear that the scheme embraced a wider sphere than I at first supposed." Nat Turner himself, intentionally or otherwise, increased the confusion by denying all knowledge of the North Carolina outbreak, and declaring that he had communicated his plans to his four confederates within six months; while, on the other hand, a slave girl, sixteen or seventeen years old, belonging to Solomon Parker, testified that she had heard the subject discussed for eighteen months, and that at a meeting held during the previous May some eight or ten had joined the plot.

It is astonishing to discover, by laborious comparison of newspaper files, how vast was the immediate range of these insurrectionary alarms. Every Southern State seems to have borne its harvest of terror. On the Eastern shore of Maryland, great alarm was at once manifested, especially in the neighborhood of Easton and Snowhill; and the houses of colored men were searched for arms even in Baltimore. In Delaware, there were similar rumors through Sussex and Dover Counties; there were arrests and executions; and in Somerset County, great public meetings were held, to demand additional safeguards. On election-day, in Seaford, Delaware, some young men, going out to hunt rabbits, discharged their guns in sport; the men being absent, all the women in the vicinity took to flight; the alarm spread like the "Ipswich Fright"; soon Seaford was thronged with armed men; and when the boys returned from hunting, they found cannon drawn out to receive them.

In North Carolina, Raleigh and Fayetteville were put under military defence, and women and children concealed themselves in the swamps for many days. The rebel organization was supposed to include two thousand. Forty-six slaves were imprisoned in Union County, twenty-five in Sampson County, and twenty-three at least in Duplin County, some of whom were executed. The panic also extended into Wayne, New Hanover, and Lenoir Counties. Four men were shot without trial in Wilmington,—Nimrod, Abraham, Prince, and "Dan the Drayman," the latter a man of seventy,—and their heads placed on poles at the four corners of the town. Nearly two months afterwards, the trials were still continuing; and at a still later day, the Governor in his proclamation recommended the formation of companies of volunteers in every county.

In South Carolina, General Hayne issued a proclamation "to prove the groundlessness of the existing alarms,"—thus implying that serious alarms existed. In Macon, Georgia, the whole population were roused from their beds at midnight by a report of a large force of armed negroes five miles off. In an hour, every woman and child was deposited in the largest building of the town, and a military force hastily collected in front. The editor of the Macon *Messenger* excused the poor condition of his paper, a few days afterwards, by the absorption of his workmen in patrol duties, and describes "dismay and terror" as the condition of the people, of "all ages and sexes." In Jones, Twiggs, and Monroe Counties, the same alarms were reported; and in one place "several slaves were tied to a tree, while a militia captain hacked at them with his sword."

In Alabama, at Columbus and Fort Mitchell, a rumor was spread of a joint conspiracy of Indians and negroes. At Claiborne the panic was still greater; the slaves were said to be thoroughly organized through that part of the State, and multitudes were imprisoned; the whole alarm being apparently founded on one stray copy of the *Liberator*.

In Tennessee, the Shelbyville *Freeman* announced that an insurrectionary plot had just been discovered, barely in time for its defeat, through the treachery of a female slave. In Louisville, Kentucky, a similar organization was discovered or imagined, and arrests were made in consequence. "The papers, from motives of policy, do not notice the disturbance," wrote one correspondent to the Portland *Courier*. "Pity us!" he added.

But the greatest bubble burst in Louisiana. Captain Alexander, an English tourist, arriving in New Orleans at the beginning of September, found the whole city in tumult. Handbills had been issued, appealing to the slaves to rise against their masters, saying that all men were born equal, declaring that Hannibal was a black man, and that they also might have great leaders among them. Twelve hundred stand of weapons were said to have been found in a black man's house; five hundred citizens were under arms, and four companies of regulars were ordered to the city, whose barracks Alexander himself visited.

If such were the alarm in New Orleans, the story, of course, lost nothing by transmission to other slave States. A rumor reached Frankfort, Kentucky, that the slaves already had possession of the coast, both above and below New Orleans. But the most remarkable circumstance is, that all this seems to have been merely a revival of an old terror, once before excited and exploded. The following paragraph appeared in the Jacksonville, (Ga.) *Observer*, during the spring previous:—

"FEARFUL DISCOVERY. We were favored, by yesterday's mail, with a letter from New Orleans, of May 1st, in which we find that an important discovery had been made a few days previous in that city. The following is an extract:—'Four days ago, as some planters were digging under ground, they found a square room containing eleven thousand stand of arms and fifteen thousand cartridges, each of the cartridges containing a bullet.' It is said the negroes intended to rise as soon as the sickly season began, and obtain possession of the city by massacreing the white population. The same letter states that the Mayor had prohibited the opening of Sunday schools for the instruction of blacks, under a penalty of five hundred dollars for the first offence, and for the second, death."

Such were the terrors that came back from nine other slave States, as the echo of the voice of Nat Turner; and when it is also known that the subject was at once taken up by the legislatures of other States, where there was no public panic, as in Missouri and Tennessee,—and when, finally, it is added that reports of insurrection had been arriving all that year from Rio Janeiro, Martinique, St. Jago, Antigua, Caraccas, and Tortola, it is easy to see with what prolonged distress the accumulated terror must have weighed down upon Virginia, during the two months that Nat Turner lay hid.

True, there were a thousand men in arms in Southampton county, to inspire security. But the blow had been struck by only seven men before; and unless there were an armed guard in every house, who could tell but any house might, at any moment, be the scene of new horrors? They might kill or imprison unresisting negroes by day, but could they resist their avengers by night? "The half cannot be told," wrote a lady from another part of Virginia, at this time, "of the distresses of the people. In Southampton county, the scene of the insurrection, the distress beggars description. A gentleman who has been there says that even here, where there has been great alarm, we have no idea of the situation of those in that county.... I do not hesitate to believe that many negroes around us would join in a massacre as horrible as that which has taken place, if an opportunity should offer."

Meanwhile, the cause of all this terror was made the object of desperate search. On September 17th, the Governor offered a reward of five hundred dollars for his capture, and there were other rewards swelling the amount to eleven hundred dollars,—but in vain. No one could track or trap him. On September 30th, a minute account of his capture appeared in the newspapers, but it was wholly false. On October 7th there was another, and on October 18th another; yet all without foundation. Worn out by confinement in his little cave, Nat Turner grew more adventurous, and began to move about stealthily by night, afraid to speak to any human being, but hoping to obtain some information that might aid his escape. Returning regularly to his retreat before daybreak, he might possibly have continued this mode of life until pursuit had ceased, had not a dog succeeded where men had failed. The creature accidentally smelt out the provisions hid in the cave, and finally led thither his masters, two negroes, one of whom was named Nelson. On discovering the terrible fugitive, they fled precipitately, when he hastened to retreat in an opposite direction. This was on October 15th, and from this moment the neighborhood was all alive with excitement, and five or six hundred men undertook the pursuit.

It shows a more than Indian adroitness in Nat Turner to have escaped capture any longer. The cave, the arms, the provisions were found; and lying among them the notched stick of this miserable Robinson Crusoe, marked with five weary weeks and six days. But the man was gone. For ten days more he concealed himself among the wheat-stacks on Mr. Francis's plantation, and during this time was reduced almost to despair. Once he decided to surrender himself, and walked by night within two miles of Jerusalem before his purpose failed him. Three times he tried to get out of that neighborhood, but in vain: travelling by day was, of course, out of the question, and by night he found it impossible to elude the patrol. Again and again, therefore, he returned to his hiding-place, and during his whole two months' liberty never went five miles from the Cross Keys. On the 25th of October, he was at last discovered by Mr. Francis, as he was emerging from a stack. A load of buckshot was instantly discharged at him, twelve of which passed through his hat as he fell to the ground. He escaped even then, but his pursuers were rapidly concentrating upon him, and it is perfectly astonishing that he could have eluded them for five days more.

On Sunday, October 30th, a man named Benjamin Phipps, going out for the first time on patrol duty, was passing at noon a clearing in the woods where a number of pine trees had long since been felled. There was a motion among their boughs; he stopped to watch it; and through a gap in the branches he saw, emerging from a hole in the earth beneath, the face of Nat Turner. Aiming his gun instantly, Phipps called on him to surrender. The fugitive, exhausted with watching and privation, entangled in the branches, armed only with a sword, had nothing to do but to yield; sagaciously reflecting, also, as he afterwards explained, that the woods were full of armed men, and that he had better trust fortune for some later chance of escape, instead of desperately attempting it then. He was correct in the first impression, since there were fifty armed scouts within a circuit of two miles. His insurrection ended where it began; for this spot was only a mile and a half from the house of Joseph Travis.

Torn, emaciated, ragged, "a mere scarecrow," still wearing the hat perforated with buckshot, with his arms bound to his side, he was driven before the levelled gun to the nearest house, that of Mr. Edwards. He was confined there that night; but the news had spread so rapidly that, within an hour after his arrival, a hundred persons had collected, and the excitement became so intense "that it was with difficulty he could be conveyed alive to Jerusalem." The enthusiasm spread instantly through Virginia; Mr. Trezvant, the Jerusalem post-master, sent notices of it far and near; and Governor Floyd himself wrote a letter to the Richmond *Enquirer* to give official announcement of the momentous capture.

When Nat Turner was asked by Mr. T. R. Gray, the counsel assigned him, whether, although defeated, he still believed in his own Providential mission, he answered, as simply as one who came thirty years after him, "Was not Christ crucified?" In the same spirit, when arraigned before the court, "he answered, 'Not guilty,' saying to his counsel that he did not feel so." But apparently no argument was made in his favor by his counsel, nor were any witnesses called,—he being convicted on the testimony of Levi Waller, and upon his own confession, which was put in by Mr. Gray, and acknowledged by the prisoner before the six justices composing the court, as being "full, free, and voluntary." He was therefore placed in the paradoxical position of conviction by his own confession, under a plea of "Not guilty." The arrest took place on the thirtieth of October, 1831, the confession on the first of November, the trial and conviction on the fifth, and the execution on the following Friday, the eleventh of November, precisely at noon. He met his death with perfect composure, declined addressing the multitude assembled, and told the sheriff in a firm voice that he was ready. Another account says that he "betrayed no emotion, and even hurried the executioner in the performance of his duty." "Not a limb nor a muscle was observed to move. His body, after his death, was given over to the surgeons for dissection."

This last statement merits remark. There would be no evidence that this formidable man was not favored during his imprisonment with that full measure of luxury which slave-jails afford to slaves, but for a rumor which arose after the execution, that he was compelled to sell his body in advance, for purposes of dissection, in exchange for food. But it does not appear probable, from the known habits of Southern anatomists, that any such bargain could have been needed. For in the circular of the South Carolina Medical School for that very year, I find this remarkable suggestion:—"Some advantages of a peculiar character are connected with this institution. No place in the United States affords so great opportunities for the acquisition of medical knowledge, subjects being obtained among the colored population in sufficient number for every purpose, and proper dissections carried on without offending any individual." What a convenience, to possess for scientific purposes a class of population sufficiently human to be dissected, but not human enough to be supposed to take offence at it! And as the same arrangement may be supposed to have existed in Virginia, Nat Turner would hardly have gone through the formality of selling his body for food to those who claimed its control at any rate.

The Confession of the captive was published under authority of Mr. Gray, in a pamphlet, at Baltimore. Fifty thousand copies of it are said to have been printed, and it was "embellished with an accurate likeness of the brigand, taken by Mr. John Crawley, portrait-painter, and lithographed by Endicott & Swett, at Baltimore." The newly published *Liberator* said of it, at the time, that it would "only serve to rouse up other leaders, and hasten other insurrections," and advised grand juries to indict Mr. Gray. I have never seen a copy of the original pamphlet, it is not to be found in any of our public libraries, and I have heard of but one as still existing, although the Confession itself has been repeatedly reprinted. Another small pamphlet, containing the main features of the outbreak, was published at New York during the same year, and this is in my possession. But the greater part of the facts which I have given were gleaned from the contemporary newspapers.

Who now shall go back thirty years, and read the heart of this extraordinary man, who, by the admission of his captors, "never was known to swear an oath or drink a drop of spirits,"—who, on the same authority, "for natural intelligence and quickness of apprehension was surpassed by few men," "with a mind capable of attaining anything," who knew no book but his Bible, and that by heart,—who devoted himself, soul and body, to the cause of his race, without the trace of personal hope or fear,—who laid his plans so shrewdly that they came at last with less warning than any earthquake on the doomed community around,—and who, when that time arrived, took the life of man, woman, and child, without a throb of compunction, a word of exultation, or an act of superfluous outrage? Mrs. Stowe's "Dred" seems dim and melo-dramatic beside the actual Nat Turner. De Quincey's "Avenger" is his only parallel in imaginative literature: similar wrongs, similar retribution. Mr. Gray, his self-appointed confessor, rises into a sort of bewildered enthusiasm, with the prisoner before him. "I shall not attempt to describe the effect of his narrative, as told and commented on by himself, in the condemned hole of the prison. The calm, deliberate composure with which he spoke of his late deeds and intentions, the expression of his fiend-like face when excited by enthusiasm, still bearing the stains of the blood of helpless innocence about him, clothed with rags and covered with chains, yet daring to raise his manacled hands to heaven, with a spirit soaring above the attributes of man,—I looked on him, and the blood curdled in my veins."

But the more remarkable the personal character of Nat Turner, the greater the amazement felt that he should not have appreciated the extreme felicity of his position as a slave. In all insurrections, the standing wonder seems to be that the slaves most trusted and best used should be most deeply involved. So in this case, as usual, they resorted to the most astonishing theories of the origin of the affair. One attributed it to Free-Masonry, and another to free whiskey,—liberty appearing dangerous, even in these forms. The poor whites charged it upon the free colored people, and urged their expulsion, forgetting that in North Carolina the plot was betrayed by one of this class, and that in Virginia there were but two engaged, both of whom had slave wives. The slaveholding clergymen traced it to want of knowledge of the Bible, forgetting that Nat Turner knew scarcely anything else. On the other hand, "a distinguished citizen of Virginia" combined in one sweeping denunciation of "Northern incendiaries, tracts, Sunday-schools, religion, reading and writing."

But whether the theories of its origin were wise or foolish, the insurrection made its mark, and the famous band of Virginia emancipationists, who all that winter made the House of Delegates ring with unavailing eloquence—till the rise of slave-exportation to new cotton regions stopped their voices—were but the unconscious mouth-pieces of Nat Turner. In January, 1832, in reply to a member who had called the outbreak a "petty affair," the eloquent James McDowell thus described the impression it left behind:—

"Now, sir, I ask you, I ask gentlemen, in conscience to say, was that a 'petty affair' which startled the feelings of your whole population,—which threw a portion of it into alarm, a portion of it into panic,—which wrung out from an affrighted people the thrilling cry, day after day, conveyed to your Executive, '*We are in peril of our lives; send us an army for defence*'? Was that a 'petty affair' which drove families from their homes,—which assembled women and children in crowds, without shelter, at places of common refuge, in every condition of weakness and infirmity, under every suffering which want and terror could inflict, yet willing to endure all, willing to meet death from famine, death from climate, death from hardships, preferring anything rather than the horrors of meeting it from a domestic assassin? Was that a 'petty affair' which erected a peaceful and confiding portion of the State into a military camp,—which outlawed from pity the unfortunate beings whose brothers had offended,—which barred every door, penetrated every bosom with fear or suspicion,—which so banished every sense of security from every man's dwelling, that, let but a hoof or horn break upon the silence of the night, and an aching throb would be driven to the heart, the husband would look to his weapon, and the mother would shudder and weep upon her cradle? Was it the fear of Nat Turner, and his deluded, drunken handful of followers, which produced such effects? Was it this that induced distant counties, where the very name of Southampton was strange, to arm and equip for a struggle? No, sir, it was the suspicion eternally attached to the slave itself,—the suspicion that a Nat Turner might be in every family,—that the same bloody deed might be acted over at any time and in any place,—that the materials for it were spread through the land, and were always ready for a like explosion. Nothing but the force of this withering apprehension,—nothing but the paralyzing, the deadening weight with which it falls upon and prostrates the heart of every man who has helpless dependants to protect,—nothing but this could have thrown a brave people into consternation, or could have made any portion of this powerful Commonwealth, for a single instant, to have quailed and trembled."

While these things were going on, the enthusiasm for the Polish Revolution was rising to its height. The nation was ringing with a peal of joy, on hearing that at Frankfort the Poles had killed fourteen thousand Russians. The *Southern Religious Telegraph* was publishing an impassioned address to Kosciusko; standards were being consecrated for Poland in the larger cities; heroes, like Skrzynecki, Czartoryski, Rozyski, Kaminski, were choking the trump of Fame with their complicated patronymics. These are all forgotten now; and this poor negro, who did not even possess a name, beyond one abrupt monosyllable,—for even the name of Turner was the master's property,—still lives, a memory of terror, and a symbol of retribution triumphant.

LETTER FROM GERRIT SMITH TO SENATOR BRECKINRIDGE.

PETERBORO', July 23, 1861.

SENATOR BRECKINRIDGE:

DEAR SIR—How much I admired you when I was in Congress with you, I need not again say. I thought no member had a better intellect or a braver spirit. Surprised and sad would I have been, had I foreseen your present relations to your country.

I have just read your speech of the 16th inst., in the Senate. I do not deduce from it that you are dishonest—but only that you are self-deceived. You know the old story of the gentleman who gave, as his reason for not rescuing the drowning man, that he had never been introduced to him. But the gentleman was self-deceived, if he thought such an unheard-of regard for social forms to be the true reason. He failed to save the man simply because he did not care to save him. And not less groundless is your fancy, that it is owing to your great regard for Constitutional forms that you do not fall in with the measures for saving the nation. You do not care to save it. Nay, it is evident that your heart has long been set on breaking it up. All who busy themselves in declaiming against the unconstitutionality of these measures are self-deceived, if nothing worse. Their concern to save the Constitution is no greater, but their concern to save the nation is much less, than that of others.

The traitors had got the control of some eight or nine of the States; had captured Fort Sumter; felt sure of Washington; were threatening the large cities of the North; and had, in a word, brought the nation to the brink of ruin. It was under these circumstances that President Lincoln made haste to save it. Shame on you for saying that he "made war"! His steps were not all constitutional, you say. Nevertheless, by such persons as were for saving the nation, their unconstitutionality was forgiven, if seen—but was probably unseen. Indeed, so anxious were they for the life of the nation, that they had neither time nor heart to think of the Constitution. But you, being free from such anxiety, had leisure and composure for surveying the departures from the Constitution. Moreover, these departures were all the greater in your eyes, since they grew out of his honest and earnest endeavor to preserve a government and a nation, which you were intent on destroying. A loyal man no more thinks of national rules when he sees his loved nation in imminent danger of a violent death, than does a true son think of family rules when he sees an assassin upon his loved father. But you, dear Sir, are just in the mood of mind to call for the rules and the red tape.

Perhaps the President has not been constitutional in all his steps. Nevertheless, he may have been right even in such as were unconstitutional. Not contemplating a rebellion so extensive, causeless, unnatural, monstrous, the Constitution may not have provided the means for putting it down. But, surely, it does not forbid the means. If the Constitution does not clothe the President with a very large discretion, it must, nevertheless, leave him free to exercise it in imaginable circumstances. It says: "He shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed." But should a hundred thousand armed men, when Congress is not in session, suddenly start up to defeat their execution, may he not summon another hundred thousand to withstand them? Then you seem to forget that the President is "Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy"; and that, as such, his power is far more discretionary than prescribed. In that capacity he may often be left to decide, irrespective of Constitution or statute, not only in small and common, but in great and uncommon cases. In that capacity he may, although the Constitution does not say so, appropriate everything within his reach; may order the destruction of bridges and railroads on the one hand, and the burning of cities on the other. And what greater stretch of power would it be should he, in the exigencies of war, call to his aid tens of thousands of volunteers? Then, too, you seem to forget that the President is a man, and is under no obligation to sink the man in the officer. When he saw the capital of the nation, and the nation itself, in imminent peril, he was, as a man, just as much as were you and I, bound to do all he could for their safety. But you will say that, in acting as a man, he had no right to use the Presidential authority. I answer that, in the circumstances, he might go as far as did Ethan Allen, and use the authority of "God Almighty." In that dark and threatening hour, everything was his which he could turn to the salvation of his country. What, then, can restrain the President from becoming a despot? His responsibilities. Swift and terrible will be his punishment if he shall be found, in the life-or-death struggle of his country, to be serving his selfishness instead of serving her. I add that, to trammel his powers in such an hour, through fear of his prostituting them, is virtually the poor policy of giving up your country in advance, under the apprehension that, some time or other, some how or other, it may be lost. Better is it to choose for our officer the man whom in an emergency we can trust with unmeasured power, than to let the emergency prove fatal by too jealously measuring his power. You will also say that it is for *Congress* to make the main provision for meeting a war which may be brought against us. Granted. And had Congress been in session when this war became unequivocal in the bombardment of Sumter, you would probably have had no occasion to complain of the President, for he would probably have had no occasion to do what you complain of. The traitors having chosen the recess of Congress in which to tell us, with cannon-shot, and unmistakably, that they meant war, we had to make the best fight we could without the help of Congress. That we acted outside the Constitution, if indeed we did so, was a necessity resulting solely from their having chosen that time; and hence for them to complain, or employ you to complain, of our unconstitutional action, is deeply disingenuous and amazingly impudent. For the traitors and their sympathizers to charge us in the straits to which they had reduced us with failing to observe the whole letter of the Constitution, is much such an outrage on human patience as would be the complaint of the inquisition that the victim it was torturing did not preserve his usual pleasant expression. Again, if any may charge us with neglecting portions of the Constitution, it must not be they who are trampling on the whole of it.

You are entirely right in supposing that Congress cannot constitutionalize what is unconstitutional in the acts of the President. But Congress can say, and it is bound to say, whether that which, in the great necessities of his country, he was constrained to do, was right or wrong, praiseworthy or blameworthy.

You denounce the President as a usurper. Most unjustly so. His words and deeds prove him to be an unsophisticated and unambitious man. He is over careful to keep himself in unison with the public sentiment, and is too much afraid of taking a step in advance of it. He is a sincere servant of his country. You denounce the President for acting unconstitutionally. I honor him for hastening to save his country, by means, whether constitutional or unconstitutional. Exceedingly rare is the case in which the Constitution may be put aside. But when, to hold to the Constitution is manifestly to lose the nation, he is both a coward and a traitor who will hold to it. The old Austrian Generals complained that the first Napoleon did not fight according to rule. Nevertheless, Frenchmen did not regret his victories, because they were achieved through the violation of rules. Frenchmen love France; and did you love America more than you love slavery, you would not regret her salvation, even though it were purchased at expense to the Constitution. Your joy would be too full to leave room for regret.

This cry of "The Constitution! the Constitution!" is not less disgusting to patriots than was Johnny Hook's celebrated cry of "Beef! Beef!" It is even more so. For Johnny was entirely sincere. He meant beef when he cried beef. But those who prate of the Constitution mean slavery. The Constitution was made for the saving of the nation. Very guiltily do they pervert it who degrade it to a watchword in their war upon the nation.

President Lincoln has done well. I admit that he might have done better. Not, however, by following your counsels, and giving himself up to the study of Constitutional limitations, while the traitors were left to complete the destruction of Government and Nation. On learning that Sumter was taken, he should have made a sure and speedy end of the war. He should have "cut it short in righteousness," by proclaiming the freedom of the slaves in all the States which had seceded. This measure, followed up as it should and would have been, would have ended the war ere now. Other States would have seen that they could not secede but at the peril of the like proclamation. Doubt not that the North would have sustained the President in it. They were in just the temper for it. The high measure would have harmonized with the storm of their indignation; and ere that storm had begun to subside, that measure should have been put to its nation-saving operation.

Other nations agree with the great writers on the "Law of Nations;" with Vattel, for instance, who says that in war we have the "right to weaken our enemy, in order to render him incapable of supporting his unjust violence;" "to deprive him of everything which may enable him to make war," and to deprive him of it "in the manner most suitable to us." But we, with rare generosity and chivalry, leave to our enemy his slaves to till his land for him, and build his fortifications. Without the help of slaves, our enemy could hardly maintain a war against Lilliput. Our last Congress—although the pro-slavery war was, in point of fact, already begun, though not so admitted by all—not only failed to meet the war, or, if you prefer, the prospect of the war, by providing "for the common defence and general welfare of the United States," but it actually took steps to provide for the protection of slavery. Our President's first official words were gratuitous assurances of such protection. With such assurances do our Generals enter upon their *friendly* war against the rebels. And the people of the North, instead of assembling in all their towns, and calling on Government to abolish slavery, and thus stop the war, and save them from the needless loss of tens of thousands of lives, and hundreds of millions of money, feel little power and less disposition to move against slavery. Whence this infatuation and this paralysis? It is a part of our punishment for having fostered and honored slavery until at length we have come to regard it as sacred and inviolable—for having served it and fallen down before it, until at length we are spell-bound and helpless in its presence. In prosecuting the present war, we are almost as much embarrassed by our reverence for slavery as were the ancient Egyptians in battle by their worship of animals—their enemy ingeniously protecting himself by placing the objects of worship between himself and the Egyptians. The Egyptians were to be pitied, because it was their enemy who made this appalling disposition of the sacred animals. We are not to be pitied, because we can, if we will only muster the resolution to do it, hurl slavery out of our path. The enemies of the Jews were wont to fall upon them on the Sabbath, hoping they would not defend themselves on the day they so superstitiously observed. Our enemies venture to wage a war for slavery, and even to employ slaves in it, presuming on our long service and worship of slavery that we cannot have a heart to strike at it.

I thought the war would be very short, because I assumed that the North would soon be sufficiently provoked to tell the slaves that they were free. She will yet tell them so; but I fear she has not yet suffered enough to do it. It may be that the God of the oppressed has much more suffering in store for her before she can be brought to tell them so. It may be that the war must first carry sorrow into thousands more of her families, and much more of ruin to her industrial and commercial interests, ere she will feel constrained to do so. God's controversy with the North is the same as with the South; and "LET MY PEOPLE GO" is the one only condition on which He will consent to end it with either. What has come upon the nation does not astonish the handful of Abolitionists. For thirty years have they been "crying in the wilderness" and in the city that slavery, if not soon put away in peace and righteousness, would end in blood. How happy had they been listened to! How different from now would have been the condition of our country had William Lloyd Garrison been heeded—that great and good man whom, more than thirty years ago, God called in his youth and from his obscurity, and commissioned to sound a prophet's alarm in the sleeping, alas! still sleeping, ears of the American people! Then would our nation have been united instead of broken up; the blessing of peace upon it instead of the curse of war; not one slave in it instead of 4,000,000; then it had been the glory instead of the shame of mankind; the pattern instead of the warning of the nations. But I repeat that the war may not end very soon. He, into whose ears have ascended the groans of the successive generations of American slaves, and who has bottled up all their tears, may not be content with less than wide desolations in both the North and the South. He may think this needful for a sufficiently conspicuous and enduring monument of the crime and punishment of slavery—for a sufficiently effective warning to all nations not to oppress His unoffending and helpless poor. Would God that all this might be averted by the instant and penitent abolition of slavery! Would God such an abolition might not be delayed until He shall say: "But ye would not! Behold your house is left unto you desolate!" I fear, however, that it will. I sorrowfully lay my account with the continued stupidity and infatuation of the American people in regard to slavery. I even fear that Congress will close the present session without resolving in favor of its abolition.

Pardon my wonder that a gentleman of your very great intelligence should be so anxious to save slavery from the impending destruction. It could survive it but a short time. The war has already given it death wounds. The shots at Fort Sumter, being all shots at slavery, were enough to make the death of slavery sure. Never more will the cotton manufacturers rely on the South for supplies of cotton—and that is as much as to say that never more will slavery recover its vitality. From other considerations, also, slavery has lived out its day. The accursed relic of barbarism is a trespasser on the advanced and advancing civilization of Christendom. It will soon hide itself forever from the sight of earth and heaven.

Very respectfully yours,

GERRIT SMITH.

ANNIVERSARY OF WEST INDIA EMANCIPATION.

The first day of August was celebrated in this city yesterday. The services were held in the Abyssinian church, both forenoon and afternoon. There was a Levee in the evening at the Ward Room on Franklin street. The attendance at the day meetings was fair.

The meeting in the morning was called to order by Rev. James F. Brown, acting pastor of the Abyssinian church; Mr. Elbridge J. Talbot was appointed chairman, and Mr. Jacob C. Dickson secretary.

On taking the chair, Mr. Talbot made a few remarks pertinent to the occasion, and admirably expressed, when he introduced Rev. Frederick Frothingham, an ever faithful friend of the race, who, after reading select passages of scripture, from Isaiah 42d, and 25th chapter of Matthew, offered a prayer, and then proceeded to address the audience upon the occasion of the meeting, namely, the emancipation of the slaves in the British West India Islands, in the year 1834. He was followed by Hon. Neal Dow in the same direction. Both addresses were received with great favor.

In the afternoon, the meeting was further addressed, in an interesting and profitable manner, by the chairman, Thomas H. Talbot, Esq., Mr. Reuben Ruby and others.

The singing by the choir was very appropriate and excellent. A hymn, prepared for the occasion by Rev. Mr. Brown, was sung. We insert the first stanza:

"Hail, happy day! joy of a nation blest,
The day God gave to his bound people rest;
When His word, spoken o'er the western sea,
The nations heard: 'My people shall be free.'"

Other hymns, interspersing the speeches, were sung with good effect. Much credit is due the choir for the manner of their performance.

But not the least interesting feature of the occasion was the presence of the young sons and daughters of temperance, dressed in a very neat and becoming style. Their general behavior was excellent; and several acquitted themselves admirably in the recitation of select pieces for the occasion. We give their names: Misses Nettie Palmer, Octavia Bradley, Louisa Mahoney, Ida Harris and Lizzie M. Daniels; and Masters George Ball and John Parr. Each spoke in a clear, distinct voice, giving the proper emphasis to every word, and showing that they understood the sentiment as well as the language of the subject. We are by no means satisfied that white children, taking the same pains these colored children took, might not have succeeded in every respect as well.

It was resolved, at the close of these services, to hold a monthly concert in behalf of the enslaved, on the second Sabbath evening of each month—a very excellent movement, which, we trust, will not only meet the approval but secure the coöperation of anti-slavery friends in this city.

We were unfortunately prevented from attending the levee in the evening, and are without report from that quarter. We trust, however, it was a decided success.—*Portland Standard.*

THE HEROES OF THE SEA. The only two men who have as yet won maritime distinction in the war are *not* members of the Navy, and are colored men into the bargain. Wm. Tillman, a black steward, by his determined energy, has saved for its owners, property to the amount of $100,000, and has captured for our government the prize crew of a Southern privateer; and another of his race, whose name is not mentioned, has given into our hands the schooner "Enchantress," which was being carried away under similar circumstances. We are not informed whether these sable gentlemen come under the rule of "contraband" or otherwise, but submit that the point is established that one of them can fight, and fight effectually.—*Roxbury Journal.*

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The United States Constitution is "a covenant with death, and an agreement with hell."

☞ "What order of men under the most absolute of monarchies, or the most aristocratic of republics, was ever invested with such an odious and unjust privilege as that of the separate and exclusive representation of less than half a million owners of slaves, in the Hall of this House, in the chair of the Senate, and in the Presidential mansion? This investment of power in the owners of one species of property concentrated in the highest authorities of the nation, and disseminated through thirteen of the twenty-six States of the Union, constitutes a privileged order of men in the community, more adverse to the rights of all, and more pernicious to the interests of the whole, than any order of nobility ever known. To call government thus constituted a Democracy is to insult the understanding of mankind. . . . It is doubly tainted with the infection of riches and of slavery. There is no name in the language of national jurisprudence that can define it—no model in the records of ancient history, or in the political theories of Aristotle, with which it can be likened. It was introduced into the Constitution of the United States by an equivocation—a representation of property under the name of persons. Little did the members of the Convention from the Free States imagine or foresee what a sacrifice to Moloch was hidden under the mask of this concession."—JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor. | Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind. | J. B. YERRINTON & SON, Printers.

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Refuge of Oppression.

TO ALL LAW-ABIDING AND PEACE-LOVING CITIZENS.

A FOURTH OF JULY UNION MEETING.

Having convened at Sharon Centre, Medina Co., Ohio, on the Anniversary of the Freedom and Independence of this Confederacy, we wish to improve the occasion by mutual consultation, and an unrestrained and respectful expression of our sentiments upon the measures and policy which have blighted the interests and blasted the expectations of our once happy country. We cannot celebrate this day with joy, as we have done in former years. We feel more like mourning over our ruined country, despoiled of unalienable rights and privileges, and likely to be shrouded in the sable festoonery of mourning for the fearful sacrifice of human life in this unnecessary, unnatural, unholy and barbarous civil war.

The inauguration of this war has alienated those who were friends—precipitated the border States to dissolve their connection with the general government—depreciated the value of real estate—ruined our commerce, and rendered bankrupt many of the most enterprising commercial men; and it has also produced a perfect stagnation in every business department throughout our country; and it is fastening upon our government an enormous debt which will require the patient toil and economy of years to liquidate; effectually crippling all our operations for internal improvements; destroying all mutual confidence at home, and producing distrust and dishonor abroad. This frightful state of things *could and ought* to have been avoided by the adoption of honorable compromise measures. But Congress, composed of those who were hostile to the South, refused to do anything conflicting with the sectional Chicago platform, and even refused submitting the question to the voice of the sovereign people. The action of the Peace Conference, composed principally of Republicans, being referred to Congress for final action, was ignored by that body. The earnest appeals of Virginia—the mother of States—to save the Union, were hooted at.

Her soil is invaded by the general government. Other States, loyal to the general government, but desiring to be neutral in this fratricidal conflict, have a military espionage placed over them, which has invaded State rights and set at defiance State authority. And all this is done under the most solemn obligations to observe inviolate the articles of the confederated agreement, and the Constitution of the United States of America! All this is destructive of that *freedom and independence*, for which our sires, on this memorable day, "pledged their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honor" to secure, and to transmit unsullied and unimpaired to unborn generations.

Hence we object, most seriously, to the high-handed, unconstitutional, and illegal usurpations of the party in power, which is subversive of sovereignty, freedom and independence. And as quiet, peaceable and law-abiding citizens, we enter our most solemn protest against the spirit and acts of mobocracy, illegally countenanced by the civil authorities, under a military despotism; and,

Whereas, some of the peaceful and law-abiding citizens of this county have been grossly outraged by threats of personal violence, for the exercise of rights guarantied to them by the Constitution of the United States and the Constitution of the State of Ohio, and that said outrages are known to the citizens of our county seat, and in all probability to the officers of the law, who connive at the indignities to peaceful citizens of the county, and make no efforts to suppress the violations of the law by a rampant mob—therefore,

Resolved, That we solemnly enter our protest against all such outrages and violations of law and order, and that we will hold the officers of the law responsible for their dereliction of duty, and for not making every legal and possible effort to suppress the insubordination of mobocracy.

Resolved, That we are opposed to hanging, shooting, assassination, or maltreating men, for their opinions of public men and measures, because we believe it subversive of all good order and government, *degrading* and *enslaving* to the noble faculties of intellectuality, subjecting them to the decisions of incompetent and prejudiced judges and irresponsible tyrants, and because such acts are violations of the "higher law" of God's moral government, which says, "Thou shalt not kill," and "thou shalt not avenge nor bear any grudge against the children of thy people, but thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself" (Lev. xix. 18); from which it is evident good government is designed to *save*, and not to *destroy* human life.

Resolved, That we heartily approve of the farewell addresses of the immortal Washington and Jackson, and that we have, from the first dawning of abolitionism, frowned indignantly upon all attempts of that party to alienate one portion of our country from the rest; and that we will continue to oppose that dominant faction, which has become a frightful despotism, and which, under the mask of *Union*, is striving to perpetuate its power upon the ruins of our constitutional liberty.

Resolved, That we will suspend all social intercourse with the town of Medina, (except when required to attend the sessions of Court and to the payment of taxes,) and that we will withhold our patronage from the merchants, mechanics, &c., until we have the evidence that the citizens are effectually cured of their political madness, and have recovered the equilibrium of saneness and justice.

Resolved, That we advise and encourage the formation of similar Union societies in every township in the county, for the purpose herein set forth.

J. M. Chatfield,	Wm. Roseberry,
Allen Pardee,	Jacob Kuder,
Orlando Beach,	Jefferson Crane,
J. Hamilton,	Abiel Briggs,
W. F. Hess,	John Bennett,
S. A. Case,	Justus Curtis,
D. G. Briggs,	Isaac Wall,
Hervy Evans,	Joshua Hartman,
Wm. Crane, Jr.,	R. Orton,
S. A. Barrin,	W. H. Connel,
B. B. Briggs,	D. S. Pimlot,
G. G. Crane,	Metcalf Bell,
Geo. W. Crane,	Joseph Dressler,
A. L. Chatfield,	Samuel Jones,
John Spelman,	Adam Bremer,
Joshua Hartman, Jr.,	John Coats,
Warren Crane,	Charles Wall,
Ira Tatman,	John Wall,
Jacob Rudesil,	Edwin Willford,
B. H. Willits,	G. W. Andrews,
A. Laphier,	David Andrews,
George Willits,	Andrew Andrews,
Roswell Willits,	Albert N. Griswold,
John B. Jones,	Wm. A. Dage,
Benj. Jones,	Peter Smith,
Lemuel P. Jones,	P. S. Steiner,
John Plum,	Abram High,
Daniel Cornwal,	George Conrad,
Isaac John,	G. R. Chrisman,
Jacob Roseberry,	Robert Ferryman,
Abram Keller,	Samuel Young,
M. Bollinger,	Andrew McBride,
Owen Switzer,	Philip Ream,
Joseph Baughman,	Joseph Rhodes,
Levi Baughman,	Jacob Hartman,
Joseph Stover,	Reason Wall,
Henry Chandler,	Wm. Case,
Edward Chandler,	W. C. Britton,
George Chandler,	A. Hilbert,
George Plum,	Thomas Brown,
Samuel S. Jones,	Wm. Irving,
James Jones,	George Plewes,
Thomas Montgomery,	A. D. Crane,
David Reisender,	Wm. H. Plum,
Joseph Arnold,	J. P. Britton,
G. W. England,	J. H. Chandler,
Geo. Null,	George L. Case,
Ephraim Andrews,	Daniel Lilly,
Cicero Loutzenheizer,	V. Waltman,
David Loutzenheizer,	Holding Ferryman,
Benjamin F. Slanker,	William Crane, Sr.,
Jacob Slanker,	Wm. H. Dean,
Charles C. Croster,	Adam Krider,
Rufus Myers,	Freeman Briggs,
Jonathan Everhard,	Samuel Fulmer,
John Jones, Jr.,	Samuel Bolland,
Aaron Jones,	J. C. Rudesill,
Aaron Porter,	L. A. Irvine,
Samuel Porter,	John J. Mohn,
Mathew Frederick,	Gustave A. Eberhard.

THE WAR.

The course of events within the last few weeks has opened the eyes of many of our people, especially in the country, to the greatness of the task the North has undertaken, in endeavoring to conquer the South; for this is the practical definition of Coercion, or, if preferred, of "Enforce the Laws," throughout the (late) Union. There is as much patriotism as ever, and as great a willingness to submit to privations, hardships and sacrifices, for the sake of the country. But as the people are accustomed to examine their own affairs, and form their own opinions as to the way things are going, so now they are beginning to inquire where is all this to end? What good will it do? Can we bring 8,000,000 of brave people into subjection by force of arms? If we could, what sort of a Union would that be? and what will it cost the North, in men and money, to accomplish such a result? These and similar inquiries are not confined to those who have always been opposed to the war, but include also some, we believe many, who have hitherto seemed to enter cordially into the war policy of the government. Peace meetings and peace flags are becoming more numerous.

A correspondent of the Boston *Traveller*, writing from Bradford, Vermont, says:—

"Although there has been no public action in opposition to the war in this vicinity, there are numbers who, in season and out of season, carry their opposition to the administration to the extent of denouncing the war, and in some instances expressing their sympathy with the South."

The action of the Democracy in Ohio and other States shows that if the war is to be prosecuted on the basis of Abolition, it will lose the support of those who have furnished a majority of our volunteers. The Baltimore *Patriot* says of the war leaders:—

"They have denounced as weakness and treason the idea of adjusting our national difficulties in any other way than by force of arms and the overthrow of rebels, and they have partially succeeded in their purpose. It may be discovered that, after all their cries to the contrary, they have been working all the time for a dissolution of the Union."

The Newburyport *Herald* anticipates that a draft for troops and a direct tax for carrying on the war, each of which it infers will have to be made to insure success, will be so obnoxious as to create a "different state of feeling upon the whole question." "People ever so patriotic, do not like to be turned out of doors or starved, for any national purpose."

The Boston *Transcript* finds fault with the leniency of the government towards secessionists and conditional Unionists, and says:—

"If it be not rebellion—treason, that we are trying to crush, it would seem most economical, to say the least, to withdraw our forces, break up the blockade at once, summon Jeff. Davis and his associates to Washington, and enter upon an agreement to differ and separate!"

The Rochester *Union*, which has been an earnest advocate of a vigorous war, in the course of an article says:—

"It will not be the most surprising thing in the world if our own capital should yet be taken by the enemy before the administration shall have recognized him even as a belligerent. The federal civil authorities are decidedly punctilious. They will not make any concessions to the Southern *people*, lest their action be construed into some sort of recognition of the rebel authorities. They will not recognize the Jeff. Davis power as entitled to belligerent rights, for a similar reason. Hence there can be no exchange of prisoners, but the embarrassment accruing from this abnormal state of things is pretty much all on our own side. And the eventual mortification resulting from such recognition—which must sooner or later inevitably take place—will be all the greater, for being *forced* upon our government after long and obstinate resistance. This war cannot *possibly* be terminated in any manner whatever, without at least a recognition of belligerent rights on the part of the Southern Confederacy."

We might quote from other journals, but the above will suffice. We do not apprehend any sudden reaction or popular upheaval, but such premonitory symptoms indicate that the people are beginning to look into their own affairs, and that they will not long be satisfied to lavish their blood and treasure upon a measure which promises "much loss and no gain," as our President Lincoln expressed it in his April Message.—*New York Journal of Commerce.*

LETTERS FROM THE PEOPLE.

NEWBURYPORT, July 29, 1861.

EDITOR HERALD,—Your leader of this day is just *the thing*; it hits the nail directly on the head.

We must kill the Abolition party in Massachusetts,—that will do more to show our Southern friends that we are really friends to them, than all other things combined. If we had treated the South respectfully, this disastrous war might have been prevented; but John A. Andrew must send the blackest of Black Republicans to the Peace Convention, and do all in his power to prevent other States from sending Union-loving men.

This war should be stayed as soon as possible. The people will suffer terribly next winter; and if the war holds through still another winter, God only knows what the laboring man and his family will do.

For God's sake, men of Massachusetts, open your eyes and see where this *infernal nigger* business has brought you; and it will certainly ruin the country, unless *the people* rise in their might and crush it at once and forever.

Let the ball be started *now* that in November next will *crush out* Abolitionism forever, in Massachusetts.

Yours, truly,
"DOUGLAS."

WALPOLE, N. H., July 29, 1861.

EDITOR OF HERALD: *Sir*,—We were right glad to hear in your issue of to-day and yesterday a ring of the true metal. We looked at each other and asked, has the *Herald* a new editor. We looked again, and found it was the old editor, again taking a bold stand against the enemies of our country, (the Abolitionists,) and defending the principles of our late lamented statesman, S. A. Douglas. The administration will find it hard to continue the course they have taken in the war in which the country is involved. Had the Democrats of the North taken the course that Lincoln laid out in his Message, ("Let it be shown that a party that can carry an election can put down a rebellion,") the North would have, long ere this, been under the reign of Jeff. Davis. In our town, if a Democrat ventured to express a doubt as to the result of our first battle, he was called a traitor and rebel, and out of forty Wide-Awakes in this town, only two have gone to the war; the rest cannot leave their families or business. Can the merchants of Boston suffer, and continue to suffer, till ruin stares them in the face, and still support that humbug (Andrew)? Will the Democrats continue to preserve the Union, and still be abused by the Republicans? After the Blacks have all got an office, either in the capacity of generals, colonels, majors, &c., &c., or in the capacity of foreign ministers, custom house officers, or any other place to get a good salary from government, then, perhaps, they will remember those who are doing the fighting for the preservation of the Union, and not till then. If all the Democratic presses of the North will take such a decided stand as the *Herald* has, we should soon see a change; the Blacks would cease their abuse, and treat the bone and sinew of the country with some respect. But until then, they will go on the same as usual.

Let us hear, from day to day, from the *Herald*, those editorial remarks that will stimulate the Democrats and fall like a bomb-shell in the camp of the enemy. The *Herald* will be sought for in Walpole with that eagerness that it was through the late Presidential campaign.

THE DEMOCRACY OF WALPOLE.
—*Boston Herald.*

SUMNER, WILSON AND ANDREW.

The secessionists point to the election of such men as Sumner, Wilson and Andrew, as evidence of unfriendliness on the part of the people of Massachusetts. We do not now believe, and never have believed, in these men, and shall oppose them, believing them to be unsound. The advocates of the doctrine of non-intervention believe that to be the only basis upon which the country can become again re-united. We believe the defeat of Sumner, Wilson and Andrew in this State would be equal to twenty thousand soldiers in Virginia, and would add greatly to the strength of the Union sentiment at the South, in its efforts to overthrow the disunionists. It is of no use for our correspondent to say that he despises abolitionists when he gives to them his vote. When we say there is nothing to fight about, we mean that the disunionists have no good reason for the course they are pursuing. They have, however, seized upon the violent denunciation of their institutions and their section of the country, by the ultra-abolitionists, to excite the public mind in the slave States; and point to the fact that these violent men are in power at the North, as evidence that the whole North favors the doctrine they have advocated so persistently for years. We believe the country will not be restored to peace and prosperity until violent men in both sections of the country are set aside. This being the case, should not the true Union men of both sections come together upon the great doctrine of non-intervention, and vote the men who have created this disturbance home, and give them permission to retire to private life? This is the issue, and it must be met. The sooner it is met, the sooner will the war be brought to a close, and peace prevail.—*Boston Herald.*

☞ Gen. Butler has written a letter to the Secretary of War about the negroes at Fortress Monroe. If Gen. Butler thinks they are free, why don't he let them run? Why does he continually raise questions, and force the administration to give opinions which may have a bad effect upon the Union? His talk is rich about being a humane man, when he was the head and front of the party in this State to afford protection to slavery in the Territories, and voted in the Democratic Convention for Jefferson Davis for President. At Annapolis, Md., he was for using the United States troops to put down an insurrection which existed only in his imagination. Now he is moved to compassion for the women and children at Fortress Monroe. The whole thing is gotten up so that he can write a letter, hoping to make a little capital for the home market. If he has such bowels of compassion for the negro, would it not be well for him to see that the Massachusetts mechanics and working men under his command are provided with shoes to wear, and have enough to eat? Humane? Bah!—*Boston Herald.*

GEN. B. F. BUTLER is surprising the people more by his pen than his sword. Ben is a witty fellow, and must make a lion of himself somehow. If he could get into battle he would fight, like a bull pup, and that would satisfy him; but they have kept him in a kind of prison at Fortress Monroe, like Napoleon at St. Helena, where a captain or lieutenant would have held the Fort as well; and not having a chance to fight, he has turned general reformer. Look at his letter on "Contrabands!" He who was the Breckinridge leader of Massachusetts last year, now leads for negro emancipation, and, with abolitionists, puts to shame even Gov. Andrew, whom he leaves a long way behind him. Nor was he content with the enunciation of principles to settle the vexed slavery question. One day he took it into his head to follow Father Mathew's example in temperance, and administered the pledge of total abstinence to all who would accept it. He had not a great character in that line himself, and therefore announced his conversion to begin with, spilled what liquor he could find about the camp, and then signed the pledge and administered it to others. What will be his success in his new field of operations is as yet doubtful; but when he gets tired hero they must let him fight, or he will dish up something else for them. Ben Butler is not to keep still.—*Newburyport Herald.*

Selections.

From the Sligo Champion.

THE CIVIL WAR IN AMERICA.

TO IRISHMEN.

35 ECCLES-ST., DUBLIN, 26th June, 1861.

It has frequently been my privilege, during the last five-and-twenty years, to address letters to my countrymen on various interesting topics. Temperance, peace, anti-slavery, have often engaged my pen, in earnest appeals to them to take the side of truth and justice, so that Irishmen might always be found in the ranks with those who were laboring for the advancement of civilization over the whole earth. Once more, my countrymen, I appeal to you on behalf of the wronged and down-trodden—on behalf of those who dare not speak for themselves—but for whom you can speak, and speak with effect. I ask you to put forth the power you possess to have justice done to the colored people in America. Now is the moment for Irishmen to prove to the world that they really love liberty, and that they themselves deserve to be free. A civil war is now raging in America, in which Irishmen, who have become citizens of the United States, are taking an active part. This war has been avowedly undertaken by the seceding Southern States for the maintenance of slavery—for the maintenance of that infernal system which places man on the auction-stand, and sells him to the highest bidder, as if he were a brute, or some inanimate article of merchandize. The whole world should rise up in moral indignation against a system which makes man a thing of sale and purchase. This civil war in America has, as I have said, originated in the Southern States, for the maintenance of slavery; and the Northern States are indignant, not because such is the object of the South, but because the resolution of that portion of the States which has declared for secession, dissolves the United States into contending parties. The North asserts is rebellion, and must therefore be met by force, and put down with the strong hand. If Northern men came nobly forward with the declaration that slavery should no longer be permitted to exist in any portion of the Union, the sympathies of the whole world would go along with them in the struggle; but no such righteous manifestation has been made by them. Hurt pride, at the insolent bearing of the South, appears to be the sole motive for the indignation manifested by the North; and of the wide-spread expression of indignant popular feeling, which has resulted in the general arming of the population in that section of the Union. This feeling is not deserving of the world's sympathy, because it is not based on any noble principle; hence, the approaching war is looked upon, rather as an insane determination on the part of the North to punish a few refractory members of the Confederation, than for the purpose of extending civilization, and establishing liberty throughout their borders. For this reason, no European interest is felt in the issue of this warfare—no one cares which side is the victor. The parties are preparing to slaughter one another, and there is no noble principle actuating either party. What can Irishmen do to make the free States what they profess to be—really free States—and to turn the sympathies of the civilized world on the side of the North? They can do much, both directly and indirectly. Irishmen at home can implore their countrymen in America to take the side of freedom, in its widest acceptation. Every letter that we send across the ocean should be filled with entreaties to our kindred not to disgrace their name or their lineage by fighting for the insane idea that the Union shall be maintained and slavery sustained also. I hold that fighting is always a folly and a crime; but mad and wicked as it always is, it becomes ten-fold worse when it is waged against liberty and justice. We should plainly tell our countrymen in America that they have been too long unfriendly to the rights of the colored people, and that the time has arrived for them to declare themselves the honest advocates of freedom—the determined opponents of any system which puts a shackle upon a single human being. Irishmen in America, you have the power to turn the scale in favor of equal freedom for every American citizen; for the colored man as well as the white man. Your influence is great; exercise it now, in favor of liberty and justice, and you will do honor to yourselves and to old Ireland. If you be false to those principles, if you fight to keep the black man in chains, you will have a blasted character, and your actions will cast a dark shade over the fame of your country. Be not thus unfaithful to truth and righteousness, my countrymen! Ireland has noble memories, which should attach her sons to noble principles. You cannot arrest the progress of man, in his onward course towards a higher civilization; but you may throw some impediments in his way, to your own dishonor. Now is your time to right yourselves in the opinion of the world; if you will draw the sword to maintain the Union, say manfully and nobly, and without a moment's hesitation, that freedom for all shall be at once proclaimed throughout the land. I say to you, fight not at all, for fighting is a folly as well as a crime; and it is in direct opposition to the spirit and to the precepts of Christianity; but add not to this guilt the sin of shedding human blood for the maintenance of slavery, in the land of your adoption. The curse of God and the anathema of outraged humanity must visit you for wickedness such as this. Men and nations appear for a time to escape from the consequences of their crimes; but a just retribution comes in the end with the same certainty that the night follows the day. The guilty complicity of all the United States, in the sin of slavery, is now producing the only fruit that could be gathered from such a course of crime. Terrible, indeed, will be the punishment if repentance and restitution for the wrong done for generations, to the colored man, be not at once made by this people. I hope the sword will soon be sheathed, and that the fierce passions now in the ascendant, may soon give place to wiser and better counsels. Slavery is the fountain from whence all these bitter waters flow. Peace cannot be where slavery exists. I am, countrymen, faithfully yours,

JAMES HAUGHTON.

From the Vermont Chronicle.

DEATH BEFORE SLAVERY.

SPRINGFIELD, VT., June 10th, 1861.

MR. EDITOR:—If the stirring scenes of the past few months have quickened the circulation of the blood, the anticipated events of the future are likely to raise and sustain it at fever heat. "We are in the midst of revolution," was the commencement of a speech in the Senate chamber, on a memorable occasion, and we may well adopt the same language, but cannot add as did he, "hitherto bloodless."

To the inquiry, "What is the cause of all this commotion and preparation to shed human blood?" but one reply in response comes from every tongue, from the legislative hall, the pulpit and the press, down to the school-boy of ten summers: SLAVERY! and any attempt to reconcile the latter with Liberty, civil or religious, is as utterly preposterous as to attempt to reconcile Christianity with profanity and blasphemy. And the moral gulf that divides them, is as wide and deep as that which separates Abraham and Dives. The encroachments of Slavery upon Liberty have been more and more apparent for an age, till it is manifest its end *must* come, in blood if need be, or your mountains of granite must be leveled, and your mines of iron ore exhausted, to build bastiles to incarcerate all who hold opinions adverse to its claim to reign supreme.

For a quarter of a century, I have acted and sympathized with a party,—few in numbers, but strong in principle, everywhere persecuted, in Church and State,—'yclept Abolitionists; a cognomen more odious to slave-breeders, man-thieves, and woman whippers, than traitor, robber or murderer; and little less so with the Lords, the Adamses and Deweys and Van Dykes of the free States. The barbarism of Slavery was never overrated, and never can be. In the eyes of some, the foreshadowing of its overthrow appears. *Let it come at whatever cost.* My motto is: LIBERTY BEFORE UNION! JUSTICE BEFORE LAW! WAR BEFORE TYRANNY! DEATH BEFORE SLAVERY!

My head is white with the frosts of fourscore winters; but the great Power above that has preserved my constitution and continued my health, almost in the vigor of middle age, *may* yet defer "marching orders," till I witness the overthrow of Slavery. God's will be done. But I perceive that a great change must come over the free States, especially over the government, before my hope can be indulged that any decisive steps are likely to be taken in that direction; at least for the present. I am prepared to witness, as I have already, scenes enacted by those in authority, which would wring tears of anguish from *any* thing that had a heart. When six colored men had the courage, inspired perhaps by despair, to attempt to recover the liberty which God gave to man, and in so doing encountered perils and hardships which would have immortalized white men, to reach Fort Pickens,—only to be returned by Lieut. Slemmer to the hell of Slavery, to writhe under the torture of five hundred lashes each, —my blood rose to fever heat, and my indignation higher still, to think that I had aided in changing an administration which had been damned to everlasting shame for its corruptions, crimes and war upon humanity itself, only to be repeated by another.

But, sir, I have another case to pass in review, no less revolting. A Massachusetts General, volunteering his services and those of his regiment—which had been so lately assailed by death-dealing missiles in that modern Pandemonium; alternately governed by the mayor and the mob, at the option of the latter,—to crush out the "*vague notions of liberty*," imbibed by a race ground under the iron heel of tyrants for ages, and groaning to be delivered. The horrors of St. Domingo dance like a spectre before his eyes, and he ignores the fact that *they* struck for liberty, and that a little white paint would have transmogrified the actors in that drama into Christian heroes and patriots of the first water. He further ignores the fact that the cruel maimings, hot-iron brandings, and hurnings at the stake of the victims of tyranny in our own country, far transcend the horrors of St. Domingo. His recent offer to return three fugitives, in exchange for one slaveholder's oath of fealty to the Union, with the fact before him that three, who had taken the oath, were playing the assassin a few hours after, is no amendment of the matter, but rather adds to the heartless turpitude of the whole transaction.(1) A slaveholder's oath!! What is it worth? In the contest now upon us, the thing most to be dreaded is not defeat in a contest of arms, even if repeated a hundred times, but deadly compromise, to bring back slaveholders, *with* slavery still lumbering at their backs, to be more strongly entrenched than before.

If this be the policy of the government, I have no prayers to offer for its success. The discovery near the close of the last Congress, of so many weak knees and faltering steps in leading men in the Republican ranks, marked a strange and lamentable contrast with their avowed principles and declarations during the presidential campaign; and if Æsop had lived in our day, he never would have written his fable of the mountain in labor, after witnessing the labors of the Committee of thirty-three, the report of the Peace Convention, and a vote in Congress, two to one, virtually to bind that leprous spawn of Pandemonium upon posterity for all time and eternity too, if it would appease the chivalry; and this latter vote is so degrading and humiliating that posterity will blush with shame at the record, and the future historian attribute it to a demented understanding, or the offspring of fear.

And now, Mr. Editor, I will close this long letter with the following sentiment:—

The Third War of Independence: May it never end, like the two first, with slavery lumbering at our backs, nor the present age dishonored by entailing that leprous spawn of Pandemonium upon the next generation.

J. S

(1) Gen. Butler, since this was written, has much improved in his ideas concerning the fugitive slaves.—ED. LIB.

GRAPHIC ACCOUNT OF THE FLIGHT FROM BULL RUN.

The editorial correspondence of Wilkes' *Spirit of the Times* furnishes the most connected and intelligible account of the battle of Bull Run that we have seen. The writer differs from most of the witnesses, in not attributing the beginning of the disorder to the teamsters or the civilians, but to the soldiers themselves, dispirited by seeing the immense reserves brought on by the enemy, and startled out of their self-possession by the rapid movement to the rear of the *caissons* of the regulars for a supply of ammunition. His description of the scene is graphic:

"The Burnside brigade was still upon the field, where they had received from Gen. McDowell the news of the victory, and consequently had heard, with the surprise that was equal among all our brigades, the angry reopening of the fight. They had seen, too, the other brigades file off toward the rear, but having no orders for such movement, and not being in the fire, the staunch Rhode Islanders, Wisconsinians, and 71st doggedly held their feet. But the musketry on our side was getting faint, and the great guns of the enemy, unprovoked from our almost exhausted batteries, were now but sparsely fired. Everything, therefore, indicated another lull, and it could not be made certain to our minds but that we had really won the victory after all, and that the last cannonade was but the angry finish of the enemy. Suddenly a cry broke from the ranks of "Look there! look there!" and, turning their eyes toward Manassas, the whole of our drooping regiment, as well those who were moving to the rear, as those who stood, saw a sight which none who ever gazed upon it will forget. At a long way up the rise, and issuing from the enemy's extreme left, appeared, slowly debouching into sight, a dense column of infantry, marching with slow and solid step, and looking, at this noiseless distance, like a mirage of ourselves, or the illusions of a panorama. Rod by rod the massive column lengthened, not breaking off at the completion of a regiment, as we had hoped, but still pouring on, and on, and on, till one regiment had lengthened into ten. Even then the stern tide did not pause; for one of its arms turned downward along the far side of the triangle, and the source of the flood thus relieved, poured forth again, and commenced lining the other in like manner. Still the solemn picture swelled its volume till the ten regiments had doubled into twenty, and had taken the formation of three sides of a hollow square. Our awe-struck legions, though beginning to feel the approaches of despair, could not take their eyes from the majestic pageant, and, though experiencing a new necessity, were [illegible] the sight. The martial tide flowed on, the lengthening regiments growing into thirty thousand men, with a mass of black cavalry in its centre, the whole moving towards us, as the sun danced upon its pomp of bayonets, with the solemn step of fate. This was war; compact, well-made and reasoning war. It was war, too, in all its pomp and glory, as well as in its strength, and we at once comprehended we were beaten. In vain did our startled faculties dart alertly hither and thither for some hope; in vain did our thoughts turn quickly upon Patterson. It would not do. Johnson was there before us, with his cool, fresh thousands—and our Waterloo was lost. That steady and untried host outnumbered the whole of our worn and staggering columns, and it penetrated us with a conviction of resistless power. Decently, however, did we gather up our force, not by general order, but by one sensible accord, and sad, and pained, and wearied, yet conscious of victory as far as we had fought, we folded up our columns for retreat. The only ones whose hardihood clung spitefully to the strife, were a few regulars at the batteries, who, with the infatuation of experts, and begrimed with the mire of battle from all ordinary recognition, kept peppering at such batteries as would still provoke their fire.

Among the last to turn their faces from the fight they had so gaily sought, were the Burnside brigade, which, accompanied by Sprague and its gallant Brigadier, and headed by all of its colonels, retired in line of battle, with orders to cover the retreat. Thus honored for its steadiness, the Rhode Islanders took off their battery, and the 71st departed with its guns. All, thus far, had gone well with the departing movement, and our battalions from every portion of the field were retiring with decorum, when of a sudden, some of the persistent regulars, who were charged with the protection of the retreat, getting out of ammunition, sent back their *caissons* for a fresh supply. I have described how that branch of the service made its charges in the morning, and how recklessly it always sought its way to the front, through the formed columns of the volunteers. In the same manner did it now go back upon its errand, riding down everything in its road, and scattering the ranks of the regiments in every direction. The volunteers, who had never before seen such a sight, and who were already penetrated with the pageant of the descending enemy, could understand the movement in only one way. Those flying carriages, and those madly excited men were rushing to the rear, and their action was therefore construed into a wild retreat. The thought which appealed to their agitated minds was, that if the regulars were in such haste to escape, it was necessary they should hurry for themselves, and one fearful panic took possession of them all. The ranks of most of the regiments were broken, the streams of flying men commingled; even officers who had behaved with courage throughout the day felt justified, by the precipitation of the regulars, to urge their men, with a sympathizing sense of pity, to hurry for their lives. Thus, mistake piled upon mistake aggravated the misfortunes of the day, and culminated in a calamity which will rankle in the pride of the republic, throughout all her history. It seems marvellous that men who had borne the brunt of battle so bravely during the entire fight, and who left the field against a courageous foe, with more than equal honors, could have so sunk into such puerile bewilderment; but so it was; and they fled headlong from an enemy more deeply hurt than they, and who hardly dared pursue. The panic soon communicated itself to the teamsters of the Federal army, who improperly had pressed too near, and scampering civilians spread the terror with an electric speed fast back to our reserves.

DEMORALIZING EFFECT OF SLAVERY.

The evil influences of slavery are fully shown in their effects upon the rebels. In order to extend this institution, they have sought to overthrow the government, and to do this, hesitate to use no means which they believe will prove effective. They appear to have completely lost sight of all those moral restraints which are found in civilized communities. They make use of fraud and deceit whenever they think they can profit by them. They hate us so intensely that they outdo the practices of savages. In their warfare with us, they resort to the meanest trickery, and commit the most barbarous deeds. They have not only bayoneted and cut the throats of the wounded; they have not only impaled some and shot at others, as at targets; they have not only shot at women who were relieving the wants of the suffering; they have not only fired upon a hospital; but they have also fired upon a surgeon in discharge of his duty, and even upon the bearer of a flag of truce. They have deluded our troops into an advance by displaying the stars and stripes like friends, and then mowed down our columns with masked batteries. Such atrocities as these are well calculated to arouse the indignation of all right-minded persons. They manifest a spirit of fiendishness unparalleled in modern warfare. They evince a hatred of the foe and a disregard of the dictates of civilization which must win for the rebels the condemnation of the civilized world.

But the strange feature of this savage warfare waged by the South is, that it is waged for the extension of an institution which is claimed to be divine. Because the North opposed this extension, it is now treated by the South as a lawless people. It has not denied the South any of its rights, but simply because it was unwilling to have an institution extended which it knew was demoralizing, and which it saw was a bar to progress, the South has declared war against it, and war to the knife. If slavery be that Christianizing institution which its advocates have of late years claimed it to be, it is very singular that it should produce upon them such demoralizing effects. Never before has such a warfare as the present one been waged for any Christian institution. Never before has a Christianizing institution rendered its supporters utterly defiant of all those principles which distinguish Christianity.—*New York World.*

MASKED BATTERIES.

This new mode of carrying on war by means of masked batteries, is a little more inhuman than any mode to which resort has as yet in the world's history been had. If anything was wanting in order to make war wholly and completely horrid; if hitherto there has been a deficiency in the fiendish and satanic department of war; the modern masked battery has supplied the want and made up for the deficiency.

Of course there can be no complaint, if it is admitted that all means of attack and defence are allowable and justifiable in the prosecution of war. We enter no complaint. We would only have our readers look at the chivalrous Southrons as they appear in connection with these masked batteries.

How they boasted and bragged before the war begun of their superior prowess! One gallant Southern knight could whip a dozen mean-spirited Yankee militia-men! A whole regiment of psalm-singing puritans would he put to flight by a single-troop of blooded Southerners on their blooded horses! At mere sight of the aristocratic slaveholders, the Northern abolitionists would throw down their arms, and beg for quarter! Before the hot South Carolinians and the haughty Virginians, the canting New England hypocrites would melt like molasses candy in July! The vandal hordes from the North would shake in their shoes, like men attacked with fever and ague, and their craven hearts would quiver like disturbed calves'-foot-jelly, at the sound of the coming of the proud army of the South! No Italian beggar afflicted with *scabies* ever so itched as itched the brave Southerners to meet the peddling Yankees, two to their one, in open field fight. No egg in mid summer, was ever spoiling so rapidly, no New York Bowery Mose was ever spoiling so all over, as were the Southern blood and 'first family' men spoiling for one fight with the depraved Free States army. We supposed after listening to all this brag and bluster, that the Southern army would be found upon the approach of our volunteers, standing in the clear sunlight, all drawn up on some wide level plain, in full and gorgeous battle array; that Southern arms and Southern prowess would have performed deeds of mighty valor, and have achieved most daring and heroic exploits, in fair, open, hand to hand fight; that our soldiers would have been repulsed in every battle; and that finally the few of our men who might have escaped death on the field, would have been driven back home, their courage all gone, their colors all draggled, the Union all shivered in their hands, and Yankee Doodle clean played out. Such effect had this brag and bluster on some of our people, that they thought it would be wise to surrender before the fight; to pattern after Col. Crockett's coon, and come right down, without having any shooting.

But these high-bred Southern men of such high-brag pretensions have disappointed us. Instead of proving themselves to be warriors, they have turned out to be sly assassins and sneaking murderers. They have avoided every opportunity that has been offered them, of meeting our soldiers in fair, open field fight. When but recently we advanced with some twenty-five thousand men, to give battle to their well-nigh fifty thousand, and they fresh and strong, and on their own soil, and familiar with the whole country; we found them — O, what valiant soldiers!—concealed behind masked batteries, and these batteries concealed by stones, timber, earth, grass and even trees, artificially planted. They thus took our men at a disadvantage. When one battery was silenced, and they were driven on the retreat, they halted skulkingly behind another battery that they had thrown up in their rear, and again had the advantage of our men. And so it continued; our men constantly exposed to a most murderous fire, but steadily and bravely standing their ground, and all the while advancing; the bragging Southerners hiding behind battery after battery, and never daring, or very seldom daring to meet our men in fair, open fight. These masked batteries greatly strengthen us in the belief, that in this war the Southern heart is full of cowardice; that the Southern army dares not meet our army on equal ground with equal chances.

It is suggested that our men not only take more pains to discover these batteries, but that they destroy them by setting fire to the woods and grass in advance of their march. The smoke and flames together will drive the cowardly, sneaking rebels into retreat, or will force them to show themselves in open field. In this way we shall get a chance to teach them that they are no match for Northern, loyal soldiers, and that their safety will be best insured by their quick submission.—*New Bedford Evening Standard.*

A LOOK INTO A SECESSION MAIL-BAG.

WASHINGTON, AUG. 6, 1861.

The most curious and yet saddening sight I have seen is the contents of a Secession mail-bag, taken at Centreville, and filled with Southern letters from all parts of the South, but mostly from South Carolina. I found the mail at the house of a distinguished officer of the United States Army, in whose possession it was placed. All of the letters had been examined, and their contents were mostly social. A single letter, from the Manassas post, mentioned the estimated arrival of troops at Manassas, just before the late battle, at 1,000 a day. This was the only public information of warlike importance. Some of the letters also spoke of the crops, and the general representation was that they were excellent, both of cotton and corn. Provisions, too, seemed to be plentiful enough, but in one letter there was a loud cry for *salt*, and in others for sugar, coffee and tea, and in another for clothing. One might gather from the total contents also, that there was a scarcity of arms and munitions of war.

But the most striking parts of all those letters was the intensified hate of most of the writers for the Northerners, and especially for "the Yankees," as most of the Northern people are called at the South. Beelzebub himself, inspired by all the demons of Pandemonium, could hardly have improvised more bitterness, contempt or passion. The temper of the letters written by the women was four-fold worse than the compositions of the men. In one place the "dear creatures," in petticoats, were threatening to get up full suits of female garments to present to the young men who would not volunteer for the war, to put down the mean, invading Yankees! One amiable girl wanted her lover to kill a Yankee or two, and then come home to her arms and heart! Another female, a little more blood-thirsty, bid her lover God-speed in this work of killing Yankees! Another hoped the horrid creatures would be exterminated on the field of battle! Still another had heard, and feared that the report was true, the horrid Yankees had sent some of their number to Manassas to *noculate the Southern army with the small pox!!* This good woman had probably heard of two live Yankees who visited Canada, the one shaking hands with everybody, and communicating the itch, and the other following close at his heels, with his boxes of itch ointment which were warranted to cure! At any rate, our South Carolina lady, (an Edgefield woman I believe,) feared that the Yankees would spread small pox, measles, and every other contagious disease, to their excellent and amiable countrymen of the South.

In some of the letters there was a tone of piety mingled with bountiful reflections upon Yankee hypocrisy and rascality. Now and then there was a prayer for peace, and an honest wish that the war was over! Kindness and good feeling toward friends and neighbors at home, with expressions of gallantry for soldiers "fighting the enemies of the South," were common enough. But toward us poor Yankees, or Northerners, there was no bitter thought nor coarse expression which did not find utterance. Somebody has to answer for all this boiled-down fanaticism and malignity — the teachings of a calumnious press, of vituperative public men, and of a general bad education.

The letters I read were generally not from the so-called better classes of citizens. The school-master, if ever at home, was abroad when most of them were written. The expressions were common-place, and the style as atrocious as the sentiments uttered were generally pernicious and vindictive.—*Cor. N. Y. Express.*

THE NEGRO QUESTION.

We find the following passage in the proceedings of the House of Representatives:

MR. BURNETT (Dem., Ky.) asked leave to offer a resolution calling on the Secretary of War to inform the House whether there be negroes in the Army of the United States who have been armed, and whether there are negroes the property of any of the revolted States, who have been used by our army in throwing up breastworks or impediments; and if so, at what places, and the number of slaves employed.

* * * * * * * * *

MR. BURNETT ineffectually again sought to introduce his resolution, to which at an early period of the day objections were made. He wished to know whether negroes were employed in the army. He desired to be informed from an official source. He had seen them in uniform, with rifles, bayonets, revolvers and daggers at their side. Why not, then, request the Secretary of War to tell us how many are in the Federal army?

MR. CURTIS asked whether the gentleman had seen any negroes except as servants? Had he seen them in squads or companies?

MR. BURNETT replied that one of the best fighters he had ever known was a Kentucky negro who went to the Valley of Mexico armed by the Federal Government. He did not belong to any company. Mr. Burnett further said, in reply to Mr. Curtis, that he had not seen negroes in armed squads.

MR. CURTIS. Do you believe they accompanied the army in any capacity except as servants?

MR. BURNETT. I do not know. The question with me is, they were armed like others, and had no business there.

MR. LOVEJOY. Did not negroes aid Gen. Jackson in achieving the victory at New Orleans?

MR. BURNETT. I am aware of that.

MR. LOVEJOY. I am for employing any muscle that can fight. [Laughter.] Adjourned.

Next to the sublime impudence of this Kentucky secessionist, the consideration which is forced upon the reader is the fitness of doing the very thing which he evidently intended to deprecate and denounce. For six weeks past, negro slaves have been employed to the number of twelve to fifteen thousand in throwing up fortifications and digging pitfalls for the Federal army at Manassas Junction. A large number have been similarly employed at Yorktown, Norfolk, Winchester, Pensacola, Memphis, and other strategic points. It is boasted that there are two well-drilled regiments of negroes in Beauregard's army, and it is known that Ben McCulloch has a greater or less number of Indians in his motley crew in Arkansas. Wherever negroes or savages can be employed in carrying on the rebellion, they are employed, and yet this brazen traitor from Kentucky has the assurance to inquire whether there are any blacks in the army of the Union. Mr. Curtis's mild deprecation of Burnett's impudence does not seem to have been the most proper answer that could have been made.

What is the case before us? A pro-slavery rebellion of vast proportions—a rebellion instituted for the double purpose of overthrowing the Constitution and making slavery perpetual. For this purpose loyal slaves are employed in vast numbers and in various ways under the lash. Our own army, through a sense of honor or courtesy too nice to be appreciated by us, is sent forth under a strict injunction not to allow a single negro to come within the lines, on any pretext whatever. Even while this order is being penned, a negro is bringing into a loyal port a schooner which the vigor of his own arm has wrested from pirates whom the Government could not catch, and Gen. McDowell's ink is hardly dry before he finds it necessary to get the information from negroes necessary to conduct his own army with tolerable safety. Finally, he threads his way through roads and defiles, obstructed by negroes, plunges into a honeycomb of batteries erected by negroes, suffers a stunning defeat and loses his command. Those who are accustomed to see Providential causes in all great events, will pronounce the whole logical, and in accordance with the divine economy.—*Chicago Tribune.*

REBEL LETTERS.

The following letters came into the possession of Lieut. Hubbard, of this city, and were by him forwarded here, and handed to us by Dr. Tebbetts. They are rich and racy in ideas and orthography:

"Failfax Court house July the 14

Deer Sur take this opertinet of riting few lines hoping that the will find you and your wife in good helth as i am at present tank god there was no youse of riting auny Sonner to you i wold have riting to you Sonner if i had annything of enportans to rite to you i suppose that you beird all fiom the Richardson Gards about this plase but there is one thing i have to say that the was thought noting hire these was put down as roudy set of men in Rechmond and all the way hire the hav acted the bagard i have hird one of there one men say that a man wit a Green shirt wold Get noting to hy anny where i am verry gad gou did not Com wit them or anny one i new we are in Camp hire and we hav hard duty to Bulding Batteryes and trinche and dril and pickeds and scermgn and gard mouen but noting if we win the day wich i tink will plese godwe have 8 rig hire and more Coming every day fiom Richmand we do not the our that we will have i fite but we ar reddy at anny time for it there is Som Splendid girls owt hire and very good nature to us i have have more to say For a few day rite to me sone and let me now how you and yeur wife is

Giv my luv to John McNsil and to all the men in the Shop and to Mr McLich and family. Direct your lether to cap Rett of Bookes gards 2 rig of S C volenteers

I Raimen you umhel and throo Friend

P F CONWAY"

"Head Quarters Camp Beauregard Fairfax Court house yankee county I call it June the 29 61 Dear friend I now seat my self in order to let you no that I am as well as I could expect we have left hulrun and marched to fairfax Court house wo left hulrun on the 21 about sundown and marched 12 miles that night we landed there about three oClock the next morning we were all broke down nerely we fellers that had the measles hroke in the law office and slept in there for it was araining the rest of them fell down on the ground and slept in the rain we had avery heavy load to toat we had our hamper-sacks full of provision our knaps sacks with our cloths and blankets our cartridge hoxes full of cartridge which was very heavy our canteens full of water and our muskets and almost stifled with the dust we took one prisoner last night he was acaptain we put him in Jail we are going to march on them in a few days there are 5000 troops in five miles of us our pickets are in one mile of each other we are going to drive them away and then go on to elaxandre and storm it rite away we want to give them 2 or 3 good whippings before the fourth of July and they will make peace then I hear some of the men talking that old abe is beging for peace now

you have Quit writing I shall have to come down on you about it.

we had aheap of sick men when we started to march we thought we would have abattle about day the next morning but nothing of it it will come though the blood is thick here where they had that battle in the street the yankey holowed dont shoot do pray dont shoot and run like blazes they did not think there was any tropes here the dread the South Carolinas tel Joel Nat is well and is doing well me and him stood gard last night off this morning tell him he had better stay at home and not come here for it wont do tell him to stay with his mother for the company knows he is not able to stand the camp they know it is not cowardice of nor do they think any such of him if he was to come the doctor would send him back give my respects to all the friends yours WILSON HOUGH"

[Correspondence of the New York Tribune.]

IMMINENT PERIL OF A SLAVE INSURRECTION.

JONESBOROUGH, TENN., July 28, 1861.

I take the stage hence for Morgantown, N. C., to-morrow, but will meantime drop you a few lines from this point. My journey thus far has not been altogether without adventure, especially that part of it from Lexington, Kentucky, but of this I reserve details till my return.

The intelligence from North Carolina is of a rather exciting nature. In addition to the general and growing popular discontent at the miserable mismanagement of affairs since the State was plunged into Secession, the most alarming apprehensions are indulged, of a fearful and bloody outbreak of the slaves. For months, this class of the population have been betraying great uneasiness, occasioned doubtless, by the unusual, and to them rather inexplicable military movements about them, and which they not very strangely suppose in some way to concern themselves. There are numerous rumors afloat to the effect that in some of the middle counties, servants have risen on their masters, and that whole families have been brutally butchered at midnight. To these reports, however, I am slow to give credence; I believe they are mostly the creations of imaginations always lively to the latent perils of slaveholding society, and now especially distempered by the aggravated dangers of the times. But "where there is so much smoke there must be some fire;" and it may turn out that the facts have not been exaggerated, and that North Carolina, and perhaps the whole South, is on the eve of a most sanguinary and desolating servile insurrection. That such a calamity is intelligently feared is certain; and its horrors may startle humanity at any moment. It is stated that such is the refractory disposition of the colored people of late, in the more largely slaveholding section of the State, and so manifest are the symptoms of contemplated and preconcerted mischief, that an earnest requisition has been made upon the Western Carolinians, for the immediate moving to the disaffected quarter of Home Guards, (who, by the way, are nearly all strong Union men,) to the amount of two or three regiments, for the prompt suppression of the anticipated uprisal.

The white men of the endangered region, capable of bearing arms, with hardly an exception, are absent from their homes in the rebel service in Virginia, taking most of the available arms with them, and the women and children are thus left, by this infatuated desertion on the part of their natural protectors, utterly defenceless against brutalities and outrages, which the heart shudders to imagine. It is a fact of great significance—and I believe it to be a fact, for my informant is perfectly reliable—that the Home Guards have refused to proceed to the relief of their imperilled neighbors, under any other banner than the Stars and Stripes, and upon condition, furthermore, that the Secession flag shall be every where hauled down at their approach. Should an insurrection in North Carolina or any other Southern State, assume the formidable proportions which appear to be threatened in this instance, it would be the manifest duty of the Federal Government to promply intervene to put it down. We regard the Seceded States as still in the Union, in spite of the pretension of withdrawal made by the demagogues who now bear sway there, and their people are evidently entitled to the protection promised in the National Constitution.

Considerations of wise policy would also dictate this course to the Administration; and there is no way in which the Government could more strongly commend itself to the affections and gratitude of the misguided people of the South, than by an act of such fatherly and beneficent protection. Again, it would discharge its plain duty to the thousands of loyalists, who are subject to a common danger with the insurgents, and more emphatically demonstrate the power of the Government, and to better purpose, than a score of victories over the rebels themselves, upon the battle-fields of Virginia. Should this view be taken and acted upon by the authorities at Washington, the re-assertion of Union sentiments in the revolted States, would be immediate and universal, and the uprising of the blacks would become the providential means of suppressing the unholy rebellion of their masters against the best and most paternal Government men ever lived under, and re-establishing upon firmer foundations than at any time before, this mighty temple of civil and religious liberty which now seems to be falling into ruins, under the parricidal hands of traitors.

The Liberator.

No Union with Slaveholders!

BOSTON, FRIDAY, AUGUST 16, 1861.

INDICATIONS OF PROGRESS.

As time advances — as the rebellion and the war instituted by the slaveholders are proceeding to bring forth their appropriate fruits — as Northern men come nearer to a full understanding of what dispositions and what principles are formed by the practice of slaveholding, and of the readiness and thoroughness with which the Southern despots extend their tyranny, when occasion serves, from blacks to whites—more and more indications appear that the free States are learning their appropriate lesson for the hour; more and more plainly it is manifested that the doom of slavery is sealed.

The letter of General Butler (which was given in last week's *Liberator*) is the most signal specimen of this advancing change. His keen observation sees that *the people* are changing, and that the causes of this change must necessarily lead them much further in the same direction, and he seizes the occasion to make himself conspicuous in the advance. His "contraband" theory was an ingenious trick for an existing emergency, but its consequences showed him that the subject must be considered, approached, and acted on, with seriousness and with energy. However little his good-will may have gone with this movement, he must have the credit of actively and openly entering upon it first of all the people in authority; of preceding the President and the Cabinet in the discharge of a most important duty which *they* should have fulfilled months before, but which they have been ignoring and evading in a manner as discreditable to their character as to their office. General Butler accepts this duty from which his employers shrink. He speaks plainly of the new ground needful to be assumed, of the reasons which make it needful, and of his personal readiness to act in the premises; and, by demanding explicit instructions upon the very matters which those employers had been evading and ignoring, he obliges them to make some open movement towards a solution of the great problem.

The reply to this letter, sent by Simon Cameron, Secretary of War, instructs General Butler (or seems to instruct him, for the language is circuitous and involved) to receive "into the service of the United States" all negroes who seek refuge with him, and to employ them "under such organizations and in such occupations as circumstances may suggest or require," for the benefit of that service, whether their flight be from loyal or disloyal masters. General Butler is required also to keep a record showing the names and descriptions of the fugitives, and the names and characters (as loyal or disloyal) of the masters, and to report to the War Department, at least twice in each month, his action in the premises.

There is in this order from the Secretary of War — just as there has been in all the messages and proclamations of our "Republican" administration — a parade of faithfulness to the pro-slavery provisions of the Constitution. The Secretary volunteers his opinion that "a just compensation" will be paid by Congress for the services of fugitives from loyal masters, and that this will be paid *to the masters*, instead of to the laborers who perform the service. Nevertheless, the expressions quoted in the paragraph preceding this plainly authorize General Butler to enrol in the army so many of these fugitives as he shall find or make fit for military service. If he shall do this, giving a prompt and practical illustration of the effectiveness of men selected from these fugitives in a war against those who have hitherto held them in slavery, he will have done more than the whole government have yet done towards bringing this contest to a successful termination. Whether he *will* do this remains to be seen; but his antecedents authorize the supposition that he will not shrink from vigorously pursuing any course of policy which he has judged it fit openly to commence.

A further sign of encouraging progress is seen in many of those members of the periodical press which have hitherto been adverse to anti-slavery. In them we must recognize vacillation — an occasional mention of slavery as the source of the whole trouble, and needing to be treated as such, alternating with their customary nonsense about carrying on the war solely to maintain the Union and the Government — as real progress. As the war advances, as the burdens of it fall more and more heavily upon the people, as the rebels display more and more of those base and cruel and dishonorable traits of character which have become familiar and customary to them as slaveholders, the change above-mentioned in our Northern editors will increase. They will talk less and less about respecting and guarding the "institutions" of highway robbers. They will hesitate less and less about designating that which is at once the enemy's weakness and wickedness as the chief point to be attacked in this war. Their praise and advocacy of Union will be directed more towards a prospective union of those who prize freedom *for all*, and who wish to found their government on that idea, than to that past, merely nominal union, which absurdly attempted to combine slavery with freedom, and which has cherished the former well-nigh to the ruin of the latter. Every new instance of a flag of truce fired upon by the rebels — every new battle after which our wounded are bayoneted by them — will cause more and more of these hesitating manufacturers of public opinion openly to say, Slavery must now be overthrown and exterminated! It is time to crush the viper whose growth we have been so foolishly cherishing!

Another indication of progress is seen in the condition and attitude of the more persistently pro-slavery Northern newspapers. Some of these (like the *Courier* of this city) are reduced to the necessity of crying out for help, and of representing large and speedy extra contributions as indispensable to their continuance. Others (like the New York *Journal of Commerce*) are redoubling their efforts for compromise, working with a zeal which seems to show them seriously fearful that "their time is short." The paper last-mentioned dwells upon the evils of open contention, as if that were worse than the quiet continuance of an alliance used to betray and ruin us; it enumerates the taxes which war will bring, as if these were worse than the continual eating out of our very vitals by slavery; it laments over the diminished congregations in the churches at Washington, as if the forms of public worship were more important than the substance of religion, and as if prayer for peace were more important than work for righteousness; and the one thing which it finds to rejoice at is the establishment of a new paper in Cincinnati, called *The Banner of Reunion*, devoted to the advocacy of Compromise.

In my judgment, these various and diverse signs of the times, point to successful progress far rather than to discouragement and retrogression.—C. K. W.

CELEBRATION OF THE FIRST OF AUGUST

AT ABINGTON.—[CONCLUDED.]

AFTERNOON SESSION. At 2 o'clock, the meeting was called to order at the Town Hall, when it was stated that there was a very large gathering of people at the Grove, and a motion to adjourn to that place was put, and carried. Shortly after, the President (Mr. Garrison) took his position on the platform at the Grove, when the exercises of the afternoon were commenced by the singing of a hymn, "The Slave," to the air of "*Scots wha hae*," of which we give the opening stanza:—

"Lo! in Southern skies afar,
Mounted on Oppression's car,
Rides a pale and sickly star—
God of Slavery!
Misery, with ghastly train,
Dealing horror, woe and pain,
Sweeps along his fell domain,
Like the troubled sea."

The names of the Finance Committee were then read, and they proceeded to the discharge of their important duties, while the President addressed the meeting. He said the impression seemed to prevail in some minds, that there was a disposition in the ranks of the Abolitionists to consider their work so well-nigh accomplished, that they had nothing to do but to stand still and suspend all action; but he was not aware of the existence of any such feeling. There was no design, on the part of those who had the management of this cause, to abate one jot or tittle of their purpose to see that slavery is utterly abolished. He thought they had need of increased vigilance. They were in the midst of a great and solemn crisis; and if the nation was to be saved, it would be, under God, by the Abolitionists—by those who are resolved to make no compromise with the Slave Power, but to demand, in the name of the living God, that every slave shall be set free; proclaiming in His name, and by His authority, that, for this people, there is neither peace nor prosperity, so long as a single slave is left in his fetters on our soil. He hoped they would do all that they could, at the present time, by way of contributions, to aid the efforts that would be made by those to whose hands the management of the cause had been entrusted.

Mr. Garrison then proceeded to speak in reference to the war. We had vain-gloriously imagined, he said, hitherto, that, as a nation, we were invulnerable and immortal. All the warnings of the friends of the slave had been laughed to scorn, and it had been supposed that by no possibility could any harm come to us, as a nation. But now, the most tremendous civil war that the world had ever seen was raging between the North and the South—the pillars of the government were trembling—and men's hearts were failing them for fear. What was the cause of this state of things? Every intelligent and honest man knew it was SLAVERY. If, therefore, they hoped to have peace, prosperity and safety, the war must not be terminated until "liberty be proclaimed throughout all the land to all the inhabitants thereof." Freedom was loyal to righeous law and just government. The conspirators were slaveholders and slave-breeders, and slave-hunters, and only these. They were the party who were seeking to establish a reign of despotism which should blot out all our free institutions, as well as perpetuate slavery on Southern soil. They hate, and proclaim that they hate, all that pertains to freedom; and when the black banner of slavery should be hoisted triumphantly here, as it was in Carolina and Georgia, all our democratic institutions would be overthrown. What, then, was the obvious duty of the government? Evidently this—to declare that, inasmuch as it is slavery that has committed this treason, the government, under the war power, and as a matter of self-preservation, must abolish slavery. Until that was done, in his judgment, nothing was done; nothing but the shedding of blood in vain; nothing but the expenditure of hundreds of millions of dollars in vain. He held the South to be perfectly invincible so long as we protected or respected her slave system. The South felt that she was unconquerable, and would be in the end triumphant, because she saw that we were still bewitched by the sorcery of slavery, declaring, even in the midst of our sufferings, losses, bereavements, and enormous expenditures of money, that we have no wish or intention to interfere with her accursed "institution." But let this government write the motto on her banner, "*Freedom for all who shall rally under the Stars and Stripes!*" and in that hour the death-blow is given to treason and secession. "Where there is no fuel, the fire goeth out." The South dreaded nothing so much as the liberation of her slave population; she dreaded it more than she did the armies of the North, because a retributive Providence has so ordered it, that the knees of the oppressor shall smite together in the presence of his slave standing erect as a man. The slaves must be called upon to save us, themselves and the country; for they alone could do it. This would be a noble and glorious return for all the wrongs and outrages that have been inflicted upon them.

What infatuation, as well as wickedness, in our government, still seeking to maintain and perpetuate slavery, by compromise, under the old "covenant with death," when that covenant is trodden under foot by the Slavocracy, and discarded forever by them! Let emancipation be proclaimed! He held it to be not only a wise stroke of policy in war, but the imperative and Christian duty of the Government to do this. God had commanded us to "execute judgment in the morning,"—that is, without delay,—and to "deliver him that is spoiled out of the hand of the oppressor, that His fury might not go out like fire, and burn because of the evil of our doings." In the altered state of affairs, a solemn obligation rested upon the people and the Government to emancipate those who are pining in bondage; and not to do this was to be guilty in the highest degree. They had a right to do it. The South was in hot rebellion, endeavoring to subjugate the whole country to her diabolical will. Under the war power, the Government had a right to consult its safety and the general welfare by removing the source of danger and division. Even if it were a destructive work to be consummated,—like burning their towns and cities, or confiscating legitimate property,—it might be done to any extent, under the rules of war. But it was to do no violence, and commit no outrage. On the contrary, it was to perform a work of inestimable beneficence and imperishable glory. It was to "break every yoke, and let the oppressed go free;" and thus to do the greatest possible benefit to the South, to return blessing for cursing, good for evil, and to bring salvation to the whole country. This great act of justice would certainly disarm and suppress the rebellious slave oligarchy, and bring the war speedily to a close. He held, therefore, that the only thing the friends of freedom had to do, there and every where, was to cry aloud, in thunder tones, to the Government, to lose no time in proclaiming to the millions in bondage in the South, that, as soon as they can place themselves under the national flag, they shall find their freedom, and be protected in it. Otherwise, he did not see a ray of hope for the North, or any part of the country, so far as the war was concerned. None but the slaves could conquer the South, and that, not by the bloody process of insurrection, but by proclaiming their freedom under law. When slavery was abolished, the cause of the war would be gone, and the slaveholders would have nothing to fight for. This was to lay the axe at the root of the tree, and to bring it at once to the ground.

The nation, said Mr. Garrison, in conclusion, is just as near destruction as it can be, and yet be saved. God knows whether its salvation is possible or not. But I say again, deliverance to us all must come, if at all, through those who are in bondage. We have outraged them in every possible manner; we have made them marketable commodities; we have herded them with four-footed beasts; and now, in the extremity of our suffering, we must look to them to save the republic by restoring to them their wrested rights. Joining their forces with those of the Government, they will strike terror to the hearts of the tyrant, and peace will soon be restored to our bleeding and dissevered country. My friends, our word must be—Emancipation for all in bondage! Emancipation under the national flag! Emancipation under the war power! Emancipation, because it is a matter of necessity, because it is right, and because it is our imperative duty before God. (Applause.)

HENRY C. WRIGHT said he had a short speech to make, which he would put in the form of a resolution, as follows:—

Resolved, That *slavery* is the cause, and *abolition* the only cure, for the evils that now overwhelm the nation; and the sooner the people of the North accept that as the issue which they are called to meet, the better for all the people throughout the nation and the continent.

THE PRESIDENT. As many as are in favor of adopting Mr. Wright's speech will say "Aye." (A loud shout of "Aye.") It is an unanimous vote. We are all ready for emancipation, thank God!

ANDREW T. FOSS, of New Hampshire, was then introduced. He said he had often appeared before an anti-slavery audience, and he believed never with a lengthened visage. He had always been hopeful of the success of this cause, and never could doubt that it would have even an early triumph. But never had his hopes been so strong or his feelings so exuberant as they were now. He believed that their work was about culminating, and that they were to see in their time, what does not often fall to the lot of those who commence a great reform, the fulfilment of all their prophecies and the realization of all their hopes. He believed that in their day, they were to see every slave in the land a free man.

He was full of hope and expectation, because he saw the North and the South arrayed against each other in battle array. He knew it was not an anti-slavery war, and that the government had declared their determination to preserve their "covenant with death and agreement with hell." But there was a power in the world other than the Constitution of this land. The American people and church did not believe in a "Higher Law"; they believed that the Constitution of the United States was the highest authority in the universe. He believed that there was a "Higher Law," and that that "covenant with death and agreement with hell" was annulled. He did not believe there was virtue enough in the American people to abolish slavery. The voice of God, calling upon them to let the oppressed go free, had been unheeded. But they had passions, if they had not a love for truth and justice. This war had made a great many converts to anti-slavery, and among them, many of the clergy. Now, Dr. Adams was an abolitionist—gone to bed with Mr. Garrison (laughter and applause)—and Dr. Kirk, even, was praising his (Mr. G.'s) principles. He felt about them very much as the good old mother in Israel felt about one of her grandsons, who had been a very bad boy, and made a great deal of sport of religion, but who went to hear Mr. Maffit, and was converted. She went over to him, just as he was saying "Glory!" "Glory!" and exclaimed—"Don't you come out yet; you have been too great a sinner. You ought to eat more of the bitter yarbs of repentance!" (Great merriment.) So I say, they ought to "eat more of the bitter yarbs of repentance;"—but out they come! (Renewed laughter.)

He believed that all this stir and commotion meant freedom to the slave. But he felt that it was a very solemn thing to be surrounded by circumstances such as those in the midst of which they stood to-day. He did not feel light-hearted in view of the fact that thousands of his fellow-men, in the South as well as the North—for they, too, were men; even those who bayoneted the wounded on the battle-field were his fellow-men—must be slain in this war. It was sad and terrible to think of it. But what was the cause? The cause was slavery. Yet the people did not understand it. Stephen A. Douglas had said that this was not a "nigger" question, but a question of the life of the government. But how came the life of the government in danger? Not from any cause under heaven but slavery. It was the slaveholders of this land who were the rebels, and in arms to-day against the government, and if all the slaveholders should lay down their arms, there would be no contest whatever. If, thirty years ago, the American people would have heeded the word of Mr. Garrison, this question might have had a peaceful solution. If, when the Constitution was formed, our fathers had believed in right and justice, and made the Constitution for freedom, excluding slavery, we should not have been where we are to-day. It was too late now—the time had gone by.

Something had been said in regard to whether they should go on with their operations. By all means. Every averment that had been made by the Abolitionists in regard to slavery for thirty years was now proved and demonstrated before the eyes of all men. This was the time to keep the eyes and ears of men open. Nothing but the anti-slavery sentiment could save the government from compromise. He did not feel very much concerned in his mind in regard to what the government intended or what measures they pursued in this matter. It was not for the government to say what shall be the issue of the war. They might decree that not a slave should be freed;—they could not help it. He did not believe that Abraham Lincoln or Gen. Scott, so far as the issue of this war was concerned, had much more influence upon it than a cab-driver in the city of Washington. They were determined to re-inaugurate the old Union, but it was not in their power to do it. Events ruled, not men. President Lincoln said he would not invade the soil of the Southern States; but now he had little less than a hundred thousand troops there. He had been forced to do what he did not intend to do. The bill just passed by Congress in regard to the confiscation of rebel property was capable of being construed into an act of emancipation that should free every slave in the land. He knew the government did not mean it; but he knew also that it could not help it, and every slave should yet be free. God always took care to have us run in the right direction, take what course we would. The slave was to have his freedom; and when he had his freedom, he (Mr. F.) would have his jubilee. They should all yet rejoice in the freedom of the slaves. It was true, that clouds, heavy and black now hung over the land, but he saw the sunlight of liberty shining through the rifts. Those clouds would roll back, and we should see the day of peace and of freedom; and then, the Abolitionists would take an interest in the institutions of the country, and be like other men. But until the slave was delivered, he, for one, did not mean to be like other people. He meant to be a despised and hated Abolitionist, making all Hunkerdom mad. (Laughter and applause.)

I give you my word of cheer, said Mr. Foss, as he took his seat. "The Lord liveth; let the earth rejoice!" (Applause.)

PARKER PILLSBURY was the next speaker. He commenced by reading the following resolution:—

Resolved, That a "United North," to defend the present Constitution, is no evidence, or necessary indication, of hostility to slavery; but instead, while slave insurrections are to be suppressed, in the fearful words of Gen. McClellan, "with an iron arm," and confiding fugitive slave men and women are to be driven back, by hundreds at a time, to their tyrant masters by Northern generals, and so-called loyal citizens, as well in "seceded" as in "border States," are assured by the President (since the war, as before) that they shall be religiously protected in their slave property, and their system constitutionally and *irrevocably* perpetuated by act of Congress, notwithstanding the war, we are left to fear and to believe, that should the whole adjustment of the present controversy be left to the powers that now direct and rule, the result will be all the disastrous calamities of a terrible war, with no possible gain to Humanity and Freedom.

Mr. Pillsbury said that Mr. Phillips had criticised the government, in the morning, with great force and great justice, as he thought, and he was ready to adjourn, *sine die*, at the end of his (Mr. Phillips's) speech. He thought the people had just cause to suspect the government of treason. He had no belief that there was a man who had any idea of proceeding even to the extremes we had already reached. The North had hitherto been controlled by two classes of men: political aspirants, who sought to turn the present tide of affairs to their advantage; and the army contractors, as destructive and loathsome as the "army worm" which had recently made its appearance in Massachusetts. The ten plagues of Egypt would scarcely increase the calamity when we had them both! (Laughter.)

The people, Mr. P. said, were allowing themselves to be deceived with the idea of an "united North." It was true, the North was united; but it was still a Union and still *to be* a Union with slavery and slaveholders. Hitherto it had meant nothing else, and we were indebted to the South for whatever progress had been made; and if the South continued to act her part as favorably towards us as she had done, whatever victory was achieved, we should at last owe it to her. But for the cannonade of Fort Sumter, there would have been no beginning of the present war. But for the mob in Baltimore, there would have been no increase of the seventy-five thousand men originally called to the field. But for the attempts to poison the troops with strychnine and Virginia whiskey, (the strychnine getting the worst of it in the compound,) and the piratical enterprise of Jefferson Davis, there never would have been that Northern uprising which we had to-day. Then the government was indebted to the Virginia Legislature for relieving the departments at Washington from traitors. They passed a law exiling them forever from the State if they remained, and there was a stampede of clerks out of Washington, just as there was of slaves to Fortress Munroe. It had been said, when the question was asked why they had been permitted to retain their offices, that the public interest absolutely required it. Now that they had gone, he supposed the "public interest" would subside. (Laughter.)

What the government had done hitherto had tended far more to sustain and defend the South than to defend the government, as a whole. He did not believe there was any intention to carry forward the struggle in the sense which Mr. Foss supposed, and he thought the public ought to be cautioned against all these fair appearances. He did not know but slavery would be abolished by this war, but he was very far from expecting any sympathy, much less countenance, from the government in such a measure. He should as soon have thought of fraternizing with Pilate and Herod because out of the crucifixion of the Son of God might come the salvation of the world. It seemed to him that, in view of the action of the government in regard to the slaves, that they had something else to do besides assuring themselves that ultimately, in the administration of the Divine government, the slave system of the country will be overthrown. He saw no sign of the abolition of slavery. On the contrary, he saw every sign of all the horrors and calamities of the most frightful civil war known in history, with no good whatever to result from it at the end.

Mr. P. thought that, since the battle of Bull Run, the public sentiment of the North had retrograded, and in confirmation of his opinion, read an extract from a letter in the *Boston Herald*, in which the writer says, among other things, that the Abolition party must be killed in Massachusetts, and that that would "do more to show our Southern friends that we are really friends to them, than all other things combined"!* He also read from an editorial in the *Herald*, in which it is declared—"The *Herald* will oppose all attempts to make this an Abolition war, or to foist upon the country the dogmas of Sumner, Wilson and Andrew. These men have done mischief enough. The war should be brought to as speedy a termination as possible, having a due regard to our national honor." While the distress and suffering and poverty created by the war were increasing, it became them to attend to this under current of feeling which finds voice in such organs as the *Herald* and the *Journal of Commerce* in New York, and the *Boston Herald*.

Our government was a failure. There was no man in it. The hour had come, and there was no man equal to the emergency. We had at the North nineteen or twenty millions; and yet Diogenes, with his lighted lantern at noon-day, would search as hopelessly for a *man* among these millions as when he searched the streets of Athens for the same purpose, two thousand years ago. The politicians who controlled public events had no anti-slavery heart in the matter. He doubted not that Abraham Lincoln would rather abolish slavery than see it continue, and believed that the majority of Northern Democrats would be glad to get rid of that which had been the ruin of their party and of so many other parties; but then, they were without a controlling element at the centre. They were a great body, but where was the soul? There was no direction, no capability, and, what was far worse, no honesty and no integrity. Politicians and parties had been tried before. The Whig party had been tried; and the cause of humanity owed more to the Whig party, in the day of its departure, than it owes to the Republican party. There was no Republican party now. The only issue that separated them from the Douglas Democracy had been abandoned, and their action in regard to the organization of the Territories showed that they cared no more than Douglas whether slavery was "voted up or voted down."

We had had, so far, the most convincing proof that the politicians had deceived us, intentionally, from the beginning. They had said that the South could not fight if she would, and would not if she could. When the South began the secession movement, they had declared that she was not sincere. He thought she was sincere; and warned the people to be ready for sincere action on her part. He told the Republican party that though they had succeeded at the ballot-box, there was yet another issue to be met, for their ballots were but the paper currency that was to be redeemed hereafter by a specie payment in solid bomb-shells and bullets; and they mobbed him for the declaration and the warning. The mob spirit pre-

* For the whole of this letter, dated "Newburyport, July 29," see Refuge of Oppression.

vailed throughout the North, until Abraham Lincoln had to avail himself of the underground railroad to escape a mob; and a mob had ruled him and his administration to the present hour, and proposed to rule still.

Mr. P. said he knew these might be called discouraging words, but they were not discouraging to him. The truth was, they were deceived, and it was time that they knew it. The government intended compromise—nothing more. There were traitors in the Cabinet as well as in the army. There were traitors even in our midst, as well as in Baltimore and the border States, and when the hour came, that treason would make itself heard and felt. Events had led the government thus far, as signally as the pillar of fire by night and of cloud by day led the children of Israel out of the bondage of Egypt; and it was for the people still to command events. He remembered that Mr. Phillips once said it was the business of a statesman to know circumstances. He went beyond that, in his estimation of statesmanship, and thought it was the business of a statesman to *shape* circumstances and to control them. Slavery was the cause of this calamity, as everybody was convinced. Then what would an enlightened statesmanship, a pure Christianity and a sound policy dictate in regard to it? He should think, the removal of slavery, as the cause of the evil. Yet where was the statesman who dared approach the subject in that light? Now, there was a proposition for a new compromise committee. He had seen the names of Millard Fillmore and Franklin Pierce mentioned, and expected, as he read along, to see the name of Lot's wife, and two or three mummies from the catacombs of Egypt. (Laughter.) What did such things as these indicate? Anything like earnestness of purpose? No. The government meant to sell out the people; and they had more to fear from their government than from Jefferson Davis and all his army. He did not know where the sensibilities of the people were; waiting—waiting—looking to the Cabinet and the government for aid and deliverance! I tell you, said Mr. P., the earthquake, the whirlwind and the fire have not the still small voice of the spirit of God in them; and when they shall have passed away and done their fearful work, if we also allow ourselves to be deceived, there will be none left in that day of disaster to lift up the standard of the spirit of truth and of God.

Mr. P. then proceeded to speak of the battles of Great Bethel and Bull Run, the former of which he called a blunder, and the latter a great deal worse. It was downright murder, he said; and the blood of the slaughtered soldiers hung heavy on the skirts of Abraham Lincoln and all his Cabinet. The South, according to military men, had not made a single military blunder yet. He told the people, when they first commenced these military operations, that they meant nothing; they would have appointed better instruments if they had intended or expected to fight. What did Gen. Butler know about military operations? Great Bethel could answer that. What reason had they to expect anything better of Nathaniel P. Banks? When he saw men professing to be engaged in an earnest cause appointing such instruments, he knew they were heartless, if nothing more. He did not believe there was ever a time when the Abolitionists were so much needed as to-day; and he was far enough from believing that the martyr age of the Abolitionists was past. When compromise came to be the order of the day again, he wondered what Mr. Phillips's life would be worth? Let the Abolitionists then beware!

Until we make our cause such, said Mr. P., that we shall be glorious, even in defeat, we shall not be worthy of victory. We have enough at stake, so that we might be defeated in a hundred battles and yet be the admiration of the world. Instead of that, a victory that would eclipse Waterloo, and entirely drown out the proudest achievements of Bonaparte, would only redound to the infamy and disgrace of a people who made war to sustain a government the design and object of which is the propagation and perpetuation of slavery. I have no higher opinion of Abraham Lincoln, and his Cabinet, and the clerks in the various departments, than I have of the President and Cabinet and clerks of the Confederate States. They have sold us out, and they expect the Union and the continuance of the government to be their reward. It remains for you to say whether it shall be so. I want to see earnestness on the part of the people. I want to see conventions called to express the opinions of the people. The President will act when the people command, and command in the peremptory tone which the South has been accustomed to use whenever she has been obeyed by the North. The other day, a question came up which it was said the President had "under advisement." What did that mean? Why, that he was waiting to see what New York, and New England, the West and North-West would say. But New York and New England see nothing but the glory of the war; and that very war is to be the destruction of liberty in this country. We have not a man to gather up the forces of humanity and concentrate them in one invincible thunderbolt against the infernal institution; and until we have, why, falling on that rock, we are already broken; ere long, it shall fall upon us, and grind us to powder. (Applause.)

Mr. Garrison said that perhaps the true position to be taken would lie between that indicated by the hopeful and jubilant speech of Mr. Foss, and that of Mr. Pillsbury, which was somewhat sombre and depressing. He (Mr. G.) certainly thought there was a very broad difference between the position of Abraham Lincoln, and that occupied by Jefferson Davis; between the issue presented, as it respects free institutions, on the one hand, and the rule of the Slave Power on the other, to the subversion of all freedom. He knew that the attempt was making by the government to preserve the old order of things; but that was impossible, for the reason that the South would take nothing less than what she demands, and she demands so much that the North, with all her pro-slavery tendencies, would be unable to get down low enough to effect a reconciliation.

But they were asking the government to abolish slavery. It was a very easy thing for them to say, "Mr. Lincoln, why don't you proclaim emancipation to the slaves in the South, and thus conclude the war?" But will the North sustain him in doing this? Mr. Pillsbury had said he believed that Abraham Lincoln would rather see slavery abolished than have it remain. Jefferson Davis would rather see slavery established, and freedom abolished. That was the difference between the parties. Then, why did not Mr. Lincoln abolish slavery? Probably, because he was not yet convinced that he would be sustained by the popular feeling of the North, without which he could do nothing. He (Mr. G.) believed that the Cabinet would to-day make a proclamation of freedom to the slaves of the South, if they could only be assured that it would be sustained by the popular sentiment. The question was, were the people disposed to forget party names, at this crisis; and did they see that, unless emancipation be declared, the nation is going down to irretrievable ruin? He had his fears in regard to it; still, he would have the proclamation made, because he believed it would be well-pleasing to God; because he knew it would be right; because he was satisfied that, under the war power, it would be abundantly warranted; and because he believed that such a measure was the only hope for the country. If the slaves were not emancipated, insurrection must follow civil war or accompany it; for when the slaves found that there was no hope for them through the government, they would rise in their despair and desperation, and we should have a servile as well as a civil war to curse and desolate our land.

Mr. Phillips was loudly called for, (many being present who did not have an opportunity to hear him in the morning,) who came to the platform, and made a short speech, following the same general train of thought as in his previous remarks. He was heard with great pleasure, and warmly applauded throughout.

The President then said, that whether the audience were prepared to endorse all the views expressed by Mr. Pillsbury or not, he had no doubt they would heartily endorse the resolution presented by him.

The resolution was again read, and adopted, with only two dissenting votes.

Miss Mary Grew, of Philadelphia, was then introduced by the President, as one who had long been a noble advocate of the glorious cause.

SPEECH OF MISS MARY GREW.

When Mr. Phillips told you that State street and Wall street demand now the abolition of slavery, for the salvation of trade, he might have added that Market street and Third street, in Philadelphia, join in that cry. Pro-slavery, slave-hunting Philadelphia, whose name you have connected with memories of Judge Kane and Commissioner Ingraham,—God has taken them to himself—Philadelphia now swells that loud cry from all our commercial cities, "Give us the abolition of slavery, because we cannot live without trade!"

If there are, on the face of the earth, any people who have a right to exult to-day, Mr. President, it is surely the American Abolitionists. Who, if they may not, has a right to sing "Glory to God in the highest"? For we stand in the midst of our fast fulfilling predictions, and see God's retributive justice proving that "His mercy endureth for ever." Thirty years ago, nearly, a few Abolitionists in this land stood up and declared to the nation that they were going to abolish the mighty institution of slavery. They were few, and, as the world counts weakness, they were weak; but they said to the nation, strong, and proud in its strength, "We will strike down to death this institution which you cherish and in which you trust." And the nation laughed them to scorn. Their opponents (and who were not their opponents?) confronted them with the strength of the Church, with the power of the government, with the wealth of the commercial classes, and proved most conclusively that all these were against them. They pointed to the literature of the land, to the intellectual strength of the land, and demonstrated, so that they thought there was no reply, that all this force was against the Abolitionists, who arrayed themselves in opposition to this mighty institution; and, thus confronting us, and thus pointing, on this side and on that, to the weapons of our adversaries, they said, as host after host marshalled themselves against us, "How do you expect to succeed, in the face of all this, and in spite of all this?" Undaunted, the Abolitionists calmly replied, "In the face of all this, and in spite of all this, and more than this, we expect to succeed, because '*the Lord God omnipotent reigneth*'!"

Now, where stand we, after nearly thirty years of labor and of battle? We said, in the outset, to this proud nation, "God gives you your choice between the peaceful abolition of slavery and the dissolution of your Union; between doing justice to the slave and dismemberment." And they laughed us to scorn. To-day, the Union is dismembered. To-day, that proud nation, which, a quarter of a century ago, said, "I sit a queen, and shall see no sorrow; who is the Lord, that I should obey him, or hearken unto his voice?" is broken in pieces. To day, we need utter no word to prove our predictions true. They are fulfilling themselves before our eyes; and that proud Union, instead of boasts, has taken up the cry and wail of distress, and now is struggling for life. Slavery, which it cherished, and against which we fought, now points its guns at the heart of the nation, and which shall go down in the struggle, God only knows.

But wherefore do we rejoice? It was said here just now, that they who are fighting our battles, or the battles of the nation, are not fighting for the freedom of the slave, and do not care to abolish slavery. Very likely they do not. It is not, and never was, in this nation's heart to do this thing. They may not mean it; but God does, and he, not General Scott, is leading our armies. What may be, or may not be, the result of this war, none can foresee; for none, in times like these, can predict to-day the events of to-morrow. None need to; least of all, the Abolitionists. Through all the intermediate stages of this war, through all the defeats and victories—little heeding what may be its aspect to-day or next week—the Abolitionist sees the one great aim and end, the one great victory of the war. There is but one victory to be obtained, and all things else will be defeat. That victory is the abolition of slavery—the wiping out of the cause of the war. To that end we see all things tending; to that victory we see God leading the armies of the nation. To that He has been leading his own hosts through this long struggle of righteousness against oppression. Who have fought out this battle? They who, through evil report and good report, have kept well their pledges of fidelity to the slave; have sought ever that one end. They told the nation what God required of it, and the alternative which he gave it. Not on them rests, to-day, the blood of those who fall in battle; for the nation chose not to take the alternative of peaceful abolition, and there was no help for the reverse. Therefore, this day, the anniversary of British emancipation—rather mournful to us, because we remember that there are no sadder words than "might have been"—is yet a day of great joy to us. We rejoice, because the deliverance of the slave is at hand. And we are not to be discouraged by any of those considerations which are so frequently urged upon us, that those who are carrying out God's will, unknowingly, do not sympathize with us; for God uses all instruments to do his work. But why should we be either surprised or discouraged, when we see exactly the state of things which for years we have been predicting? Here we stand to day exactly where, some twenty five years ago, our earliest Abolitionists said the nation would stand if she continued her warfare against God; and now the timid Abolitionist is half afraid to trust events to work themselves out; is half afraid that, after all, God will not keep his promises to man. We all know that it is through terrible storm and conflict—it may be through oceans of blood—that we as well as our nation are to pass, in order to attain this victory. But what then? Is any thing worse than continued slavery? Are all the horrors of war which you can conceive, worse than the horrors of that continued war in which all the victories are on one side and all the defeats and suffering on the other? That is the war which has been going on for the last thirty years, and which we have been trying to bring to a peaceful end; and though we did not succeed in that, are we not to thank God and take courage that it is about to be brought to an end in another way?

We rejoice, then, to-day, as the slave's representatives, standing here and seeing in the distance the day of his deliverance drawing nigh. We rejoice that God has proved Himself again, as He ever proves Himself, true to his own words of promise or of threatening. We rejoice for the sake of all those who have trusted in Him, that they have found Him true, and that they henceforward can trust, from their own long experience, as well as from the faith with which they began the war, that the weapons of his warfare are to be successful. And what then, my friends? Are we to take off our armor, fold our hands, and sit down, feeling that the victory is already won? Not quite yet, because four millions of slaves still wear their chains; and we must not yet cease our work. The party which has brought the nation up to the point on which it stands to-day, will surely not cease from their efforts, and allow the nation to slip backward from the height which it has attained; for you know that it is only by the continued efforts of the Abolitionists that any party in the nation has made any advance towards freedom, and it is only by their supporting strength that any party, in or out of the government, now stands upright, demanding the triumph of freedom. Not now, just on the verge of victory, shall we let go our weapons. Not now, when all might be lost by their unfaithfulness, shall they fail, who for long years have endured persecution, the sneers of the world, the threatenings, and the fulfilled threatenings, of many a mob, who have stood against all the opposition of this nation—not now, when the nation is at last ready to join in our cry, shall we step down from our platform, or let go our grasp on the sword of the Spirit, by which, with God's help, we have won our victories. It shall never be said that the American Anti-Slavery Society has failed in its duty in the last hour—that its standard-bearer has fainted. No, my friends, we must keep that standard floating yet a little while longer, let it cost what it may;—a little while longer, till it shall wave in the breeze that bears to us the slave's jubilee song. Then, *then* we may furl it, as we cry—"Not unto us, O Lord, but unto Thee, now be the glory!" while the multitude take up the shout with which we commenced our warfare, and cry—"Hallelujah! for the Lord God Omnipotent reigneth!" (Loud and prolonged applause.)

E. H. Heywood was then introduced, who spoke very briefly, (the hour of adjournment being close at hand,) but to great acceptance; and at the close of his remarks, the audience were dismissed by Rev. S. J. May, with these parting words—"My heart's desire and prayer to God for us all is, that we may be steadfast, unmovable, always abounding in the work of the Lord; inasmuch as we know that our labor will not be in vain in the Lord."

ESSEX CO. ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

A quarterly meeting of the Essex County A. S. Society was held in Lyceum Hall, Salem, on Sunday, August 4th.

The meeting was called to order by the President, (C. L. Remond,) of Salem, and, in the absence of the Secretary, Joseph Merrill, of Danvers, was chosen Secretary, *pro tem.*

The meeting was addressed by the President in his usual eloquent manner, by James N. Buffum, in his matter-of-fact arguments, and by A. T. Foss and Parker Pillsbury with their iron-linked logic, driving every nail to the head, and clenching it as they went.

On motion, it was voted, that Eli F. Burnham, Maria S. Page, C. L. Remond, and Martha Bassett be a Committee on Finance.

On motion of Josiah Hayward, it voted, that when we do adjourn, we adjourn to meet at half-past 2 o'clock,

Voted to adjourn.

Met agreeably to adjournment, J. N. Buffum, first Vice President, in the chair.

The following resolutions were presented by Parker Pillsbury, and accepted, and the meeting was addressed by Parker Pillsbury, John T. Page, John A. Innis, C. L. Remond, and J. N. Buffum:—

1. Resolved, That the work of the true abolitionists is not done or materially affected by any charge whatever in the government, so long as it recognizes slavery as an Institution to be protected and prolonged, instead of execrated and exterminated.

2. Resolved, That slavery is a National and Northern, as well as Southern crime, and the North cannot wash away its participation in it, in the blood of its Southern accomplices; however constitutional it may be to compel the seceded States back to their allegiance, and to restore the public property, so treasonably as well as feloniously seized by them.

3. Resolved, That slavery and the agitation of the abolitionists for its overthrow, are indeed the only causes of the present fearful hostility between the North and the South—illustrating and proving the "Irrepressible conflict" doctrine, once so boldly enunciated, both by Secretary Seward and President Lincoln, and fulfilling the prophecy of the anti-slavery movement for thirty years, that slavery and slaveholders would rule the nation while it was possible, and ruin, when they could no longer rule.

4. Resolved, That slavery being the grand cause of our present national calamity, a true statesmanship, a high patriotism, an enlightened philosophy, a genuine religious faith, "*and a decent regard for the opinions of mankind,*" would dictate its immediate and entire overthrow.

5. Resolved, That the necessity for such a measure is not only becoming more and more apparent every hour for the successful prosecution of the present conflict, but is obviously the demand of a vast majority of the reflecting people of the North.

On motion of C. L. Remond, it was voted to adjourn to half-past 6 o'clock, P. M.

Evening Session. The meeting was called to order by J. N. Buffum, and addressed by J. N. Buffum, A. T. Foss, Parker Pillsbury, and C. L. Remond.

Voted, That we adjourn to meet at such place as the Executive Committe may appoint, three months from this day.

The meetings, though small in numbers, were of universal interest. Members came from various parts of the country to help forward the "good time coming"; sure to come, in spite of the wiles of pro-slavery priests, and corrupt, lying, compromising politicians.

The general feeling of the people is, that we ought to hold more of these meetings, to give tone to the public sentiment in this our day of trial. This meeting was more successful than some of us expected, even *financially* not a failure, as the Agent's report will show.

JOSEPH MERRILL, *Sec'y pro tem.*

To Correspondents. A letter from W. C. (Gosport, N. Y.) has been received; but the previous letter of which he speaks, containing money, has not come to hand. Thanks for his account of the celebration of Aug. 1st, at Drummondville; we have an account of the same meeting in the Toronto *Globe*, but have no room for either this week.

☞ The "Fraternity" propose to observe the forthcoming anniversary of the birthday of the late Theodore Parker by suitable exercises at Allston Hall, on Friday evening, the 23d inst. Brief addresses will be made by several of Mr. Parker's friends, interspersed with music, and the occasion will doubtless be one of much interest.

Free tickets of admission may be had at the Anti-Slavery Office.

Fit Associates. In a list, given by the *Journal of Commerce*, of what it calls "Peace Newspapers" in the Northern Free States, the only ones ranked under that head in this city, and further designated as "opposed to the present war," are the *Boston Courier* and the *Boston Herald*.

National Fast. A proclamation for a Fast, to be observed by the people of the United States of America on the last Thursday in September, has been signed by President Lincoln. It recommends prayer and humiliation, but says not a word of reformation. It proposes fasting, but passes by in silence the "one thing needful" in our present exigency—the abolition of slavery.

The Whole Story Told. The *London Spectator* has this paragraph under its heading of "News of the Week":—

"The American Congress has voted the men and money required by the President, and twenty per cent. more, and the House of Representatives has affirmed, by 92 to 55, that it is 'no part of the duty of officers to capture fugitive slaves.' The hand moves slowly on the dial, but it moves, and when the finger passes the hour, the knell of slavery will ring out with a clang which will startle Europe."

Arrest of Mr. Faulkner. Ex-Minister Faulkner has been arrested in Washington, just in time to prevent his intended departure. Letters received by recent steamers show him giving aid and comfort to rebel agents abroad, as he has done to their allies here. Some of his correspondence with Richmond has been intercepted. A cavalry regiment in Winchester, Va., was waiting his coming as its colonel.

☞ A letter from Minister Fogg states that Garibaldi said to him—"If your war is for freedom, I am with you with 20,000 men." So says the *Tribune*. What answer shall Minister Fogg make to Garibaldi?

GEN. BUTLER'S CONTRABAND OF WAR.

PART III.

By what authority do the officers of the United States army assume to send back fugitive slaves, and to compel, under the fearful penalty of disobedience of orders, the brave and high-minded men under their command to become slave-catchers and the keepers of the slave-pens, to which they every now and then convert their camps at the bidding of some fragment of the old slave oligarchy?

The Fugitive Slave Act has ceased to exist for traitors and rebels. They have renounced the Constitution and the laws, are levying war against them, and against the nation which ordained, and its government which administers them. Protection and allegiance are correlative. The denial of one cancels the obligation of the other.

But if the Fugitive Slave Act were still in full force, it would not apply to a fugitive slave *within* the same State where he made escape, nor within the *District* of Columbia. "Persons held to service or labor in one *State*, escaping into *another*," is the language of the Constitution. Those are the only persons who come within the scope of the Act, except, of course, all men and women of the Free States, of whom it makes slave-hounds and sluts.

It is a principle of all municipal laws that any party may refuse and renounce a law passed for their special behoof. The South has renounced and disavowed the fugitive enactment with all the rest, and only asks that which is the first desire and greatest need of all criminals, "to be let alone."

To cap the climax of absurdity and iniquity, there is in our camps, forts and ships of war, no tribunal, as provided by the Act, to try a man for his liberty; no proofs prescribed by it are adduced; in a word, none of its forms for the arrest, detention, trial or surrender of the person claimed, is, or can be, in those places, observed; nor does any authority, created by this act, grant a certificate for "his taking off."

It is by the war power, and by that alone, that these discreditable, rather, these devilish, deeds have been done.

For half a century, upon the plea that our hands were tied by the Constitution of our fathers, we have warmly repelled the reproaches, heaped upon us by the world, for shouting liberty with our lips, while cherishing slavery in our bosom; yet no sooner are our hands freed from the bonds of the slaveholders, and this by their own malignant and murderous assaults upon the nation, than we apply ourselves with new vigor and a more devoted subserviency to do their dirty and fiendish work!

"What trick, what starting-hole shall we now find
To hide us from this open and apparent shame."

The foundation of the summary and terrible code of arms, is the unavoidable necessity and duty of prosecuting a just war with success, of executing justice upon wicked and bloody tyrants and aggressors; extinguishing the cause or causes, which enkindle their hostility, and procuring the speediest return of peace, compatible with the accomplishment of these objects. The return to enemies and traitors of their fugitive slaves is an impious and fatal antagonism to every one of these objects of the war, and consequently in self-evident violation of its laws. It is using the war power to protract and aggravate the horrors of war. It is to spare its guilty authors, multiply its innocent victims, and confirm and perpetuate its cause. It is an inexplicable crime against the poor and oppressed, and an immeasurable wrong and injury to the people, who have, under God, the highest moral and legal title to the services of the sympathizing and well-affected of the whole nation. He who inhumanly and in violation of law rejects the offer of devoted service to the republic, so long as she stands in need, and thrusts the devotee back to wicked torments and into the ranks and trenches of the traitors, whence he may never escape more, commits manifold moral treason, to say the very least of it. If he be a military officer, acting under orders, he should disobey them; for by the Rules and Articles established by Congress for the government of the army, no officer or soldier is bound to obey an unlawful order. If he act on his own responsibility, and with a design of "giving intelligence" and "aid" to the enemies of the United States, he ought to suffer death. If he err from mere force of habit and tradition, like the Scythian slaves, who after beating their masters in a succession of combats with the sword, submitted trembling and terror-stricken, when their masters flung down the sword and drew their *whips*, he should be erased from the army rolls, as one crippled for life. If he be a cabinet or other high civil officer, directing or counselling the rendition of a slave by the military arm, he should be removed by the President, or impeached and cast out by Congress. A few stern and vigorous examples would teach our foes and friends too, together with the whole nest of most pernicious spies, prostitutes, and traitors in the metropolis, that it is not a cheap and trivial affair to attempt the life of a nation, and the life of liberty.

There is no principle or rule of war which authorizes us to treat slaves, flying to us from traitors and rebels, in any other manner than we would deserters and refugees from their armies and hangmen, their lynch law and prison-houses.

I might rest this point on natural right, on the power of civilized and Christian warriors to unmake slaves, whom heathen and barbarous wars originally made; and, above all, upon the total absence of any adverse principle or authority. But I will not do so. English and American history furnish positive and practical proofs of the position.

Two days after the preliminary treaty of independence and peace between the United States and Great Britain had been agreed to by Franklin, John Adams, and Jay, on the part of the United States, Henry Laurens of South Carolina, appointed with them to conduct the negotiation, arrived at Paris, and insisted upon the insertion of an additional article, stipulating that "no slaves or other property" should be carried off by the British army at the evacuation of the posts in their occupation. The demand was admitted by the British Commissioners, and the treaty, so modified, signed November 30, 1782.

A large number of slaves, who had taken refuge with the enemy's forces, or been captured by them, and not yet removed, were claimed by Washington under the above-mentioned article. But Sir Guy Carleton, commander-in-chief of the evacuating army, rejected the claim, maintaining that his prisoners and protegés were not embraced in the stipulation. He undoubtedly regarded them as freemen and British subjects from the moment of their capture or reception, and so not touched by the treaty; and he took good care to secure their safety by sending them away in the first embarkation some months prior to evacuation day. Honor to the memory of the brave and faithful veteran! He consented to leave a list of these persons, to the end that those claiming to be their owners might try their luck, in an application to his government, for compensation. Of course they failed not to make fierce reclamations. The question remained unsettled till 1794, when, by Jay's treaty, the claim was formally relinquished. This was one great cause of the Southern rage against the treaty and the negotiator. He was called by the *Richmond Inquirer*, "that damned infernal villain, *John Jay*."

[To be continued.]

Concord, N. H., August 8. The office of the *Democratic Standard* was completely rifled of its contents this afternoon by a mob composed of soldiers of the returned 1st regiment, and citizens. The *Standard*, which has been a long time "secesh," published an article reflecting on the soldiers. They demanded a retraction, and the Palmers, editors and proprietors, shook pistols and axes out of the windows and dared the mob, while the city authorities endeavored to quell the disturbance. The Palmers fired four shots, wounding two soldiers. The office was immediately gutted, and the materials burned in the street. The Palmers took refuge in the attic, but were finally found and carried to the police station under protection of the police, though with great difficulty.

THE "CONTRABAND" QUESTION.

INSTRUCTIONS FROM THE SECRETARY OF WAR.

Washington, Aug. 11. The following letter has just been dispatched to Gen. Butler, by the Secretary of War:—

Washington, Aug. —, 1861.

General:—The important question of the proper disposition to be made of fugitives from service in the States in insurrection against the Federal Government, to which you have again directed my attention in your letter of July 20, has received my most attentive consideration. It is the desire of the President that all existing rights in all the States be fully respected and maintained.

The war now prosecuted on the part of the Federal Government is a war for the Union, for the preservation of all the Constitutional rights of the States and the citizens of the States in the Union, hence no question can arise as to fugitives from service within the States and territories in which the authority of the Union is fully acknowledged. The ordinary forms of judicial proceedings must be respected by the military and civil authorities alike, for the enforcement of legal forms.

But in the States wholly or in part under insurrectionary control, where the laws of the United States are so far opposed and resisted that they cannot be effectually enforced, it is obvious that the rights dependent upon the execution of these laws must temporarily fail, and it is equally obvious that the rights dependent on the laws of the State within which military operations are conducted, must necessarily be subordinate to the military exigencies created by the insurrection, if not wholly forfeited by the treasonable conduct of the parties claiming them. To this the general rule of the right to service forms an exception. The act of Congress, approved Aug. 6th, 1861, declares that if persons held to service shall be employed in hostility to the United States, the right to their services shall be discharged therefrom. It follows, of necessity, that no claim can be recognized by the military authority of the Union to the services of such persons when fugitives.

A more difficult question is presented in respect to persons escaping from the service of loyal masters. It is quite apparent that the laws of the State under which only the service of such fugitives can be claimed, must needs be wholly or almost wholly suspended, as to the remedies, by insurrection and the military measures necessitated by it; and it is equally apparent that the substitution of military for judicial measures for the enforcement of such claims must be attended by great inconvenience, embarrassments, and injuries.

Under these circumstances, it seems quite clear that the substantial rights of local masters are still best protected by receiving such fugitives, as well as fugitives from disloyal masters, into the service of the United States, and employing them under such organizations and in such occupations as circumstances may suggest or require. Of course a record should be kept, showing the names and description of the fugitives, the names and characters, as loyal or disloyal, of the masters, and such facts as may be necessary to a correct understanding of the circumstances of each case.

After tranquility shall have been restored upon the return of peace, Congress will doubtless properly provide for all the persons thus received into the service of the Union, and for a just compensation to loyal masters. In this way only, it would seem, can the duty and safety of the Government and just rights of all be fully reconciled and harmonized. You will therefore consider yourself instructed to govern your future action in respect to fugitives from service by the premises herein stated, and will report from time to time, and at least twice in each month, your action in the premises to this Department.

You will, however, neither authorize nor permit any interference by the troops under your command with the servants of peaceable citizens in a house or field, nor will you in any manner encourage such citizens to leave the lawful service of their masters, nor will you, except in cases where the public good may seem to require it, prevent the voluntary return of any fugitive to the service from which he may have escaped.

I am, very respectfully,
Your obedient servant,
SIMON CAMERON,
Secretary of War.

To Major General Butler, Commanding Department of Virginia, Fortress Monroe.

Another Battle in Missouri.—A band of one thousand rebels attacked a camp of Union men at Athens, Mo., on Monday morning, Aug. 5th, at five o'clock. There was a considerable amount of arms and ammunition stored in the camp, which comprised three hundred and fifty men under Capt. Moore. Fighting lasted about one hour, when the rebel thieves retreated.

Capt. Moore having been reinforced by 150 men from Centralia, Iowa, on the opposite side of the river, gave chase to the traitors for about a mile and a half, killing one, taking 18 prisoners, 30 horses, and two rebel flags. Several rebels were also wounded.

After the fight six or eight rebels were found dead on the field. In the afternoon a bearer of a rebel flag of truce was admitted, who stated that they carried off fourteen killed, and as many more wounded and missing. The rebels were led by a brother of Ex-Senator Green. Three Unionists were killed and eight wounded.

Athens is a small town in the extreme northwest of Missouri, on the Desmoines river, about thirty miles from Keokuk. It is reported that the Union forces have been reinforced by 500 or 600 men from Iowa, and marched Sunday night in pursuit. The rebels were encamped eight miles from Athens, and another fight or foot-race has taken place ere this.

YET ANOTHER BATTLE.

St. Louis, Aug. 13. The following is an official report of a fight near Springfield, on Saturday of last week, by one of Gen. Lyon's aids:—

"To Major General Fremont:—General Lyon in three columns, under himself, General Siegel, and Major Sturgis, attacked the enemy at 6 1-2 o'clock on the morning of the 10th, nine miles southeast of Springfield. The engagement was severe. Our loss is about eight hundred in killed and wounded. Gen. Lyon was killed in a charge at the head of his column. Our force was 8000 including 2000 Home Guards. The muster rolls taken from the enemy give his force at 23,000, including regiments from Louisiana and Mississippi, Tennessee, Texas Rangers, and Cherokee half breeds. Their loss is reported heavy, including Generals McCulloch and Price. This statement is corroborated by prisoners. Their tents and wagons were destroyed in the action.

General Siegel left only one gun on the field. He retreated to Springfield with a large number of prisoners. At 3 o'clock on the morning of the 11th, he continued his retreat on Rolla, bringing off his baggage trains and $25,000 in specie from the Springfield Banks.

The following is the verbatim report of the special messenger to Gen. Fremont:—

Early on Saturday morning Gen. Lyon marched out of Springfield. He came up with the enemy on Davis Creek, on Green's Prairie, four miles southwest of Springfield, where they had taken a strong position. Gen. Lyon fired the first gun at 20 minutes past 6, when the battle immediately commenced. A severe cannonading was kept up two or three hours, when the fire of Totten's artillery becoming too severe for the enemy, they gradually fell back towards their encampment on Wilson's Creek. Gen. Lyon's cavalry on the left flank, and Gen. Siegel's artillery on the right, then began a terrific attack, and spread slaughter and dismay in the ranks of the rebels, pursuing them to their camps. The shells from Totten's artillery set fire to their tents and baggage wagons, which were all destroyed.

A Louisiana and a Mississippi Regiment seemed to suffer the most, and were almost annihilated. Sometime in the afternoon, while Gen. Lyon was leading his column, his horse was shot under him. Immediately he mounted another, and as he turned around to his men, waving his hat and cheering his men on to victory, he was struck in the small of his back and fell dead to the ground. The command then devolved on Gen. Siegel.

The pursuit was continued until nightfall, when our little army rested for the night in the enemy's encampment. On Sunday morning, Gen. Siegel, fearing the enemy might recover and attempt to cut his command off from Springfield, fell back on that city, where the Home Guards were stationed. Then fearing the great numbers of the enemy might induce them to get between him and Rolla, Gen. Siegel concluded to fall back on Rolla with his provision train and meet reinforcements.

At the time of the departure of the messenger, the enemy had not been seen, and it is probable that Gen. Siegel was not disturbed on his march. Ninety rebels were captured, including a Colonel of distinction, the messenger not remembering his name. The sword and horse of General McCulloch were among the trophies.

Reinforcements are on their way to Rolla, and Gen. Siegel and his army may be considered safe.

☞ From St. Domingo we have advices to the 25th ult., stating that the war between Hayti and Spain is at an end, the difficulties between the two countries being amicably adjusted. The Spanish authorities declare slavery forever abolished in the Island, and threaten with severe penalties any person endeavoring to reinstate the system.—*Tribune, 12th inst.*

Parson Brownlow's Paper Suppressed by the Rebels. A passenger from Richmond via Knoxville, Friday, reports that Gen. Zollicoffer, at the head of the Tennessee troops there, suppressed Parson Brownlow's *Knoxville Whig*.

The Union Triumph in Kentucky. The Louisville papers bring accounts of the Union triumph at the recent election in Kentucky. In the city of Louisville the Union candidate for the legislature was elected by a unanimous vote. The *Journal* comments upon the general result in the following jubilant style:

"Never did a party make greater and more determined efforts to carry an election than the secessionists of Louisville made to carry this. They resorted to all possible expedients for inflaming and exasperating the public mind. They endeavored to incite our people even to the pitch of forcible resistance to the laws. They invented all sorts of false issues, and pressed them with their whole power and ingenuity. Their candidates thought to disguise their real position, and presented false issues in the hope of deceiving at least a portion of the community. They resorted to appeals, to threats, to promises, to protestations. Their organ put forth all its powers of persuasion, appealing alike to all the best and all the worst passions of human nature. All of them seemed to realize that their last hope was staked upon the conflict. And now look at the vote. Never, never was a party more utterly annihilated.

Of course our returns for the rest of Kentucky are very limited, but we have no doubt that the friends of the Union, the opponents of secession, have achieved an overwhelming victory throughout the State. If this is a fact, if a large majority of the men elected yesterday to the next legislature are Union men, it would seem to be time for the bitter conflict in Kentucky to close. If the people, by a resounding majority, have still again pronounced their verdict in favor of the Union, the secessionists cannot longer attempt to keep up this unhappy and disastrous agitation and turmoil without willingly acting the part of mischievous and pestilent citizens."

Bangor, Me., August 12. At 1 o'clock to day the *Bangor Democrat*, a secession sheet, was completely cleared out by a large number of people. During an alarm of fire, a crowd of people entered the office, cleared it out, and burnt the contents in the street. Mr. Emery, the editor, escaped unharmed. One Jones, a barber, who made some demonstration, was also badly used, but was rescued and put in jail.

☞ The *Richmond Examiner*, of the 8th, says the rebel Congress, Tuesday, considered the bill for public defence. The bill authorizes the President to employ the military conformably to the act of March 16, and to accept 400,000 volunteers.

Garibaldi Appointed a Major General.—The intimations which have been flying through the leading journals for two weeks past, to the effect that Garibaldi had tendered his services to the Federal Government, at last prove correct. His offers have been accepted, and he has been tendered an appointment as major general in the American volunteer army.—*Journal of Commerce.*

CONTRIBUTIONS

At the Abington Celebration, August 1, 1861.

C. K. Whipple,	1 00	Daniel Holbrook,	50
Russell Marston,	1 00	H. W. Blanchard,	50
C. Bradford,	50	B. Hunt,	50
Mr. Adams,	25	C. Ross,	25
Richard Clap,	10 00	Edmund Jackson,	2 00
Stephen and Martha Clap,	5 00	Edwin Thompson,	50
		Mrs. M. W. Chapman,	1 00
C. Wellington,	1 00	H. B. Clarke,	1 00
Hon. F. W. Bird,	1 00	H. Willey,	1 00
W. L. Garrison, Jr.,	1 00	E. H. Bradford,	50
Parker Pillsbury,	50	Bunker Hill,	25
A. L. Russell,	1 00	L. W. Noyes,	1 00
Daniel Ricketson,	50	Miss Dora Neill, Belfast, Ireland,	1 00
George W. Gilmore,	25		
Horace H. Moses,	50	Wm. Ashby,	1 00
Sarah J. Davis,	50	John L. Whiting,	50
C. H. Collins,	50	W. W. Dutcher,	1 00
R. Bates,	25	Huldah Bates,	25
Z. B. Jackman,	25	Mary D. Sprague,	25
J. Haywood,	20	Elias Richards,	1 00
A. M. Chase,	5 00	Rev. S. J. May,	1 00
Samuel L. Drew,	50	E. D. & A. T. Draper,	5 00
D. B. Bartlett,	50	C. A. Joy,	2 00
S. Cushing,	1 00	Mrs. Lord,	25
B. T. Goodwin,	25	Luther Melendy,	5 00
Mary G. Richardson,	50	Lewis McLauthlin,	50
M. W. Stetson,	1 00	—— Cahill,	1 00
H. P. Kendrick,	1 00	D. Smoker,	25
Thos. H. Hinckley,	25	George Beal,	50
S. Gardner,	25	Cornelius Cowing,	50
Rufus Kendrick,	1 00	H. M. G——,	1 00
Mrs. Kendall,	50	Wm. L. Garrison,	1 00
A. Stanwood,	50	Sophia L. Little, Newport, R. I.,	1 00
C. M. Minot,	1 00		
—— Newcomb,	25	Cash of sundry persons,	17 55
E. Hobart,	50		

PLEDGES.

Wendell Phillips,	[illegible]
Miss Caroline R. Putnam,	10 00
E. Hewett,	1 00
F. Pool, Abington,	0 50
	16 50
	$89 75
Whole contribution,	$106 25

ST. MARY'S LAKE

WATER-CURE.

OPENED BY

H. A. PETERMAN, M. D.

THE Proprietors of this Institution take pleasure in announcing to the invalids of Michigan and its neighboring States, that they have opened their WATER-CURE at St. Mary's Lake, and are now in readiness to receive patients.

This Institution is situated in one of the most healthy and pleasant locations in the State, on the banks of a beautiful little lake, four miles North of the City of Battle Creek.

The buildings are new, commodious, and furnished for the comfort and convenience of invalids. The bath-rooms are large, and fitted up with hot, cold, vapor, chemical, and electrical baths.

The lake, whose waters are as clear and soft as those of a spring from the granite mountain's base, is well supplied with boats and bath-houses. No more beautiful fresh water bathing can be found in any land.

Several hundred acres of the grand Old Oak Forest, immediately surrounding the lake, have been reserved for pleasure-grounds.

The afflicted, requiring surgical treatment, will find this a most desirable establishment, where they can be placed in the best possible condition to bear an operation, and receive the best of care afterwards.

Particular attention given to the treatment of diseases of the Eye. All operations performed that warrant a prospect of restoring sight to the blind. Our treatment for Cataract is entirely new, and in advance of anything hitherto known.

A supply of beautiful Artificial Eyes kept constantly on hand.

Paralysis, and every variety of Nervous and Chronic diseases, will be treated.

The Ladies' Department is under the care of Mrs. S. A. Peterman, whose long experience in the treatment of the diseases incident to the female constitution renders her treatment unsurpassed by that of any physician now practising in that department of the medical profession.

There will be a competent Music Teacher in attendance, to give instruction in Piano, Guitar, and Vocal Music, to such as may wish to take medical treatment and pursue the study of Music at the same time. For such, this will be found a most desirable location, where the mental and physical systems may both be developed; the one in the music room, the other in rambling through the leafy woods, in the Gymnasium, and in boat-rowing, than which no better exercise can be found.

We intend, with the aid of competent help in every department, to make *this* Cure the invalid's Home, as well as a place for medical treatment.

Those coming as patients should furnish themselves with two comfortables, two linen or cotton packing sheets, one woollen blanket, and one half-dozen bath towels, or they can be furnished by the Cure at fifty cents per week extra.

TERMS—From $7 to $10 per week, for treatment, board, &c., according to room and care.

H. F. PETERMAN, M. D.,
Mrs. S. A. PETERMAN, M. D.,
Physicians and Proprietors,

To whom all letters of inquiry should be addressed. Each communication, to insure an answer, should contain a postage stamp for return letter.

St. Mary's Lake, Michigan, May 20, 1861. J 21

WEST NEWTON
English and Classical School.

THE next term will begin Wednesday, Sept. 1, 1861. Both sexes are received as family or day pupils. For particulars, address

NATHANIEL T. ALLEN.

West Newton, Aug. 15.

HOPEDALE
HOME SCHOOL.

THE next Term of this Reformatory and Progressive Institution will commence on *Wednesday, Sept. 4*, and continue Fifteen weeks. For full particulars, please address WM. S. HAYWOOD, *Principal.*

Milford, Mass., Aug. 6, 1861.

TRANSIENT BOARDERS.

THE subscriber has just opened house No. 77 Myrtle st., for the accommodation of transient Boarders. The location is a pleasant one, within a few minutes' walk of the most central portions of the city. Every exertion will be made for the comfort of those who may favor the house with a call. Rooms furnished with or without board. Terms moderate.

Boston, Jan. 7. S. NEWELL.

Poetry.

For the Liberator.

WAITING.

She is waiting,—wearily waiting,
With eyelids heavy and dim;
Waiting—to hear from the battle,
Waiting—for tidings of *him*.

Trembling, the list she has studied
Of the lost on that terrible day,
But the paper *his* name containing,
Has been hid from her sight away.

She does not know 'mong the "missing"
That by others his name shall be read,
For they cannot bear to tell her
Till they know is he living or dead.

And so each day she is waiting
From early morn till night,
For the letter that never cometh
To bless her longing sight.

—And he,—ah! he too is waiting,
Though where we cannot tell;
There was danger all around him,
It may be that he fell.

Perhaps he was one of the many
Brave soldiers, young and fair,
Who passed to the spirit-home that day;
Perhaps he is waiting there.

Or it may be—ah! we cannot tell,
It were a sadder fate,
Suffering, sick and wounded,
'Mong strangers he may wait.

Perhaps he is a prisoner,
Ah! weary lot indeed,
Waiting—helplessly waiting,
Yet knowing our country's need.

Oh! the Summer flowers are blooming,
And the birds sing blithely and gay,
But a cloud is over our sunshine,
For how many are waiting to-day!

Sherborn, Aug 5, 1861. E. D. Morse.

From the N. Y. Evening Post.

The Battle of Sunday, July 21st.

BY ALICE B. HAVEN.

We—walking so slowly adown the green lane,
With Sabbath-bells chiming, and birds singing psalms,
He—eager with haste, pressing on o'er the slain,
'Mid the trampling of steeds and the drum-beat to arms;
In that cool dewy morning.

We—waiting with faces all reverent and still,
The organ's voice vibrant with praise unto God—
His face set like flint with the impress of will,
To press back the foe, or to die on the sod—
My fair, brave young brother!

We—kneeling to hear benedictions of love,
Our hearts all at peace with the message from Heaven!
He—stretched on the field, gasping, wounded, to prove
If mercy were found where such courage had striven,
In the midst of the slaughter.

Oh, God!—can I live with the horrible truth!
Stabbed through as he lay, with their glittering steel,
Could they look in that face, like a woman's for youth,
And crush out its beauty with musket and heel,
Like hounds, or like demons!

That brow I have blessed in my dead mother's place,
Each morning and evening since she went unto rest;
Smoothing down the fair cheek, as my own baby's face,
Those eyes with her look, where my kisses were pressed,
For I saw hers—so tender!

Curses spring to my lips! Oh, my God, send the hail
Of swift, ready vengeance for deeds such as this!
Forego all thy mercy, if judgment must fail!
Forgive my wild heart if it prayeth amiss—
His blood crieth upward!

...ss!"—and the strife of my clamorous grief
Is hushed into stillness; what grief like to thine!
If my poor human heart, with its passions so brief,
Is tortured with pangs, can we guess the Divine,
With depths past all searching!

...know eyes more tender looked upward to Thee,
That visage so marred by the torturing crown—
Those smooth noble limbs racked with anguish I see;
The side where the blood and the water gushed down
From stroke fierce and brutal.

Help lips white with anguish to take up His prayer;
Help hearts that are bursting to stifle their cries;
The shout of the populace, too, has been there,
To drown pleas of justice, to clothe truth in lies—
To enrage and to madden.

[illegible] loved them; they knew not we prayed
For their weal as our own, "We are brethren," we pleaded—
Unceasing those prayers to Our Father were made,
When they flung down the palm for palmetto we said,
"Let us still hope to win them."

"God so loved that he gave!" We are giving to these
The lives that were dearer to us than our own—
Let us add prayer for blood, trusting God to appease
Our heart's craving pain, when He hears on his throne,
"Oh, Father, forgive them!"

"All Soft and Brown the upturned Fields."

BY C. S. ROGERS.

All soft and brown the upturned fields
Lie mellow in the sun;
The very skies yield auguries
Of better days begun;
A warmth, a fulness brooding there,
Which nothing else could bring.
A sense of blessing in the air,
The promise of the spring!

And shall the days of cloud and cold
In truth no more be seen?
The snowdrop through the loosened mould
Sends up its spikes of green,
Fresh gold upon the willow falls,
Soft lights the uplands steep,—
A strange, sweet change, whose coming calls
Such loveliness from sleep!

And I am glad as any bird,
It is a joy to be,—
There is no sound of life fresh-stirred
But brings delight to me.
The flow of brooks, the cock's clear call,
From distant hamlets borne,—
My pulse beats happy time with all
These voices of the morn.

Oh! Nature! thou my first, best friend!
My earliest love, and best!
With us was never any end
Of confidence and rest:
Here, no reserve, but frankest speech,
No need for place apart—
I do not fear to let thee hear
The beating of my heart!

THE FATHERLAND.

FROM THE GERMAN OF CLAUS HARMS.

BY REV. C. T. BROOKS.

Know ye the land? Oh! not on earth it lies—
For which the heart in hours of trouble sighs;
Where flows no tear, no sorrow mars the song,
The good are happy, and the weak are strong.
Know ye the land?
The goal, the goal,
O friends, is there! Press on with heart and soul.

Know ye the way—the rough and thorny road?
The wanderer groans beneath his painful load;
He faints—he sinks; in dust he lifts his eyes,
"How long, O Lord?" the weary pilgrim sighs.
Know ye the way?
It tends, it tends
To that blest land where every torment ends.

Know ye the Friend—a man—a child of earth,
Yet more, far more than all of human birth?
That rough and thorny road his feet have trod;
Well can he guide poor pilgrims home to God.
Know ye the Friend?
His hand, his hand
Conducts us safely to our native land.

The Liberator.

The Highway of American Civilization.

A DISCOURSE,

Preached at Music Hall, Boston, July 14th, 1861.

BY REV. A. D. MAYO, OF ALBANY, N. Y.

Luke 3: 4, 5, 6.—Prepare ye the way of the Lord. Make his paths straight. Every valley shall be filled, and every mountain and hill shall be brought low; and the crooked shall be made straight, and the rough ways shall be made smooth; and all flesh shall see the salvation of God.

In oriental lands, when the great king went abroad to bless any region with the light of his countenance, he sent before him heralds to declare his coming, and hosts of men to prepare a road fit for the journeying of the royal retinue. When John the Baptist came preaching repentance and remission of sins in the wilderness of Judea, he declared that his fierce and searching gospel was but the building of a highway over which one mightier than he should march to a peaceful conquest of the earth. Men were to be frightened into repentance, subdued to obedience, "the axe to be laid at the root of the tree," "the chaff to be burned in unquenchable flame," that the loftier Spirit might appear, baptizing with the Holy Ghost and with fire, regenerating the worst and restoring the vilest to the bosom of the Almighty Love.

So has the great cause of American Christian Civilization sent its John the Baptist down into the wilderness to preach—"Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand." Our Prophet is a patriotic army of 300,000 men, marching into the abodes of disorder, despotism and revolt, to announce the coming of a power whose shoe-latchet it is unworthy to unloose; even the sublime presence of a higher Religion and Society than has ever prevailed in these regions of the earth. Present events in our country have this significance:—*That a great movement for the general advancement of Humanity has slowly grown and finally dominated in twenty of the United States; that in its approach to the border of an adverse semi-civilization, it has found itself confronted by the common obstacles of barbarism; that it has sent forth its armed herald to proclaim repentance, and build the road towards the Gulf of Mexico and the Southern pole; that when that way is built, a Christian order of Society will march over it, peacefully regenerating every hostile institution, restoring man to his rights, and exalting a Confederacy of half-civilized States to the companionship of a pure religion and a well-ordered government, through gradual and peaceful change.*

To-day, assembled in the church of one who, as much as any man of our generation, was responsible for what we now see, let us contemplate the religious significance of the present condition of American affairs. If we can look with eyes that penetrate the mist of popular excitement and delusion, we shall understand that this conflict in which the country is now engaged is a religious contest. Its cause is the irresistible march of a higher religious life from the Northern towards the Southern States of the republic; in its way unearthing and driving to desperation all the powers of a decaying Religion and Society; and forcing them into armed revolt by the very presence of its exalted purposes: as wilful evil is always first driven to wanton madness by the appearance of saving love. As it may be carried on under the direction of a humane and energetic administration of the U. S. government, the war should become the agency of those higher ideas and institutions that must finally prevail over the whole land. If thus conducted and pressed to its true ending, its results are to be the opening of a vast area of territory, containing a population of millions of our countrymen, to the influx of the highest modern life.

1st. Behold how this mighty conflict has been caused by the irresistible growth of the North into a higher form of religious faith, carrying along with it all social, national and political ideas and organizations! It is false to say that the Northern States have degenerated spiritually, as they have advanced in material prosperity. On the contrary, they have moved faster along the path towards an exalted religious faith, during the past quarter of a century, than was ever known of any great people in history. The source of their best achievements has been the enlightenment and expansion of their Religion in the direction of an inspired Humanitarianism. The Religious of the past have chiefly been the absorption of man in God, and his consequent degradation as a being of this world. Christianity was originally the annunciation of God in man; and the people of the Northern States of this republic have more clearly apprehended that essential feature of Christianity than the whole church of the past eighteen centuries.

Religion, in these States, during the period named, has flowed with a steady current towards the recognition of the Divine in Human Nature, and the consecration of human affairs. The Deity has chiefly been worshipped on the side of his Infinity that is turned towards man, and best known as the Father, the omnipresent familiar Love. Jesus has been chiefly esteemed for his glorious Manhood, even in the churches that proclaim him God Almighty. The Scriptures have been drawn forth from the artificial sanctity of cabalistic and priestly documents, and studied as the summit of human religious literature; and the characters and events therein described adjusted to their place in the history of mankind. Man has been regarded more in the light of his divine capacities and magnificent latent powers, than for what he actually is. The rights of man to all the freedom essential to develop that nature into divine proportions, have been every year more loudly asserted; and, as a consequence, all unholy institutions, inhuman relations and degrading social habits have more and more come under the condemnation of Religion; while Philanthropy has been the watchword of the most energetic popular movements of the day.

Living, as the present generation of Northern people has, in the very thick of this great onward impulse, being themselves in the marching ranks of the great army of advance, they have hardly comprehended the impetus with which their order of society has gone on, and the depth to which the popular ideas have penetrated. Like a deep and swiftly-flowing river, it has sped along, bearing conservative and radical towards a point far ahead of the suspicion of either. Our Northern controversies between Orthodox and Liberal, Democrat and Republican, have been like the disputes of passengers in a fast-sailing boat. The hunker could be at the wheel, and the radical stir up the coals in the furnace, but both were in a ship headed the same way, both equally interested that it should be kept afloat. Of course, the velocity of the progress could only be indicated by some great obstacle. In the North, there has been no obstacle large enough to materially impede the current. If, in some districts, it has appeared to be clogged, so that, to the eye of the impatient voyager, it hardly appeared to move, in others it has glided on like a silent fate speeding to its destiny. One obstacle alone has been strong enough to check, temporarily, this tremendous sweep of the higher American life. The slave society of fifteen States gathering about it all the venerable associations of an obsolete theology, a decaying social aristocracy, and the monarchical principle in politics, has, during our remembrance, frowned across the channel of this freshet like a great mud island mountain, heaped with the refuse of centuries. Against that island have the grand waves of our civilization dashed with a maddening agitation, repressed only to gather in greater volumes, and come pouring on in a more terrific force.

We could learn the tendencies of Northern civilization only by the outcry that came up against it from the land of oppression. One gathering shriek has come ringing from that quarter of the earth against us, as an infidel, anarchical, aggressive state of society. The far seeing men of the South have made no vital distinction between our classes, parties and sects, for they have seen, what we did not, that we were all headed one way. Our religion was driving towards the exaltation of Human Nature, and would inevitably carry every thing along with it, and fiercely precipitate Northern society in a war against their barbarism. Their efforts to resist this onward movement have always been regarded as temporary by themselves, and for the last thirty years used as the prelude to a dissolution of the Union. They have gradually sought to estrange their people from ours, to confirm their tendencies of society which differed from ours. They have forced out their progressive class into the North, and kept away the radical emigration from Europe. Their theology has retreated more and more towards mediæval absurdity, and their churches have parted from Northern fellowship as fast as could be. They have closed up their States against our literature, and stifled the expression of adverse opinions on all topics. Thus have they silently prepared the road of retreat to flee from us as soon as our first great political victory should come.

That battle was won last year. Whatever the politicians meant by it is of no consequence. God Almighty and his recreant servant Jefferson Davis both know that it announced the final triumph of an advanced Religious Civilization in the Republic. It meant that now the central power of the nation was peacefully to claim for the progressive ideas of the age the right of expression in all the States. It meant that the most enlightened and sensible advanced men of the South were to be set above the mob of despots that had so long kept them down; that free discussion in society was gradually to prevail; that light was to break in from all directions; that army, navy, post-office, judges, custom-houses, every agency of the U. S. government was hereafter to carry a lantern, with the words "Modern Science" inscribed upon it. If we aver no immediate purpose, indeed, no wish that the general government should attempt to abolish slavery, for them to open the South to the influence of modern ideas were a sentence of that barbarism to ultimate disintegration and death. The leaders of Southern affairs saw themselves beaten on the field of ideas; and, as such men always do, refused to submit, and appealed to the sword. The North responded like the breaking up of ice in her great rivers in the Spring, and is now flowing towards that devoted region,—an ocean of steady power, every sparkling drop an armed man.

We have no disposition to shirk the responsibility for this conflict before the nations of the earth, in the light of history. The North is responsible for this war just as Jesus was responsible for the crime of Judas and Pilate; just as Paul and the primitive church were responsible for the martyrdoms inflicted by the emperor of Rome; just as Luther caused the Thirty Years' war; and our American ancestors the war of the Revolution; and every advance causes the resistance and tumult inaugurated by its enemies. Truth and pure religion are always irresistible, and must prevail. If the obstacle is not too strong, the triumph is peaceful; otherwise, the victory comes through blood. The leaders of society in the South refused to be regenerated, however peacefully, by the advancing power of the purest religion and the highest modern life. In their madness, they have charged us with tyranny, and arrayed their people against us as enemies. We accept their challenge. We, in behalf of God and Christ, and Humanity and Liberty, are the foes of all their evil, the friends of themselves and their posterity. Had they cooperated with us in building up a true Republic, there would have been no war. They grasped the sword to destroy the Republic, and must abide the issue of the conflict. They are in a great hurry to destroy us; we are able to take our time to save them. Thus has come about this civil war, as we hear it called. It means that a higher form of religion had carried the society of the North with it down to Mason and Dixon's line; and finding there a hundred thousand armed men opposing its passage, has gathered about it the tremendous agencies of our modern life, and prepared to cross the border and regenerate the country down to the Gulf, and out to the Pacific.

2d. From this point of view, we can discover the true relation of this war of Independence to the religious advancement of the country. On the side of the North, it is a part of a great movement towards a higher American faith, which shall include a purer civilization. We are not now waging war to exterminate any class of men, or to crush out any social order by the iron heel of military despotism. We have now no intention of subjugating the most unruly State to the condition of a conquered province. The mission of our arms is the same as our ideas, *to develop a higher condition of society by the protection of the best elements of Republican government against their foes.* There are more than ten righteous men in every seceding community who, if protected and permitted to inaugurate a better tendency of affairs can finally regenerate their Sodom. The most violent confederate State contains citizens enough who are not only loyal to the Union, but desire to make the Union a Christian Democracy. It is the vocation of the military power to suppress the despotism that now crushes these men into the dust; to vindicate for them the right to use all legitimate means of elevating their own communities. There are also hundreds of thousands of deluded people who suppose that, in fighting their national government, they are resisting the most odious tyranny. It is the purpose of our military organization to dispel this illusion, and show these misguided soldiers their grievous mistake. There is a political theory widely prevalent that palsies the loyalty of thousands of sincere and amiable men. We are to teach these speculators that there is a nationality on this continent that, in the name of God and humanity, as well as by legal right, claims their allegiance in behalf of mankind. There are also wicked and turbulent leaders to be defeated, disgraced, and disposed of in a way that will best further the great interests at stake in this contest.

Our army is therefore the rod in the hand of a paternal government, for correction and regeneration. Never was it, therefore, so important as now that the military should be held in strict subordination to the civil power. The splendid volunteer force of 300,000, that the coming autumn will behold, arrayed for the protection of our nationality, must be a machine in the hands of our government to develop a reliable patriotism. It is no crusaders' irresponsible host, swung by fierce impulse against a barbaric foe. It is not an aggregate of petty armies, marshalled by partisan leaders for demoralizing border warfare. It is indeed a fearful thing to behold an army of European dimensions enrolled on our peaceful soil, and we must all try to understand its legitimate use, or we shall find our remedy as hard to bear as our disease. The people must not forget the cause of this collision; the temporary interruption of a great social and religious reformation. They have called out this grand army to remove that obstruction, so that American civilization may go on in its course of peaceful reconstruction of society. That military power must be held tightly clenched in the hand of the civil authorities, guided by the most comprehensive and paternal policy towards offenders. The voice of our higher civilization, speaking through our vigorous and humane administration, has already cried out, "*To thy tents, O Israel*"; and a mighty host has responded to the cry. The same power now commands us to restrain our impatience, while that assemblage of patriotic and intelligent citizens are taught the art of warfare. We must cease from our frantic cries for immediate and brilliant operations, and wait till our army can go forth, arrayed with all that modern science and skill can devise. Then, if the interests of our nationality demand a blow, let it fall like the bolt out of heaven, and crush whatever comes within its range. If comprehensive Christian statesmanship commands us to wait for months, and hang over the border like a threatening cloud, let us comply like one man. However eager our newly-made warriors may be to distinguish themselves and serve their country on bloody fields, they must remember they are the servants of the American people, speaking through their lawful government, and go enthusiastically to any service that power may dictate.

As far as I am able to see, the administration has evidently prepared to make this use of our army: to employ it as an instrument for regenerating the South. Never did a government begin a contest against a rebellious district in a more Christian spirit. It has had a noble auxiliary in our great Commander-in-Chief, whose successes have never left a stain on American annals. Already we have seen enough to divine the spirit of the war; and we can point triumphantly to our volunteer army, in contrast with the host arrayed against it. Never did two hostile camps more certainly symbolize the ideas they are set to enforce. The army of treason, in its march, forces every country back to the condition of barbarism. It sweeps the land clean of the great public works that are the glory of our free industry. It burns the railroad bridge; blows up the dam; drains the canal; tears up the rails; cuts the wires of the telegraph, sets its privateers upon our commerce; plunders the farm; shuts up the manufactory and the mine, and impresses the mechanic; destroys the property of its enemy; repudiates all mercantile obligations and plunders its own people of their chief staples, under the transparent sophism of a cotton loan. It muzzles the press and tramples out free speech; closes the church and school, and forces master and pupil, priest and parish into the ranks. It is an army of destruction, a beast of ten horns and ten iron feet, butting, kicking, trampling and bellowing against everything that wears the form of modern civilization. Its weapons are broken oaths, perjured faith, official theft, grand and petit larceny. It has yet not advanced one step beyond the original Indian method of warfare. Whenever it can prevail by overpowering preponderance of numbers, or take advantage of the civilized forbearance of its foe, or skulk in ambuscade, it fights. Whenever challenged to open conflict, it flies or falls. Its generals keep up the spirit of the rank and file by the stupid lies that our President is a sot; our cities in rebellion; our soldiers insatiate and lustful beasts; our population a second edition of the Goths and Vandals. It is the same kind of host and works by the same methods that any wicked usurper or band of conspirators against humanity has gathered in past days to affront mankind.

We have an army that for intelligence, cool and rational comprehension of its cause, bravery and endurance, subordination and patriotic fervor, is unparalleled in the annals of the world. Behind it, protected by its ranks, flourish all the arts of peace. Society in the North has undergone no essential change by the detailment of 300,000 from its midst. Wherever it moves, carrying the banner of American hope and prophecy, disorder subsides, industry is restored, the railroad is rebuilt, the river spanned, the wire re-united, the press, free discussion, absolute safety to all the interests of life reappear. It is the army of restoration; not only replacing what has been destroyed by rebellion, but carrying new ideas into an adverse society. 300,000 pair of sharp eyes will now behold the nakedness that slavery and oppression have brought on a glorious country, and the lunacy to which it has reduced a noble people. 300,000 busy brains will ponder the mighty lesson; and, if we mistake not, this march is the prophecy of a future immigration even more significant than the exodus out of Europe to America. Our army is to be the first practical manifestation of Northern civilization to the masses in the South. I have no apprehension for its bravery, endurance, zeal. I have an abiding hope that the ideas of our greatest statesmen and commander-in-chief can prevail; and our army be a true representation to that distracted region, not only of our invincible power and fertility of resource, but of the virtues and spirit that propose to restore and not destroy.

I fear more than anything, especially in view of occasional defeat and outrage, that low ferocity, which, under the guise of patriotic ardor, is clamoring, through a portion of the press and upon the streets, for a war of extermination. The foremost journals of the country appear to me to be so bewildered by the glare of bayonets, that they do not see the men beyond. It is easy to understand how a belligerent editor, or a merchant infuriated by the destruction of his business, or a politician on the chase for power, should thus seek to change the whole character of this war. It is already proclaimed, in the leading journal of the city of New York, that this is not a political, but a military war. With all deference to the statergists of the *Tribune* office, I still believe we are a paternal government, going forth to restore a deluded people to allegiance, and not a military despotism ready to depose its own government, when it steps in the way of its arbitrary behests. I object to this sanguinary philosophy, because it is not forcible, but weak, as barbarism always is. The United States government, if inspired by the force of modern civilization, can use a great army in the office of restoring the Union, on a higher basis than it has ever rested. Its force is not so much the logic of the bullet, the cartridge and the cannon, as the varied, far-reaching power of a mighty civilization, concentrated against a mad rebellion. Our greatest forces are behind our bayonets; we use them only to clear away the lumber that impedes us. Our army of three hundred thousand is only a band of pioneers, sent southward to level the mountains and fill the valleys, and make everywhere a pathway for the approach of the second host of twenty million of freemen, who will shoot through all the realms of darkness the rays of light and love and peace. If civilization demands the gallows for any rebel leader, the destruction of any stronghold of treason, the forcible sundering of any order of society, we must submit. But let our force be that of Providence, that only sends the freshet to fertilize the field, and the thunderstorm to purify the air. If our army can vindicate on every rood of our vast territory the right of free expression for American ideas, it will be the most magnificent victory ever achieved; a new revelation in warfare, as our system is in politics. Let that be done, at all events. Let every Christian man and woman strengthen the hands of the government to do that, irresistibly, but in the spirit of humanity and parental discipline, which shall chain these rebellious communities to us by an indissoluble bond. Then this year's war will be only an episode in the grand drama of the establishment of a higher religion and society on American soil.

Indeed, it is our peculiar glory that we are strong enough to dispense with all rashness, revenge, piracy or rapine. We cannot afford to violate one precept of Christianity, in our dealing with our rebellious fellow-citizens. A barbarism that is smitten with mortal disease may as well die cursing and foaming; it is already damned, and it is only the difference of a few degrees of penal heat in hell whether it perishes decently or wrathfully. The men who lead this rebellion, and the disorder of society they represent, have already done enough to cover themselves with infamy while the world shall last; they can afford to assassinate, rob, repudiate debts, murder for opinion's sake, legalize savage modes of warfare, or whatever will console them amid the pangs of dissolving nature. But the American civilization that is warring to overwhelm them is only in the beginning of its illustrious history; is to stretch down into ages of light and peace, when every dark blood-spot on its robes will be scanned by eyes of holy severity. It cannot afford, in the passion of the hour, to sacrifice one life too many, to disgrace our country by one questionable step. It is warring in the view of heaven, and all that represents heaven on earth; let its advance be like the procession of nature, and its progress represent the benediction of an all-wise and loving Providence.

3d. But let us look beyond this transient collision of arms to the more important movement of which it is the noisy herald. What has the new enthusiasm of the last months already done for the cause of advanced Religion; and if we prove worthy our mission, what new opportunities and achievements may we hope from it in the approaching future?

The lover of a progressive Religion has only reason to rejoice, thus far, over the great uprising of our people. It has already united good men of all religious creeds in a bond more vital than their sectarian church. It is wonderful how these high walls of theological separation, that seemed unscalable six months ago, have suddenly turned out only walls of paper, "rolling together like a scroll" in the fervent heat of this great practical revival of manliness. I knew the hearts of a hundred priests the day after the bombardment of Sumter better than from all our previous life together. We always half knew these theological fortifications in which we played at besieging one another were the amusement of our idle years. That Sunday, we ceased the sham-fight of creeds and psalm-books, overleaped our petty ditches, and clasped one another's hands, as we all fell into line at the call of Humanity. If that day severed a thousand hearts from us in the regions of rebellion, it brought together tens of thousands of religious souls that had all their lives imagined themselves each other's enemies.

It has also revealed to multitudes of men their real religious creed. In times of peace, when the social proprieties rule, it is hard for any body to know what he actually believes about God, man, duty, destiny. We fall among sets of people, schools, churches, cliques, and are overlaid by their platitudes till we imagine ourselves of them, and go on in parrot like volubility chattering the shibboleth of the party. But the President's proclamation was a call to every American—"*Right about! Face yourself!*" Each of us, as our eye fell on the journal that Monday morning, found himself confronted with a stranger—his own spirit. Many a spiritual braggart quailed that morning; many a modest man or woman shot up into a hero or a heroine; many a boy sauntered down to a late breakfast, and marched away to the recruiting station a new-born man; many a parson shed his surplice and loosed his neckcloth, and stood up like unto his brethren. Men are now acting out what they really believe. Bishop Polk, of Louisiana, throws his canonicals out the window, and, waving aloft his commission of Brigadier from Jefferson Davis, proclaims himself openly the pirate he always was at heart. Dr. Spring, in the sleepy sanctity of the "brick church," hears the war-cry on Broadway, flies to his attic and tears down his father's old continental musket and regimentals, marches over to Philadelphia, and in a voice that makes the bones of Israel Putnam and Ethan Allen stir in their coffins, commands the Old School Presbyterian Church to "present arms!" We are all so mixed nowadays, that nobody knows his old associates. The slumbering convictions that lay underneath the superficial crust of our humdrum life have exploded, hurling many of us "into the middle of next week," as the children say. There is a hail storm of ecclesiastics—churchmen who have thus been shot out of the opinions of the middle ages into the middle of the nineteenth century. It is beautiful to see the enthusiasm of these newly-awakened men; it is good to be reinforced by their burning zeal. We shall never again distrust human nature as we did; but know that Truth only is biding her time when she seems dead.

There was never a time when *man* stood so well in the Church in America as to day. A mighty practical danger has blown away, for the time, the whole cloud-land of future perdition for the non-elect. The care now in the sanctuary is, how to feed, dress, nurse and cheer the soldier; how to keep the wolf from the door of his home while he fights for the Republic; how to console the widow and mother; how to dispose of the captive; how to care for the fugitive. This is only a beginning of a great career of Christian philanthropy. What a change, when fashionable young ladies no longer work altar-cloths and slippers and bands for the priest, but havelocks, and handkerchiefs, and solid trowsers for the soldier! The next half century is to tax the practical power of the churches in caring for the race of bondmen who will be emancipated, and keeping up with the rush of emigration that our new States will bring upon us. God will be served through good deeds done to his children.

And it is good to have such an exposé of the ultra pietism and ecclesiasticism in the American Church as now appears. Without exception, this side of our religion has thrown out the pirate's flag and gone over to the enemy. Through the whole revolted region, the Church plumed itself on its severe conservatism in creed and policy. We now see that ecclesiastical infallibility means treason to Republican institution. This revolution has struck the Roman Catholic Church amidships. It has demonstrated in America, what the uprising of nationality has revealed in Italy, that the mass of adherents to this church, like all others, follow their priesthood just to the point where they resist modern society, and then leave them to their prayers. The cry of American Freedom in her hour of peril brought Patrick and Herman to their feet, and when they had their hands upon the musket, and were marching down to Washington, the Bishop wisely concluded to hang out the flag. Henceforth, the priesthood of this church, too, must follow, not lead the people. Twenty million of freemen will see what kind of religion is best for perilous times; whether rational Massachusetts or superstitious Louisiana started first to relieve the capital. Religious infallibility means slavery of the soul, as treason means slavery for the laborer. Our people will put these things together, and act accordingly.

It is a great thing thus to unite good men of all churches; to awaken the real creed of all citizens; to exalt man to his place in religious affairs; to unmask ecclesiastical infallibility. It clears the way for much that is to come; it shows how much the Reformation has already accomplished. None of us dared to hope we had so shaken the foundations of religious despotism that one three-month would cast down so much that now lies flat, never again to rise. The spectacle is full of hope to the apostle of a pure and free Religion. For if this conflict is carried through as it can be, and the Union reëstablished upon the overthrow of the right of secession, and the black power that has dominated so long over us placed for ever in a secondary position, there will be such a missionary field opened for our advanced Protestant Christianity as this century has not witnessed. The South is not a land of darkness and decay, so much as a region arrested in its development by the temporary ascendancy of an insolent civil and religious aristocracy. Break down that barrier, open its vast areas to immigration; relieve the progressive class from the dread of violence; show to the poor white where his interest lies; summon the latent culture and humanity that now slumber on so many lazy plantations to the work of grappling with a new order of affairs; and there will be such an outstretching of arms towards the best ideas of modern society as will gladden all our hearts. The communities upon the border of the disputed territory are to be awakened to a new sense of religious need. Pennsylvania is to be aroused as by a great trumpet from her corrupt and sleeping conservatism of the past, and become conscious of her destiny in the coming regeneration. Maryland and Missouri are to come out of a baptism of fire, new communities. Washington is henceforth to be the base of operations whence all those religious and social ideas that have prevailed at the North are to radiate towards the tropics. The schoolmaster, the lecturer, the free editor, the liberal preacher, will follow the flag, arousing the people who rejoice beneath its folds to a new sense of the grandeur of life in this new day. Before the gradual uplifting of the popular faith, slavery and the whole order of society it represents, or whatever of it survives the violence of the ordeal of battle, will gradually disintegrate and change to freedom.

The condition of society in the Gulf States of this Republic is the logical child of the Spanish style of Religion and Government that was first planted in the New World. The spirit of that occupation was extermination to every race that could not be enslaved to its gloomy faith and tyrannical politics. The animus of this rebellion against modern ideas is that old black blood coursing through the veins of the statesmen and generals and social aristocracy of that region. It has made a rush upward against the progressive life that dominates in the North, and, for a time, conquered a part of the border States for its battle-ground. This invasion means just what the great Spanish armada meant when it sailed up the English Channel; it moves upward with the same grandiloquent boasts and temporary success; it will scud back under bare poles before the Northern whirlwind, as did that distracted armament. The present end of this Northern struggle will be to carry our religious and social ideas down to the lowland ridge inhabited by the spiritual descendants of Cortes and the French discoverers of the Mississippi. The border States will be saved to our civilization; whether the order of society that now crushes the Gulf region will be gradually destroyed, or retire nearer the equator, is for the future to determine. But the Union now means, primarily, an advancing Religion, carrying along with it an advancing Civilization. Whatever names the faith of the Republic assumes—Catholic, evangelical, rationalistic—it will mean this: *that infallible ecclesiasticisms, priesthoods and creeds will retire with the rebellion*, and the Religion of God's paternal love of man follow our arms as they gleam under the sun of tropic skies.

Men on the eve of destruction often become prophets. When the Senators of old Virginia in the last Congress proclaimed that the Union was dead, and only a reconstructed Union possible, they were speaking by the inspiration of God. What they meant by "reconstruction" we all know; what God meant has manifested itself already among the mountains of their own State. Old Virginia claims to be the mother of the Union established by her great statesmen. To new Virginia may be given the sublime office of inaugurating the new Union in which all things will first be spiritually "reconstructed" in behalf of liberty and mankind; and gradually all institutions be made to conform to this exalted idea. Let no man be so weak as to suppose all this is to be completed in his generation; but let no man be so foolish as to doubt that it must come with the growth of years. We are in the twilight of a new day, in which the fidelity of our people will meet a great recompense. The poorest use a friend of progress now can make of his influence is to croak at to-day because it is not full of results that are sure to appear to our children. The best use to which we can all put our lives is to keep the spirit of the people high, patriotic, indomitable; aid our government to crush rebellion against its authority; and stand behind the line of bayonets with the sharper weapons of a progressive Christianity and pure society, ready to regenerate our falling foes, and confirm our new friends. Patriotism, for once in the history of man, means the best religion; and the "Union" we seek to reëstablish that of which the Master prayed, "that they all may be one." Let us work hard, take long and broad views, trust in man, and believe in Almighty God; for surely we are building the highway over which the powers of the coming age of light and peace and love shall march triumphantly to the kingdom of heaven on earth.

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The United States Constitution is "a covenant with death, and an agreement with hell."

☞ "What order of men under the most absolute of monarchies, or the most aristocratic of republics, was ever invested with such an odious and unjust privilege as that of the separate and exclusive representation of less than half a million owners of slaves, in the Hall of this House, in the chair of the Senate, and in the Presidential mansion? This investment of power in the owners of one species of property concentrated in the highest authorities of the nation, and disseminated through thirteen of the twenty-six States of the Union, constitutes a privileged order of men in the community, more adverse to the rights of all, and more pernicious to the interests of the whole, than any order of nobility ever known. To call government thus constituted a Democracy is to insult the understanding of mankind. . . . It is doubly tainted with the infection of riches and of slavery. There is no name in the language of national jurisprudence that can define it—no model in the records of ancient history, or in the political theories of Aristotle, with which it can be likened. It was introduced into the Constitution of the United States by an equivocation—a representation of property under the name of persons. Little did the members of the Convention from the Free States imagine or foresee what a sacrifice to Moloch was hidden under the mask of this concession."—John Quincy Adams.

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Refuge of Oppression.

THE POLICY OF THE PEOPLE.

A revival of the Crittenden Compromise, or the presentation of any basis of a similar nature for the settlement of our national difficulties, will soon be THE POLICY OF THE PEOPLE. There are strong indications of the appearance of a sober second thought, which, when fairly placed before the enlightened classes, who are at present so much in favor of a continuance of the war, must produce a more respectful entertainment of the Kentucky statesman's wise, as well as fraternal plan. History is now furnished with the "actual cause" of the existing conflict — the responsible party is known — and, instead of urging us as a nation to the verge, perhaps, of extermination, they should be held in the light of revolutionists, as selfish as they are fanatical.

Those who may have conscientiously opposed the creation of the war, have not been ignorant of the fact that Senator Seward's best friends have openly boasted that he, with other members of the Republican Cabinet, FORCED THE PEOPLE OF CHARLESTON TO FIRE UPON THE FLAG. In truth, many Republicans have been elated with what they have called "the most splendid diplomatic act" of the Auburn Secretary,—in a word, the inauguration of the war.

Let these things be kept before the public, and in lieu of the habit of condemning honest citizens for honest sentiments applied with firmness and ability against the party spirit which yet lurks among the conductors of the war, let the "policy of the people," — the adoption of the Crittenden Compromise,—be an object of unceasing effort.

We are not destitute of a proper regard for the teachings of any man who may have been not only the companion but the follower of Henry Clay; and among the Republicans it is but reasonable to ask why they, who in former years clung to the principles of that noble soul of the West, cannot now rally, and endorse the mediation of his best friend?

CITIZEN.

—*Journal of Commerce.*

WEST INDIA EMANCIPATION.

[From the Journal of Commerce.]

Messrs. Editors,—Mr. Wendell Phillips, in an address delivered August 1st, represents the condition and circumstances of the negroes in the West Indies since Emancipation so entirely different from all the facts and statistics, that, in my opinion, they should not be allowed to be spread broadcast over the North at the present time without a refutation. I am aware that it is a hopeless task to combat the legion of falsehoods put forth by the fanatics of the Abolition school; but a few of the facts, which are indisputable, as to the consequences of emancipation in the West Indies, may at the present time do good. Mr. Phillips represents the negroes as so shrewd and thrifty, that they are not necessitated to labor for others. He says, "the real complaint has never been, that the black man would not work." And again, "England exports to these islands, I may safely say, *double* — perhaps I might say four times the amount of manufactured articles that she did in the days of slavery. There has been no moment when two looms in England were not kept active to supply the demand of the West Indies, for one before."

Now what are the real facts, as shown by official figures, statistics, and the solemn testimony of their own historians? In Porter's Progress of the Nation, we find that the exports of British produce and manufactures to the West Indies, in the year 1838, the *year of emancipation*, amounted to the sum of £3,393,441. In 1841, only three years after the Emancipation Act, it had decreased to £2,504,004; and in 1849, only reached the sum of £1,821,146. In 1838, Jamaica exported 69,613 hhds. sugar, 2,567,640 lbs. ginger, and 13,551,795 lbs. of coffee. In 1850, the exports had fallen to 36,030 hhds. of sugar, 729,276 lbs. of ginger, 3,127,255 lbs. of coffee; and in 1857, she exported 30,459 hhds. of sugar, 381,157 lbs. of ginger, and 7,095,623 lbs. of coffee, which shows conclusively that the productions of the Island have diminished more than one half since the Emancipation Act; and the legitimate conclusion to be drawn is, that if the negroes only produce one-half what they did before emancipation, they only have one-half the means to purchase British manufactures.

It may not be amiss to close this communication by a short extract from the History of Europe, by Sir Archibald Alison, the eminent English historian. No man is more jealous of the glory of England than he, and it is his boast, as well as of every other Englishman, that no slaves breathe the air upon the soil of England or her colonies. I quote from Vol. 3d of the 2d series, pages 142, 143:

"It is difficult to say whether the West India proprietors, the negro population in the islands, the sable inhabitants of Africa, or the manufacturers of the mother country, have suffered most from the change. It appears from parliamentary returns that the produce of Jamaica, within three years after emancipation took effect, had decreased a third, and within ten years, that of the whole West Indies *had fallen off a half*. As might be expected, with so prodigious a decline in the produce of these once magnificent settlements, that the means these inhabitants enjoyed of purchasing comforts and luxuries, the exports of British manufactures and produce to the West Indies had diminished a half." Mr. Alison further says: "Disastrous as the results have been to the British interests, both at home and in the West Indies, they are nothing to those which have ensued to the negroes themselves. Generally speaking, the incipient civilization of the negro has been arrested by his emancipation; with the cessation of forced labor, the habits and tastes which spring from and compensate it have disappeared, and savage habits and pleasures have resumed their ascendancy over the sable race. The attempts to instruct and civilize them have, for the most part, proved a failure, the *dolce far niente*, equally dear to the unlettered savage as the effeminate European, has resumed its sway, and the emancipated Africans dispersed in the woods, or in cabins erected amidst the ruined plantations, are fast relapsing into the state in which their ancestors were, when torn from their native seats by the rapacity of Christian avarice. Negro emancipation has not failed because it was prompted by benevolent motives or directed to philanthropic ends, *but because, in the prosecution of these ends, the lessons of experience and the observation of facts were utterly disregarded.* The latter were brought before the people in the most forcible manner, but met with no sort of attention, the public mind being entirely carried away by the alluring phantom of DESTROYED SLAVERY. They made the savage free, without his having gained the faculty of self-direction; thence the failure of the whole measures, and the unutterable miseries with which it has been attended. Such have been the consequences of seeking prematurely to emancipate men, of forgetting the words of God, 'In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread.'"

Such has been the experience of England, as plainly related by her most eminent historian. Shall we profit by the lesson? If my feeble voice could be heard amid the warring elements, which are fast hurrying our proud Republic into the abyss of war, I would say, Remember that the emancipation of four millions of Africans in our midst would be not only destructive of the commerce of the North, but also of our manufactures, and would be fraught with untold horrors to the Africans themselves.

D. X.

Selections.

EMANCIPATION DAY AT DRUMMONDVILLE, CANADA WEST.

The first of August was duly celebrated in various portions of the Province. The chief celebration was at Drummondville. The day was bright and beautiful; it seemed that nature had donned her most lovely apparel. The inhabitants of the village and of the surrounding country turned out *en masse*. There are in that vicinity a large number of self-emancipated slaves — those who were once marketable commodities, bought and sold as beasts of burden, but no longer driven by the lash to unrequited toil, they assembled, with an excellent band of music, and all the usual *et ceteras* of such an occasion. By their intelligent and joyful countenances, their personal appearance, and their orderly deportment, they won the admiration of every impartial and honest beholder. There were present also several of the "lords of the lash," those who do not know by experience what it is to earn an honest penny, having always filched their living from others. But the humblest "boy" before them was their peer, for he stood on British soil. They learned a lesson on that day, which, we trust, they will never forget.

But to the programme of the occasion. The meeting was called to order, and D. Macfarlane, Esq., was chosen President. He thanked the audience for the honor conferred upon him, and introduced, in a very happy manner, the orator of the day, Mr. Wm. J. Watkins. The large audience evinced an ardent desire to see and hear this gentleman, on account of his reputation as a popular orator. His speeches, reported in the *Globe*, through our recent political struggle, have won for him a reputation which those might covet who prate about "negro inferiority." Mr. Watkins was in his happiest mood, and spoke for three hours, being enthusiastically applauded during the delivery of his masterly oration. He briefly reviewed the history of the British West India Emancipation movement, and dwelt upon the fact that it was through continued agitation on the part of British philanthropists, that the grand consummation was effected. In this connection, he eloquently adverted to the labors of the American abolitionists for the overthrow of slavery in that Republic. Men and women, said he, often cling to the illusory imaginings of error with as much tenacity as to the living realities of an axiomatic truth. It is not easy to tear away the mould-covered hatchways of old and venerated theories, so that heaven's sunlight may reveal their native ugliness; nor is it a light task to pluck up the deep-rooted foundations of systems and institutions which have received the baptism of centuries. But the law of progress is the law of God. And the history of the world assures us, that in the irrepressible development of this primal law, there has always arrived an era when all opposition has proved abortive, and the truth has beamed out upon the darkness, in all its incandescent glory; when justice, bursting the cerements of the grave, has sought out, and crowned with immortal laurels, those who were but yesterday hurled into the pit, amid the barbaric brutalities of a malignant mob. So is it, he said, to-day. What the abolitionists have hitherto uttered as prophecy, now looms up as history in the world's horizon. Wendell Phillips, "the silver-tongued orator," is no longer regarded as the abomination of desolation spoken of by Daniel the prophet. The mob no more thirst for his blood. The mobocratic elements have melted beneath the fervent heat of his oratory, and the steady brightness of his consistent life. William Lloyd Garrison is no longer driven through the streets of Boston with a halter around his neck. There he sits in his sanctum, flashing his lightnings where he pleases, hurling upon oppression everywhere his exterminating thunders, and none dare exclaim, "Garrison, what doest thou?" Seward, Sumner, and Hale, are now acknowledged to belong to powerful, if not to "healthy" organizations. What were once regarded as the incoherent ravings of dreamy abstractionists and crazy Bedlamites, are now felt to be concrete and cannon ball realities. The aggressions of the slave power have thrown up, said he, a highway through which the oppressed shall yet reach the star-spangled goal of their aspirations. Mr. Watkins then spoke of the results of West India Emancipation. It had not been a failure, as had been declared by some. Numerous authorities were cited to prove that emancipation has been a boon to all classes. A letter of Gov. Hincks, ex-Premier of the Canadas, to a committee of gentlemen residing in Toronto, was quoted. Says that gentleman: "Emancipation has proved a blessing to all. Real estate has increased in price, and is a more certain and advantageous investment than in the time of slavery. The estates are much better, and more economically cultivated, and the proprietors are, I am inclined to think, perfectly contented. The improvement which has taken place in the religious condition of all classes, and the progress of education, is quite equal to what could reasonably have been expected." After treating this subject in a thorough manner, Mr. Watkins then spoke of the civil war in the United States. He believed it would be the death-blow of slavery, though it was not so intended. He sympathized with the United States Government, as against the Confederates, yet the former must tear away from its present unmanly position; it must itself cease to be *particeps criminis* in the act of enslaving four millions of human beings. It must, in a word, *put down slavery*, before it can put down the rebellion of which slavery is the cause. He spoke in scathing terms of Butler, Slemmer, Cowdin, and others, who, amid the galling fire of the enemy, went down on their knees, and sent back the poor fugitives who offered their valuable services to crush the rebellion. Until the United States Government takes the right position, it does not deserve success, nor will it achieve it. He concluded with some excellent advice to the fugitive slaves who were before him. He said—Be intelligent, industrious, economical. Aspire daily to something higher. Show your appreciation of the blessings of liberty. Be self-reliant. God helps those who help themselves. Stand up where the sunlight can flash upon and fertilize your energies; where you can drink the invigorating dews of heaven. Never despair, for God sits upon the throne, and amid the clash of contending armies, he cannot and will not forget you, for the very hairs of your head are numbered.

The address created a deep impression upon all, and a large number of persons gathered around the speaker at the close.

Rev. Mr. Darling and Mr. Warren Clark then made some very pertinent and eloquent remarks.

A sumptuous entertainment was provided, to which ample justice was done. There was also a banquet in the evening. Thus ended the day. Everything connected with the celebration reflected great credit upon all concerned.—*Toronto Globe.*

THE ANNIVERSARY OF NEGRO EMANCIPATION.

Last evening, a public meeting in commemoration of the twenty-seventh anniversary of this event, was held in Spafields chapel, under the auspices of the London Emancipation Committee. There was a large and enthusiastic audience.

The chair was occupied by Mr. Wilcocks, who was supported by Mr. Geo. Thompson, Rev. Dr. Hewlett, Mr. Washington Wilkes, Mr. W. Farmer, Mr. D. M'Donnell, Mr. J. A. Horner, Mr. Chesson, John Anderson, and other gentlemen.

The Chairman said that he felt much gratified with the honor put upon him on this occasion, for it gave him great pleasure to be identified with the cause of emancipation.

Mr. Chesson (the Hon. Secretary) then read letters expressing sympathy with the meeting from T. S. Duncombe, Esq., M. P., Gen. Perronet Thompson, and Gen. Dupuy, the Haytian Minister. Gen. Thompson in his letter said:—"If the British West India Islands, on the first appointment of a Ministry inimical to slavery, had done what has been done by the Seceding States — stormed the forts occupied by the troops of the Sovereign, privateered against the commerce of the country, and raised regiments with Lord Grey's coffin for a standard — I suppose nobody doubts what would have been the course pursued as the means of removing the whole mischief with the least amount of blood and danger. An English commander-in-chief would have been considered as unfit for his situation to an extent it would be vain to describe, if, as soon as he found himself in command of a competent force, he did not move forward with a declaration of this kind — 'Slavery is non-existent in all places occupied by the British forces. Slaves are invited to make no movement before the liberating force arrives in their own parish. Violence out of the field of combat, either by whites or colored, will be put down by military force as soon as they can be reached. As fast as any district is occupied, volunteers from the colored population will be invited to join the three West India Regiments and the Land Transport Corps, on terms which will be notified. Planters willing to continue their works by giving present support to their laborers, will receive immunity for the past, on entering the British camp, and military protection for the future. Vagrants found committing depredations will be sent to a punishment-gang.' It is submitted that a general officer who did not do something like this, would lose caste; and that those who should try to hinder him, would be defective either in judgment or in principle."

The Rev. W. H. Bonner was then called upon to move the first resolution, which was to the following effect:—"That on this, the twenty-seventh anniversary of the abolition of slavery in the British colonies, this meeting would joyfully record the satisfaction which it feels in the retrospect of the results which have followed from the Emancipation Act of 1833, which have demonstrated that that Act was not one more of national justice than of sound policy; it would also rejoice in the fact that the liberated population have, by their conduct, triumphantly vindicated their capacity for freedom, as well as their right to it, and have demonstrated the safety and advantage as well as the duty and necessity of immediate and unconditional emancipation." The Rev. gentleman, in the course of his remarks, read a long and interesting communication from Mr. Roycroft, a missionary just returned from San Domingo, upon the condition and prospects of the colored race upon Turk's Island and in San Domingo.

The Rev. Dr. Hewlett seconded the resolution. He said it had cost the country twenty millions sterling to liberate the slaves in the West Indies, but never were twenty millions better laid out than in this cause. This was the universal opinion of Englishmen of the present day, but his friend, Mr. George Thompson, would very well recollect the opposition at that time to emancipation. It proceeded, however, from those who had vested interests in the continuance of slavery, and seldom from those who could judge with honesty and impartiality. Notwithstanding the sterling value of able-bodied slaves, they were not treated with the care which any Essex farmer would bestow upon his cattle, and thus the property in slaves was of a most precarious and unprofitable kind. In conclusion, the speaker expressed a hope that success would attend the efforts of those who were endeavoring to place British consuls at points all round the coast of Africa — a measure which he believed would prove to be an effectual barrier to the slave-trade.

Mr. George Thompson proposed the second resolution as follows:—"That it is the conviction of this meeting that the civil war now waging in America has been caused by the existence and toleration of the institution of slavery, in violation of the primary principles of the Declaration of Independence, upon which the Union was professedly founded; and would express its earnest hope that the people of the Free States will embrace the opportunity which the war furnishes, to declare, through their elected organ, the abolition of slavery throughout all the States and Territories over which the authority of the Constitution extends, and thereby perform an act of justice and humanity to four millions of their population, ensure the more speedy termination of the present unnatural and sanguinary conflict, commend the hearty sympathy and admiration of England, and lay a foundation for the future and permanent peace, prosperity and unsullied reputation of their great Republic." It would be, he said, no exaggeration to say that no public speaker could rise to discuss a question of greater gravity or of deeper import than that which was submitted to them on this occasion. Nothing which was happening in any part of the world could approach in political and moral importance that which was now happening in the United States of America. There was no spot on the globe that would not be affected for good or for evil by the results which would spring from the contest now waging on the other side of the Atlantic. The resolution referred to slavery as the cause of that monstrous internecine war — a system which was held in detestation by every community throughout the world; and there was not a single intelligent being who knew the history of American politics who would not maintain that it was the sole gravamen of the quarrel between North and South. (Cheers.) But for this, harmony would still prevail. The Union had indeed been preserved for a long series of years in spite of it; but that cohesion had been secured by continual compromises on the part of the Northern States in order to conciliate the South, who in their caprice and their aggrandizing spirit had called upon the North to violate their fundamental principles as the price of a continued union with their Southern brethren. Only six months ago, slavery seemed to be seated on a throne supreme and invincible, while it had swayed the political feelings and guided the political action of the country at large. If the South were no longer supreme, and slavery was shaken to its very centre, it was owing to her fatuity, her judicial blindness which would not see that slavery would be safe so long as they remained in the Union, because being within it, they secured the entire physical force of the States, as well as the whole moral force of the country, in perpetuation of their institution of slavery. (Hear, hear.) Under the influence of this madness, they determined to separate themselves from the North, and make themselves into a distinct and independent nation. And as our own West India Emancipation was brought about far less by the advocacy of men whose names were rendered immortal by their connection with that great event — such as Clarkson and Wilberforce—than by the outrages and cruelty of the planters and colonists themselves; so in America, the blow to slavery came not from the Abolitionists, but by the very act of the Slave States themselves. (Cheers.) Mr. Lincoln did not differ from any other President who had ever been elected, except that he had given a pledge not only that he would do nothing to extend the area of slavery, but that he would use all his influence to limit and contract it. This was the maximum of Mr. Lincoln's anti-slavery. He was believed to be an honest politician and also to hold that slavery was a sin against the laws of God and man. This was what recommended him to the Abolitionists, and this was the head and front of his offending against the Southern States. Mr. Thompson proceeded at considerable length, and in an eloquent manner, to explain his views with regard to the state of affairs in America; and, in conclusion, he said that the resolution he had to submit asked them, in the presence of the war, and without regard to the question of its constitutional character, to combine in beseeching the Federal Government to adopt a policy of emancipation, so that the cause of this, and, it was to be feared, of future wars might be removed, and that great nation be made free, and one with us, in spreading the principles of liberty all over the globe. (Cheers.)

Mr. Washington Wilkes, in supporting the resolution, said, whatever might be the degree of hopefulness with which they regarded the issue of the war, they could not but deplore the fact itself. When the scene of war is not the ocean, the common pathway between nation and nation, but the soil on which both combatants were born, how much greater were its horrors! Men from North and South intermarried, and intermingled so that no one could tell on seeing an American from what State he came, what side in the struggle he would take. (Hear, hear.) We could only regard the Americans as another branch of the same great family with ourselves, so closely were we identified in language, in history, in religion, and almost in laws. In pointing out, therefore, the causes and the issues of this war, let the language of sympathy towards their brethren be used. (Hear, hear.) With regard to the cause of the war, they could but feel that the language of the resolution was a truism, and that only by the destruction of slavery could the war be lastingly terminated. (Cheers.) That had been the evil and bitter root which had brought forth the harvest of disaster. They could not blame the founders of the Republic. No men could be more pure from human passion and infirmity than they who laid the foundation of that noble structure. It was not now a question of liberty, for the slave only, but of liberty for the white population of the North as well, for the South demanded nothing less than this — that no man should speak or print a word against slavery, or do a single act which should help a slave to escape. Suppose their elect were placed in the chair of the Father of the Republic; give to them a facile Congress; allow them to recast the American statute-book: they would so pervert the Constitution that America, instead of being the widest canopy of freedom under heaven, would become the darkest den of despotism. (Hear, hear.) Years ago, their own poet had warned them when he said,—

"There is a poor, blind Samson in the land."

(Cheers.) We repeat the warning to-day, and we say, "Be wise in time; be generous, and thereby prove yourselves sagacious." They had met that night to commemorate a great act of justice, and on this occasion he hoped they would address the American people through the press in the language of encouragement to the cause of justice. Mr. Wilkes then referred to the annexation of San Domingo by Spain, urging the duty of England to protest against such an outrage on international law, and concluded amidst loud cheers.

The Chairman announced that John Anderson was to be placed for his education under the care of Dr. Hewlett, and also that a benevolent lady had volunteered to buy his wife and children out of slavery forthwith. These statements were received with great applause.

Mr. Thompson moved and Mr. Ebenezer Burr seconded a supplementary resolution to the following effect:—"That this meeting desires to express, in emphatic terms, its indignant reprobation of the conduct of Spain in annexing the negro republic of San Domingo by the combined influences of treachery and armed force; that it deeply sympathizes with the Dominican people, who have been made to suffer this grievous wrong, and also with their Haytian fellow-countrymen, who are placed in a position of great difficulty and danger; and, lastly, it requests the chairman, on its behalf, to make known to her Majesty's Foreign Secretary the strong conviction it entertains that England has not fulfilled her duty in this matter, inasmuch as she has failed to protest against the crime of which Spain has been guilty, although such a protest was as much called for by a due regard to British interests, and to the future safety of our emancipated fellow-subjects in the West Indies, as by a feeling of just compassion for the victims of Spanish lawlessness and ambition."

John Anderson, the fugitive slave, then came forward, and declared how grateful he was for the kindness of the English people, and how happy he felt to be among them. He then gave them a short résumé of the circumstances of his chase and the fall of Digges, which are already so familiar to the English public. He gave his account in such a modest but frank manner, that he won the applause of the meeting, and was listened to with great attention.—*London Morning Star*, *Aug.* 2.

NO MOBS.

Everybody remembers the Hon. Caleb Cushing's famous Bangor letter, written in January, 1860, in which the writer predicted that if the Republicans should elect a Speaker of the National House of Representatives, and if Connecticut and New Hampshire should, at the then approaching elections, sustain the Republican policy, there would be a general smash, "social convulsions, hostile combats in the town streets, predatory guerrilla bands roving up and down the country, shootings and hangings," and, to wind up, "cruel war—war at home, and in the perspective distance a man on horseback with a drawn sword in his hand, some Atlantic Cæsar, or Cromwell, or Napoleon," &c. We have always thought, particularly since the present rebellion broke out, that Mr. Cushing must have had a more intimate knowledge of the purposes of the Southern traitors than he saw fit to divulge; but let that pass; his prediction is much above the average of those made by the professed wizards, astrologers and spiritual mediums. We wish now to call attention to another remark made by Mr. Cushing a few weeks before the Bangor letter was written. In a very violent speech made by him in Faneuil Hall, on the 8th of December, 1859, devoted principally to the "John Brown raid," which, with the recklessness and audacity characteristic of the pro-slavery politicians of that time, he attributed to a deliberate purpose on the part of the North to carry on an armed interference with slavery, Mr. Cushing said:

"Shall we in Massachusetts continue to nourish the sentiments of mutual rancor and hostility upon an abstract question wholly beyond our reach and authority? If we do so, we well know the consequences. We know that not only must the Federal compact break by its own weight, when we shall have to say farewell to the vaunted glories of the American Union, but when there will be the more terrible and dismal spectacle of *civil war upon our own soil in Massachusetts.* When we look forward to the consequences of a disruption of this Union, is the North to invade the South, for the purpose of carrying on an armed prosecution of these projects of interference with the institutions of the South? Will the North undertake that? If the North does undertake that, it will sacrifice every thing of peace and honor for a delusion and a shade. Will the North do it? Are there not gallant and patriotic men enough in the State of Massachusetts, who, if any such traitorous purpose should be attempted against the South, a war of invasion for the destruction of the Union and the Government of the Union—are there not men enough here to *seize the traitors by the throat,* (loud cries of "Yes, yes," and great applause,) and say, "You must walk over our bodies; you shall not engage in this fratricidal, suicidal civil war with your fellow-citizens of other States." I say, that whenever this state of things approaches, that war will not be upon Mason and Dixon's line, but *it will be upon the soil of New England*, and upon those who hate the Constitution of the country, between those who declare that the Constitution is a covenant with the devil and a league with hell. I say there will be war between them and those who are devotedly attached to the Constitution, and determined at all hazards to maintain the Union."

It is very well known that the Southern traitors were stimulated in their attempt to overthrow the government by the expectation of aid from the Northern States, and it is easy to see that such declarations as those we have quoted from the Faneuil Hall speech and the Bangor letter went far to encourage their treasonable purposes. But it is not our object to bring Mr. Cushing from his retirement for the sake of linking his name with the rebellion. Our purpose is to call attention to the necessity of union, harmony and order among the people of the loyal States. We believe there is an overwhelming majority of the people of the free States in favor of sustaining the general government in its efforts to maintain the integrity of the Union and the sway of the Constitution and the laws; in fact, that there is substantial unanimity on this question. There are plenty of men and newspapers which are trying to make some political capital out of questions connected with the war; and there are unquestionably some men who, like Ben Wood and Vallandigham, and the editors of the few notorious secession sheets in New York, Connecticut, and Ohio, are as openly as they dare to be in league with the rebels. These last clamor for peace, not only at the expense of the nation's dishonor, but because they desire the nation's dishonor. They would be glad to see Washington captured, the President of the United States a fugitive, and themselves recipients of fat salaries under Jefferson Davis. But the former class do not mean to sacrifice their loyalty and their political hopes to the cause of their quondam friends. We would preserve this substantial unanimity by our political action this fall, and by keeping to the extreme verge of toleration in our dealings with those who are of the class pledged by Mr. Cushing and others to get up a civil war on Northern soil, as a diversion for the benefit of the South. We know very well the temptation which besets every true man when he reads the *Daily News*, the *Day Book*, the *Bridgeport Farmer*, and some other newspapers, and which has proved too much for the loyal citizens of Concord, N. H., and Bangor. We know that there has been far too much lenity exercised by the Government toward spies and traitors in Washington and in Northern cities; and that there is quite as much reason for making war upon them as upon the secession army intrenched at Manassas. We remember the story of the trumpeter who was held equally guilty with the soldier, though he did not bear arms, but only an instrument for rallying the host to battle. We appreciate the metaphysical distinction of the late Reverend President of Harvard College, who, upon the appearance of a disloyal article in the *Boston Courier*, remarked that he "did not approve of tarring and feathering, but it was impossible to forget that *it had been sometimes well done.*" But we know also one of the strongest reasons a citizen of one of our Free States has in maintaining his principles against the spread of slaveholding doctrines, consists in the fact that freedom is order, while slavery is chronic anarchy. We talk of war in the South, but there has always been war in that section, and always will be until the last slave has his shackles struck off; for every man who is held in bondage is in a condition of rebellion, open or secret, against the man who holds him. We must make no approach to that condition of things foretold by Mr. Cushing—social convulsions, street combats, and civil war at home, for these bring us nearer and nearer to the likeness of the men whose social condition, no less than their actual treason, we now so deeply deplore. Unless men are proved to be actually engaged in aiding and abetting the rebellion, we would have no violence done to them. There is no law against dirt-eating, and there is much in habit to excuse it; no law against preferring slavery to freedom, and despotism to republican institutions; some men are so constituted that they must be either tyrants or flunkies, and a state of slavery seems necessary to them. Only when their preference of slavery to freedom, of despotism to democracy, of the Richmond to the Washington government, leads them to the commission of overt acts of treason, we would have them punished. But no mobs in the free cities and towns of the North.—*N. Y. Tribune.*

The destruction of a newspaper office in Concord, New Hampshire, has been speedily followed by a similar act of popular vengeance in Bangor. For aught we know, the Bangor paper may have been as unwise in its treasonable talk, and may have given as direct provocation to individuals, as its New Hampshire companion in misfortune; but we cannot help suspecting that the fate of the latter hastened the crisis in the affairs of the former, and that if there had been no mob in Concord, there would have been none in Bangor. Examples of this sort are contagious in the extreme, at a moment of great popular excitement like this. The man who has shrewdly calculated the limits of public forbearance in his own locality, must be prepared to meet the additional peril occasioned by some outbreak elsewhere, and to find his reliance upon the good sense and prudence of the community, whom he daily outrages, suddenly impaired by the effect of some bad precedent set elsewhere. And he must also be prepared to find that, after the ice is once broken, a much smaller provocation will rouse the active animosity of the multitude, than was necessary to excite the original movement.

We trust that the patriotic and liberty-loving men of New England will take these things to heart, and will be warned by the first steps in a work of mischief which, once fairly on foot, will be a shame and a cause of repentance for them forever. Let them beware how any man's liberty of speech or publication is limited by popular violence. Let them beware of any tribunal or any standard for judging the counsel or conduct of any man, except such as are recognized and provided by the law. For generations has New England jealously guarded against every sign of infringement upon those great rights, which are justly regarded as the foundation of our liberties, in spite of the reckless or mischievous design with which those rights may have been exercised. Let us not forget at this moment, when the genuine old spirit of New England shines out more brightly than ever, the forbearance and impartial justice which have been counselled and practised here for generation after generation. No one can predict the excesses to which such a spirit may finally lead, if it is once suffered to take its course unchecked; but this we know, that the first step in such a course is an abandonment of a [illegible] which should ever be held sacred.

The mischief that these advocates of secession may have been able to accomplish, appears to us inconsiderable in comparison with the discredit brought upon the national cause by such acts of violence as we now refer to. From the outset, the strong point with the loyal States has been, that whereas the seceded States have suppressed all liberty of speech and publication, the faithful States have preserved both intact, and have been able to show a public sentiment, which has become unanimous under no pressure, but by its own spontaneous action. We still maintain that this is the case, but where are we to turn for evidence to counteract the impression produced by such proceedings as we have lately recorded? Let the North beware how it suffers the moral effect of its noble and universal zeal to be destroyed, by acts which shall serve to confound the general harmony of opinion and action here, with the enforced agreement which is at once the shame and weakness of the South.—*Boston Daily Adv.*

SOUTHERN LYING.

The Richmond correspondent of the Charleston *Mercury*, who claims to have been on the field of the late battle, gives full details of the death of Senator Foster, of Conn., *who was in his seat the day after the battle!* He also asserts that documentary evidence was found on the field of battle, that McDowell's army was 130,000 strong!

The Charleston *Courier's* correspondent speaks of the capture of 500 wagons, and provisions enough to feed an army of 50,000 men for twelve months! The same correspondent tells the following pleasant little stories:

"Alluding to barbarity, reminds me of something I heard last night. I wrote you that the enemy, when they came to Manassas to bury their dead slain in the battle of the 19th, commenced intrenching themselves. *They formed their intrenchments of human bodies; took their dead comrades, and piling them one on the other dug a trench, and threw the dirt over the bodies to form a breastwork.* I am not sure but it is wicked to relate anything so horrible, and admit that a civilized man was guilty of it, but it is true, notwithstanding.

I saw President Davis this morning, who gave me many interesting particulars. Yesterday I learned much from Col. Chesnut, and this evening Gen. McGowan *entertained a large circle with many amusing incidents.* The enemy crossed the Potomac with a grand army. Gen. Scott, *in a splendid carriage, drawn by six fine horses, passed part of the day at Centreville. Mrs. Senator Wilson, of Massachusetts, and other ladies, were with him. One was a lady of Centreville, with whom Gen. McGowan afterwards spent the evening.*"

The correspondent of the New Orleans *Picayune* does his best to rival his competitors in the matter of invention. He asserts that "a great number of civilians and ladies attended the army on its march," and that in their flight they scattered "trunks, band boxes, hoop skirts, and everything belonging to ladies' attire. Here, too, is another fiction from the same mint:

"Among the curiosities brought in here is a carriage, which many believe to have been the carriage of Gen. Scott himself. It is a complete domestic establishment on wheels, *with parlor, dining-room, bed, sofa, and everything that could conduce to the comfort or convenience of the occupant.* The captors say there was also found in it a bath, which the General is supposed to have used to cool off his gouty feet."

HOW THE REBELS USE THE SLAVES.

Twelve thousand slaves, we are told, are employed by the traitors at Manassas, in building their fortifications and strengthening their position. They avail themselves of every means within their power, to enable them to resist us. How long will it be before the federal government will do the same? How long will it be before it proclaims that every slave in Virginia will be welcome to our lines, and will be set at work with proper pay for his labor, or that they will be organized into regiments, and thus enabled to aid in putting down the rebellion? How long will it be before we shall accept the services of the thousands of colored men in the free States, who would gladly volunteer their services for the defence of the nation? How long will it be before we shall send an army of colored troops to the Southern ports, whose climate is fatal to the whites, and thus take the enemy in their most assailable

points? How long will it be before we shall recognize the fact that men like the hero Tallman, who killed the pirates and secured the vessel, in order to escape being sent into slavery, are the very men to fight against slaveholders and tyrants? How long shall we delay to use every means within our reach, to weaken our enemy, and to bring a speedy end to this war?—*New Bedford Republican Standard.*

NO TERMS WITH TRAITORS.

THE SUBMISSION OF THE REBELS THE SOLE CONDITION OF PEACE.

To the N. Y. State Democratic Committee:—

I make no apology for criticising Democrats, since I am myself a Democrat. Nay, almost can I say, "If any other man thinketh that he hath whereof he might trust in" Democracy, "I more." For I have spent much of my life in inculcating it. Moreover, my Democracy is not a half-way, but an extreme one—a Democracy as broad as mankind; and so jealous of Government as to allow its presence not only not in the Church, but not in the School—nowhere, indeed, save in the one legitimate Governmental office of protecting persons and property. That mine is the genuine Democracy is manifested by the little patience, which the current and spurious Democracy has with it. Nor need I make an apology for praising Republicans, since I have never been one of them. And I need not fear that any thing that I shall say of Democrats or Republicans will expose me to the charge of office-seeking, since I am one of the few who, at the expense of being called very eccentric and very foolish, sternly refuse to go in the ways which lead to office.

The proposition made to you a few days ago by the N. Y. State Republican Committee was both wise and magnanimous. It was wise in view of the wants of the country. It was magnanimous because coming from the stronger to the weaker Party. I regret that it was declined. Its prompt and cordial acceptance would have strengthened the hands of the Government, and brightened the prospects of patriotism. But there is a reason given for declining it, which I much more than regret. It merits abhorrence and denunciation intense and universal. Republicans, ay, all right-minded men, whether Republicans or Democrats, demand of the rebels immediate and unconditional submission. But you would have "the Federal Government hold out terms of peace and accommodation to the dissevered States." Is this the policy of most of the Democratic leaders in the different States?—and is their Party to be rallied to espouse it? If so, then is there more reason than ever to fear the result of the war—of the war which is waged so earnestly by our foes, and with so little and so divided heart by ourselves. Gloomy indeed is the prospect, if even this little heart is to be made less, and the breach in this divided heart to be made wider by this threatened unpatriotic attitude of the Democratic Party! Gloomy indeed the prospect, if the great Party, which comprises nearly half the men of the North, is to exhibit such a spectacle of meanness as in its espousal of this policy it will!—such a spectacle for our foe to feed his pride, and strengthen his courage, and build his hopes upon!

The North would be left without spirit to continue the war, after a proposed "accommodation" or compromise in her name. For what would the proposition imply but her admission that the rebels are at least partly right in their rebellion, and she at least partly wrong in resisting it?—what but her admission that our Government and Nation are either so reduced in power as not to be able to suppress a rebellion, or so reduced in dignity and self-respect as to be willing to bribe even rebels into forbearance? What, in a word, would the proposition imply, but her admission that the Government and Nation are not worth preserving? For to treat with armed rebels is manifestly to throw both away. There is not a respectable Monarchy on earth that would consent to do so. But far rather might *it* treat with armed traitors than *we*—we who have an open ballot-box through which wrongs can be righted. Do you say that crimes may be committed by Government so enormous as to justify the wronged in passing by the tardy and uncertain remedy of the ballot-box to seize their arms? But if it is by such crimes that this Rebellion has been provoked, then it should not be put down; and you ought to [illegible]ed of your boast that "hundreds of thou[illegible]) brethren (Democratic brethren) have taken up arms" against it. This boast is your virtual admission that the rebels had suffered no wrongs, which justified them in seeking any other than a peaceful redress. Never, that I am aware, had they suffered any wrong whatever at the hands of Government, always excepting the very great wrong of being allowed to have things their own way. Emphatically true is it, that the South is our partial Government's spoiled child. And no less true is it, that the North is now suffering the severe penalty of having permitted and encouraged the Government to spoil it.

A sword in one hand, and a bribe in the other! [illegible] can never con[illegible]uer in this wise. Possibly we might, [illegible] ourselves. But neither of his hands [illegible]ars messages of peace. Both are busy in dealing out death. And not only does he scorn to propose compromises, but as utterly and openly does he scorn to accept them. How exceedingly disingenuous, in this light, is your attempt, and is every other attempt, to make an issue with the uncompromising enemies of the Rebellion, by proposing compromises! You know perfectly well that there can be no compromises. Nevertheless, you continue to urge them. I will not say with the purpose—though it certainly is with no other effect than to divide and destroy us.

What boots it that we are two or three times as numerous as the enemy, and have ten times his wealth, if we are divided, and he united?—if, whilst with him, all speak one language, there are with us numberless lips, pens and presses that speak for him? Secession Regiments allowed to march daily through Baltimore would not be as dangerous to our Cause as are her Secession Presses. And similar is the danger of such Presses in New York. The Regiments could be watched and controlled; but the demoralizing influence of the Presses cannot be hindered from going over the whole land. These Presses plead their Constitutional rights! But, just as sure as that the Southern Conspirators, who have flung away the Constitution and armed themselves against it and the nation, have no Constitutional rights, so sure is it that they who remain among us, and yet identify themselves with the Conspirators, have no Constitutional rights. There is not another nation on the earth which would accord rights to persons in the circumstances of the conductors of these Presses: and this nation must either cease from such spurious and suicidal liberality, or cease to live. The Constitution was not intended to afford protection to those who help on bloody war against itself and its loyal subjects. But what if there are Constitutional or other laws which seem to give shelter to such traitors? The necessities of war, among which there is scarcely one more urgent than the suppression of newspapers that are in the interest of the enemy, rise high above all laws. May the mob suppress them? No—but the War Power may. That Power, which has the right to break up a bridge when, in its judgment, the measure is called for, has right under the same condition to break up a Press. But this, you will say, is to recognize in the War Power the boundlessness of despotic power. Admitted. And the nation which, in a war for its very existence, hesitates at such recognition, exhibits more of the harmlessness of child's play than of the terrible earnestness of war. What makes our comparatively small foe so effective? It is that the South is so earnest and so wise as to leave her War Power untrammeled, and entirely free to use all the means of the South, and to use them as it will. This wicked war would soon have been ended had our Government, or, in other words, our War Power, felt the like liberty. Very different would have been the present condition of things, if the Northern Government had felt the same liberty as the Southern to use black men. Whilst the South is wholly and hotly determined to maintain Southern Slavery and kill Northern Liberty, the North is half-heartedly in the work of maintaining both. The newspapers say that our Government has invited Garibaldi to take part in this impracticable and ridiculous work. It cannot be true. For, though our Government may feel bound to pursue this wretched policy of going for Liberty and Slavery, it could never be guilty of insulting that grand Soldier of Freedom by inviting him to identify himself, his magnificent fortunes and his world-wide fame, with this wretched policy. Our Government will never invite Garibaldi to take part with it, until it shall have risen to the purpose of conquering the enemy by whatever means. Not till then will he consent to take part with it.

By the way, is there not some danger that, if the North shall continue her present unfriendly and contemptuous attitude towards the four and a half millions of Northern and Southern blacks, this attitude will, especially when combined with Southern professions and promises, have the effect to bring this mighty element into a sincere, and as appalling as sincere, identification with our foe?

Is it a wonder that every step of Jefferson Davis is confident and defiant, and that so many of Abraham Lincoln's are timid and hesitating? It is not. For, whilst Jefferson Davis represents a people of one heart and one purpose, Abraham Lincoln is obliged to pause, and calculate how far and how fast such men as you, and the masses you influence, will let him go. Unhappy man!—for, whilst the other President is cheered and strengthened by the entire devotion to his cause of all around him, our President is under the constant and withering remembrance that it will depend upon his success in conciliating the enemy at home, whether the country will be able to conquer its other and less dangerous enemy. Simpleton that I was for believing that the shots at Fort Sumpter would turn all the Republicans, yes, and all the Democrats into Americans, and thus make the war a very short one! Having never worn the chains, nor experienced the debauchment of party, I was ignorant how hard it is to break the one, or get cured of the other.

You profess to be in favor of "the vigorous prosecution of the war." Of course you do—for the people are; and to get influence with them, you must make them believe that you are. But there is only one way for you to be what you profess to be at this point. It is to help the Government carry on the war. But you point to "the hundreds of thousands" of Democrats in the Army to prove that you are helping the Government to carry it on. In vain!—for this only proves that *they* are helping—not that *you* are. All honor to those "hundreds of thousands"! and all dishonor to you! Deeply do you wrong them, insultingly do you degrade them, by identifying yourselves with them. In this dark hour of our country are they, like you, against its Government? No, they are fighting for it. Or do they, like you, refuse to co-operate with Republicans for the salvation of the country? No—God bless them! they rise far above such meanness and wickedness, and stand shoulder to shoulder with Republicans. I cannot affirm that you will not succeed in bringing over the Democratic masses to your guilty ground; but I can affirm that you do not represent them now.

You do not fail to extol the Constitution. Of course not. Messrs. Breckinridge, May, Burnett, Vallandigham do not. For the politician not to extol it, when his purpose is to gain something from Americans, would betray as great a lack of cunning as would the omission of the hypocrite to commend the Bible, when be would gain something from Christians. But, gentlemen, I trust an indignant public will teach you that the present is not the proper time for turning men's minds from the Country to the Constitution—from their urgent duties, amidst the appalling necessities of the one, to their composed study of the requirements and their prolonged admiration of the merits of the other. It is but a poor sort of philanthropy which distresses itself over the great value of the clothes that the drowning man is carrying with him to the bottom. Very unseasonable is the reading of the "Rules of the Hotel" to its inmates, when the Hotel is on fire. But not more so than to remind Americans of the Rules of the Federal Constitution, when rebels are at their throats.

I do not expose myself to the charge of making light of the Constitution by setting the country above it. For much more have I written, and much more have I spoken for it, than has any other Democrat, living or dead. And it is not for parts of the Constitution that I have written and spoken; but for every line and letter of it. And I have not dishonored the Constitution and its Authors by admitting it to be necessary to go outside of it for proofs of its meaning; but I have honored both by insisting that it is its own sufficient interpreter.

The cry of "The Constitution! The Constitution!!" is at once the most hypocritical and mischievous of all the cries with which treason is filling the land. Our Government is earnestly and honestly intent on saving the nation; and it is for the life of the nation that our Government be confided in and sustained. Whoever then seeks to weaken its bonds is a traitor. But of the most wicked and effective form of treason are they guilty, who, taking advantage of the popular idolatry of the Constitution, unsettle the popular confidence in the Government, by charging it with disregard of the Constitution.

I hope, gentlemen, that you are not traitors. But, if you are not, then are you greatly to be pitied for so strongly seeming to be what you are not. If you are not more concerned to conquer the Republican Party than to conquer the Rebels, then never did any men's attitude more belie their spirit. That your purpose is to inspire your Party with the deepest distrust of the Government is too obvious for even you to deny. That your success in this would complete the ruin of your country, you may not see. Nevertheless, you would see it, were you not blinded by party zeal. I think you will not succeed. I think you will not be able to carry with you the County and Town leaders of your Party, much less the party itself. Strong as is the partisan spirit in your Party, I think the spirit of patriotism in it is stronger. I believe you will not be able to rally an opposition Party at the North. As there is but one Party at the South, so there will be but one at the North. All the South is for the Rebellion, and all the North will be against it. I believe that the Government will stand, and that you will fall. I believe that the Democratic as well as the Republican Party will consent to postpone the prosecution of party purposes, and the gratification of party predilections, until the Rebellion shall be conquered, and the country shall be safe. That done, and I shall be as willing to see each Party go its own way, as I shall be glad to see all the wrongs of the South (if there are any) abundantly redressed, when she shall have ceased from her Conspiracy, and laid down her arms. But a curse on the Party that raises its head before the war is ended! And not one word of peace, not one leaf of the olive-branch, nor one concession, however small, to the rebels, so long as they are rebels. Much as they are worth, and they are worth much, because they are our fellow-men, the Government and the Nation are worth vastly more: and both Government and Nation will perish, if there shall be the slightest stooping to those who are in arms against both.

You would have it understood that the Republican Party would consent to "the separation of the States." I confess that I preferred such separation, if peaceful, to war. But the Republican Party has never proposed it. There is not one Republican in one hundred who would consent to it. Moreover, there are ten Democrats who would, where there is one Republican who would.

I have not failed to notice that, in your Call of the Convention, you too put party below patriotism. But in vain is it that you do so. "Actions speak louder than words." Never, after you declined the generous No-Party Proposition of the Republicans, has it been in your power to profess yourselves to be above party, and yet enjoy the reputation of being sincere. Your mistake was a great one. Cunning cannot correct it. The only remedy is your repentance.

GERRIT SMITH.

Peterboro', August 13, 1861.

☞ The Washington correspondent of the New York *Times* communicates the intelligence that Government has been informed, from the North, of the formation of an organization which threatens very much to complicate existing difficulties. The correspondent says:—

"No reliable information has yet been obtained of the extent of the society, but its purposes have been pretty clearly defined. It seems to be based upon a religious philanthropy, and imbued with the belief that a great Christian duty is to performed by embracing the present opportunity to free the negroes of the South. There is little doubt but that large numbers of men, impressed with this sentiment, and with the additional incentive of fulfilling a patriotic purpose, have urgently pressed upon the Government the propriety of furnishing the arms and material necessary for putting this scheme afoot, and that had the Government, three months ago, given the least aid, the rebels of the South would now have to confront a terrible enemy at their own thresholds. The prompt discountenance of the Government, it was supposed, had put a stop to this enterprise; but it appears only to have delayed it. Private contributions have been invoked, and with extraordinary success, and the project appears now to be assuming definite shape and excessive proportions. It will be pushed, if possible, beyond the interference of the Government."

The way to put an end to the war, and all machinations growing out of it, is for the government officially to "squelch out" slavery, under the war power.

The Liberator.

No Union with Slaveholders!

BOSTON, FRIDAY, AUGUST 23, 1861.

SECESSION AND THE WAR.

A replication from our unknown correspondent, "J. W." to some criticisms upon his first communication, may be found in another column. It is not our habit to prolong a personal discussion with any one. Endeavoring at all times to state our sentiments in plain language, tersely and without circumlocution, we are content to submit them to the good sense and honest judgment of our readers, without needless repetition.

We hardly know where to find "J. W." on the question of Southern secession. He now says that he disapproves of that secession; nevertheless, he adds—"You deny that the Secessionists have any cause, while the colonies had the greatest, to change their mode of government. A disinterested arbitrator could alone come to a fair decision on this point." Is the question, then, of so difficult solution, that, because of our geographical position, we are disqualified from rendering an impartial verdict? If so, why does he venture to condemn "the present secession of the South"? For wherein he disables our judgment, he cripples his own. "As a general thing, extremists are both wrong." That may be; but who, in this case, are the extremists? Are the President and his Cabinet, because they are endeavoring to preserve the government which they are under oath to uphold, to be put in this category? Are Generals Scott, McClellan, Wool, Fremont and Banks—are the brave soldiers under their command—extremists? Is every one an extremist, who sees no justification whatever for the traitorous course of the Secessionists? There were but two parties in the Revolutionary struggle—to wit, the Colonies and Great Britain: were the former extremists, and so unable to "come to a fair decision" respecting their alleged grievances? Or did they not make a just issue—so just that the whole civilized world, Great Britain included, has since recognized the rectitude of their course, and applauded the spirit by which they were actuated? But the present issue is equally just on the side of the government, and such will be the verdict of mankind. It was truthfully said by Hon. Owen Lovejoy, at its commencement, that there had never been so causeless and inexcusable a rebellion since the revolt of the apostate angels, as described by Milton. No language of impeachment or condemnation is too severe to apply to the rebels. Theirs is perjured villany, colossal criminality, unmatched diabolism. In the most malignant sense, they are *humani hostes generis*. In their present attitude, they deserve the execration of heaven and earth.

"If partisans were right," says "J. W.", "no intermediator in the shape of law would be necessary." But the position we hold toward the administration is not that of a partisan: we neither voted for it, nor act under it. For more than a quarter of a century, we have stood aloof from all participation in the government, for reasons satisfactory to our own conscience—neither casting a ballot in any instance, nor endorsing any political party as such. Our mission has been to criticise and condemn, more or less, all parties, and every succeeding administration. In consequence of its pro-slavery guaranties, as recognized and acted upon by the nation ever since its adoption,—and nothing more positive or conclusive than this assent can or need be adduced,—we have steadily proclaimed the U. S. Constitution to be, (in the language of the prophet,) "a covenant with death, and an agreement with hell," and pronounced the certainty of its overthrow. Under these circumstances, we have no "partisan" feelings to gratify, but occupy a thoroughly independent stand-point, so that we can render true judgment between the contending parties at the present time; and we say, on the merits of the issue, that the conduct of the Secessionists combines all conceivable perfidy and crime, and that they are brigands and pirates on a scale unparalleled in the annals of human depravity; and we further say, that they have received neither wrong nor menace from the government, and that all their charges against it are lies of the first magnitude, coined in the mint of an infernal malignity, and circulated to subserve the purposes of a satanic ambition and a soul-imbruting system.

"But you do not seem to see," says "J. W.", "that the *merit* of the case is not made a part of the Declaration: there is no exception: it says, '*All* just government is only by consent of the governed'—the degree of oppression, or indeed *any at all*, is not a part of the theory." What version of the Declaration of Independence our anonymous friend may have in his possession, we do not know; but ours reads as follows:—

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these, are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, *to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men*, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, *whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends*, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that *governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes;* and, accordingly, all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But, *when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism*, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. *Such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies, and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former systems of government.* The history of the present king of Great Britain is *a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having, in direct object, the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these States.* TO PROVE THIS, LET FACTS BE SUBMITTED TO A CANDID WORLD."

What, now, becomes of the assertion of our correspondent? Is "the merit of the case not made a part of the Declaration"? Is not "the degree of oppression, or indeed any at all, a part of the theory"? Why, from the time when an instrument first became inscribed upon parchment to the present, none more guarded, none more lucid, none more condemnatory of every thing savoring of lawless usurpation, or factious discontent, or frivolous complaint, was ever recorded, than the Declaration of Independence; and it is as gross an absurdity, and as great an outrage, to attempt to find in it even the slightest justification of the rebellious South, as it would be for the "father of lies" to quote the Sermon on the Mount in favor of all deadly sins! See what the revolutionary fathers asserted as fundamental and self-evident truths—for it will bear recapitulation:—

1. The endowment of the whole human race, by their Creator, with an inalienable right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness:

2. Governments are instituted to secure these rights:

3. Whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it:

4. Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes:

5. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same end, evinces a design to reduce the people under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security.

Such was the theory of the revolutionary fathers in regard to rebellion, or the substitution of one form of government for another in self-defence. In what did they find their justification for withdrawing their allegiance from the mother country? In the fact that "such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies: the history of the present king of Great Britain is a history of REPEATED INJURIES AND USURPATIONS, all having, in direct object, *the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these States.* To prove this, let FACTS be submitted to a candid world."

How iron-linked the logic—how grand the theory—how forcible and accurate the statement—how discriminating and just the exceptions in favor of revolution—how ample their justification, by their own standard, through a long and bitter experience—and how manly and sublime their closing appeal, "*To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world*"! But had those facts been wanting—instead of them, had lies been substituted—and had only a factious and lawless temper of mind, in the furtherance of a thoroughly despotic and inhuman object, been displayed—would they not have covered themselves with infamy, and made their revolution abhorrent to mankind? They were not thus inconsistent in the issue they presented, but cheerfully put themselves on trial before a candid world, according to the FACTS, and received an applauding acquittal.

To which of these specifications do the Southern confederates subscribe? Do they maintain that all men are created equal, and possess an inalienable right to liberty? Or have they not expressly made slavery the corner-stone of their political edifice? Are they not in revolt with sole reference to the safety, extension and perpetuity of that horrible system? They believe governments are (or, rather, should be) instituted to secure the rights of men-stealers and traffickers in human flesh, and not the rights of the people. And as for any "injuries and usurpations" they have to complain of under the government, nothing of the kind has occurred in a single instance. So far from it, they have always exercised controlling power in the government, from the administration of Jefferson to that of Buchanan inclusive.

Of course, we do not need reminding that the revolutionary fathers were subsequently untrue to their own Heaven-attested Declaration, inasmuch as they either held slaves personally, or by general complicity; but their infidelity did not affect the doctrines promulgated by them in that immortal instrument. Had they been faithful and uncompromising, no "slaveholders' rebellion" would now be desolating the country.

"J. W." claims, by long and close study, "to be a tolerable judge of the laws of political economy." If he thinks that driving millions of laborers to unrequited toil, under the sole stimulus of the lash, and making them as marketable as cattle and swine, can accumulate general wealth, or even "make both ends meet" by the severest calculation, we are quite sure he is laboring under a delusion. No prosperity, by the fiat of Almighty God, can be the natural product of "the sum of all villanies." The tendency of the South is steadily and irresistibly to bankruptcy. This is not altered by the fact that the free labor, and manufacturing skill, and commercial enterprise of the North derive from the raw material of cotton remunerative compensation and increasing wealth. No thanks to the Southern oppressors! No—but thanks to a just God who has so ordered it. Every branch of Northern industry would be greatly benefitted by the abolition of slavery; so that neither Northern capital nor labor has any pecuniary motive for the prolongation of that wasteful and destructive system. "Cottonocracy" and "shipocracy" alike, though now blind to the fact, would reap much larger rewards if free labor were substituted for slave labor at the South. We "speak the words of truth and soberness."

In order that our correspondent may advance in his politico-economical studies, we advise him to "read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest" Helper's Impending Crisis, the 28th chapter of Deuteronomy, and the 58th chapter of Isaiah—in the last of which he will find a very simple and thoroughly effective plan, divinely prescribed, for the abolition of slavery, with all its results duly set forth. Read—believe—rejoice!

A BRIEF PROTEST.

Though cherishing a profound respect and loving regard for our noble friend and champion, Wendell Phillips, I must enter my protest against assimilating the cause of the man-stealing tyrants and traitors of the South—who, having misgoverned, corrupted and disgraced the Republic for sixty years, are striving to kill, because they can no longer misgovern it—to the cause of the enslaved Poles, Hungarians and Italians!

The parties to this war are the free whites, so called, of the North, and the slaves of the South, of the one part, and the robbers, oppressors, despisers, aye, and murderers of both, of the other part.

John Randolph, in a call upon some ladies in Virginia, found them busy in making up clothes to be sent to the Greeks at the time of their war with the Turks. "Ladies," said that hater of shams, "the *Greeks* are at the door!" Can we be mistaken as to who are the Greeks, and who the Turks, of this contest, or on which side the laws of God fight and the blessing of God will rest? It is the battle of Armageddon, between good and evil spirits. I have nothing to say as to the sides which the spirits must respectively take, but I will say that the sides are not by their accession made equal, and the two causes confounded.

"Thrice is he armed, who hath his quarrel just,
And he but naked, though locked up in steel,
Whose conscience with injustice is corrupted."

C.

THE CAUSE OF THE WAR.

"The cause of the war" begins to be an important topic for discussion at the present time, notwithstanding the attempt of the newspapers throughout the land to settle the question.

All the leading journals in the loyal States deny that the slavery question has any thing to do with regard to our waging war against the South. They say we are fighting the South because they rebel against the Government—because they have robbed us of the Federal property, and refused to obey our laws.

Now, is the American press so weak and blind as to suppose that the masses of the people are to be satisfied with this explanation? Are thirty millions of the most intelligent people on earth to accept this version of the matter, without consulting their own true knowledge in regard to it? Hand a child two tin rattles, one with and the other without the rattler, and see how quick the silent one is discarded. So it is to-day with us, in regard to the complicated and unsatisfactory definition of the "Cause" of the war handed out to us by the *press*. We do not accept it—the "rattle" is not there.

But, back of all this, we hear the rattle of the chains of four million slaves. This is the rattle which reverberates in the heart of the American people, and it will continue until the last link is severed that holds men in bondage. It would cost but a very few lives, and little money, to conquer the South, if we would apply the weapon to the heart of the enemy—touch her in the tenderest spot, (*slavery*,) and the victory is ours. But we are told "that time has not yet come." Why not come now, and save thousands of dollars, and millions of lives, which we must pay? I told a negro, the other day, that I thought our Government, ere long, would furnish arms to "contraband" fugitives. "Never," exclaimed the negro, "as long as Massachusetts refuses to receive us into the ranks at home." I fear this is too true. But the time must soon come when the negro will be allowed to fight for his liberty.

A. W.

☞ The *Atlantic Monthly* for September is received. Contents:—1. The Shakespeare Mystery. 2. The Bath. 3. Saccharissa Mellasys. 4. My Odd Adventure with Junius Brutus Booth. 5. My Out-Door Study. 6. A Sermon in a Stone. 7. Agnes of Sorrento. 8. The Aquarium. 9. The Young Repealer. 10. Bread and the Newspaper. 11. "Under the Cloud and through the Sea." 12. Journal of a Privateersman. 13. The Advantages of Defeat. 14. Ode to Happiness. 15. Elizabeth Barrett Browning. 16. Reviews and Literary Notices. Recent American Publications.

A very interesting number, as usual. Ticknor & Fields, 135 Washington Street, Boston, Publishers.

GEN. BUTLER'S CONTRABAND OF WAR.

PART III.—[CONTINUED.]

In the last war with Great Britain, 1812–15, no protracted incursions were made into Southern territory, and few descents on the slave coast, yet a large number of slaves escaped to the British camps and ships of war. They were so stupid as to run away from "happiness" to "misery," from "kind masters" to "Cochrane the pirate." Those persons were all treated and disposed of conformably to the precedent established by Carleton; but the British government, contrary to its course in that case, consented to make compensation for them.

In 1836 Gen. Jessup, commanding in the Florida war, made, with the approval of Cass, Secretary of War, an alliance with the Creek nation, by which on certain conditions they were to furnish from six hundred to a thousand men to serve during the war. One of the conditions was that they should have "all the plunder they might make from the Seminoles." By that it was understood, that they were to have and to hold as slaves all the negroes they might capture. This was a revival of the most ancient barbarism, but quite in keeping with the general character of the contest. The Creeks captured about one hundred men, women and children. These persons having been brought, after a long imprisonment and various vicissitudes, within the military department of Gen. Gaines, were protected by him as prisoners of war, and sent off, in the style of Sir Guy Carleton, in company with their friends and allies, the Seminoles, to the West. Mr. Giddings, in his "Exiles of Florida," has given an exciting and humiliating narrative of infinite chicaneries practised by the Executive, the War Department and Indian Bureau to effect the enslavement of those unoffending people. In contemplating the dreadful moral and physical desolation, which marked that wretched marauding of a slave democracy and government for innocent blood and merchantable bones, it is inexpressibly grateful to listen to the wholesome voice of one honest and energetic man; and to witness the triumph of an earnest and timely utterance in behalf of justice, liberty and humanity.

Mr. Giddings, in one of his late letters, sums up the arguments of Gen. Gaines as follows:—

"He asserted that in time of war all slaves are belligerents as much as their masters. The slave men cultivate the earth, and supply provisions. The women cook the food, nurse the wounded and sick, and contribute to the maintenance of the war, often more than the same number of males. The slave children equally contribute whatever they are able to support the war.

He could enter into no judicial examination of the claim of one man to the bones and muscles of another as property. As a military officer, maintaining the Federal Government by force of arms, he could not know what the laws of Florida were. He could be guided only by the laws of war, and the laws of any State must yield to the safety of the Federal Government."—*Doc. House of Representatives, 2d Session 25th Congress, No. 225.*

Under color of a sale by the Creek captors to an American dealer in human flesh, an attempt was made by civil process to wrest his prisoners from the possession and jurisdiction of the General. He appeared at the bar, and vindicated the rights of the prisoners and his own authority, citing in support of both the well settled laws and usages of war. In conclusion he said:—

"I have not yet learned while acting in my official capacity on oath, to take the responsibility of doing that which is repugnant to law, unjust and iniquitous, as I verily believe any favor shown to this claim would be."

In 1838 Gen. Taylor, having succeeded Jessup in the chief command, but not in unscrupulousness and subserviency to slaveholders and hunters, refused to deliver to them his negro prisoners, demanded by a crowd of Florida claimants as fugitive slaves. He told them he had no prisoners but "prisoners of war." They insisted upon seeing them. He replied that "no man should examine his prisoners for such a purpose," and he ordered them to quit his camp.

The world has adjudged it a crime and a blunder in Bonaparte, that he did not at the commencement of the Russian campaign emancipate, re-nationalize and arm the Poles. But he was seduced and entangled by his fatal Austrian alliance, just as Great Britain was in the war of the Revolution, by her tenderness of the supposed interests and deference to the wishes of the great slaveholding Tories of the Carolinas.

A delusion from which even the truest and most thoughtful are scarcely exempt, prevails in respect to local limitations of the war power. That power, like the Constitution, acts upon persons without necessary reference to State lines. As the civil jurisdiction of the United States extends to all citizens and residents in peace, so in this civil war the military is capable of reaching all rebels wherever they may be. Congress has declared and the President has proclaimed no war against State nor section. A gang of conspirators have defied the laws, seized the muniments and sought the life of the nation. War thus evoked aims its weapons at the conspirators and parricides, their aiders and abettors, wherever they may be found, the same in Missouri as in South Carolina or Eastern Virginia, and the same in Western Virginia and Maryland as in either.

True, there may be no need of marching or mustering an army at every point where traitors may confederate and make war upon their country, either directly or by giving aid and comfort to the slave confederacy. But whether such need exist, is a question for the superior civil and military authorities of the nation. It is for them, in the exercise of a sound discretion, to determine where there are traitors and enemies sufficiently formidable by their numbers, or by the secret complicity of local authorities, for the hand of war to smite. Wherever that may be, within the boundaries of the Union, or on the wide ocean, there may they, and must they, if faithful to the duties with which they are charged by this people, so prodigal of their blood and treasure, strike. And the seat or seats of war thus determined, do by necessary implication, so long as they remain such, fall under the dominion of martial law; and all persons and property, within the sphere of the operations of armies, must be subject to the rules and exigencies of war. As far as circumstances admit, it is best perhaps in practice, to blend by common consent the action of the civil and military powers, leaving to the former the exercise of all ordinary magisterial and administrative functions, which do not impinge upon the sterner, and, for the time being, more necessary and vital activities of the armed.

By the Constitution, property of every description, belonging to any citizen or resident of the United States, may be taken for public use, "just compensation" being made therefor. This is also a war power, and was exercised by both parties in the Revolutionary war, each giving compensation to their friends, and stripping those whom they respectively regarded as enemies.

Thus I have shown:—

1. That we have at present an unquestionable legal right to receive or capture slaves to any extent within and from the territory of the enemy; and to receive those fleeing from traitors and enemies everywhere, whether they be considered as persons or property.

2. That we may employ, enlist or discharge them, paying them fairly in the two first cases, and rendering them in the last such protection and aid as we would any loyal white deserter or refugee citizen, escaping to us from our enemy's hands.

3. That there is no power conferred by law, municipal or international, upon our armies to deliver them up, nor to arrest, detain nor use them, except with their consent and at an equitable remuneration.

4. That it has been in violation of law, as well as of their duty to God and their country, that our military and naval officers, seamen and soldiers, have surrendered and sent them back; that in every such case a grave offence has been committed, for which obedience to orders affords no justification, inasmuch as all orders to that effect from whatever source are unlawful.

5. That no power exists to arrest by the military arm, or return a fugitive slave to *any* claimant, however loyal he may profess or prove himself to be.

6. That the Government has a clear right, either directly or by the leaders of its armies, to call the slaves from service on the side of those attempting the life of the Republic, to the side of those defending it. As *property*, they may be taken—1, to weaken our enemies, strengthen ourselves, and hasten the achievement of a beneficial and permanent peace; 2, as a removal of the cause of the war, and the only possible preventive of future wars—whether we form one or more powers of perpetual discords in a delusive peace; and 3, as a necessary punishment of crimes, habitual to Southern slaveholders as a body. Among these may be reckoned

1. Thousands of cowardly and cruel personal outrages and murders of Northern citizens, "who have committed no offence."

2. Scores of felonious assaults in both Houses of Congress, culminating in an attempt to assassinate a Senator in his seat, a deed applauded, defended and memorized with a unanimity unusual even for the South; and all for the suppression of freedom of debate in the highest legislative and executive council of the nation.

3. And with the same intent fatal duels, frequent challenges to the duel, continual menaces of the duel, and deadly insults designed to provoke it or degrade him who refuses it, whereby the Senators and Representatives of the North have been placed, during the whole existence of the common government, in the insidious dilemma of violating law and moral principles, and incurring the general condemnation and aversion of their friends and neighbors at home; or personal humiliation and fashionable ostracism at the seat of Government; or of compounding with all three by knuckling to insolence, abandoning rights, duty and self-respect, and betraying constituents and country.

4. Desecration of the ballot-box, the sceptre of the sovereign people, and committing some hundreds of brutal murders, together with rapes, and sacking and burning of towns and dwellings in Kansas, for the extension of slavery.

5. Texas acquired by fillibustering, and in sequence a cowardly and rapacious war, unconstitutionally begun, and unmercifully prosecuted against weak, unoffending, suffering and distracted Mexico,—both transactions involving the guilt of myriads of murders, and both for the extension of slavery.

6. Other fillibusterings in Lower California, Northern Mexico, Cuba and Central America, and therewith some ten thousand other murders, for the extension of slavery.

7. Punic faith in violating a compact of peace of their own proposing, and enviously destroying great interests of their own creating.

8. The systematic violation of letters and printed correspondence for nearly thirty years, at the pleasure of every postmaster or of his familiars, throughout the entire South.

9. Proscription of honest and capable men, and the bestowment of official honors and emoluments upon the incompetent and dishonest, until the honors had become null and the emoluments the rewards of prize-fighters at elections—the pay of mercenaries, enlisted to extend slavery and maintain the baleful predominance of the Slave Power, whereby the exercise of the most vital function of the government, the dispensations of that earthly providence, called federal patronage, had long degenerated into a mean and base barter between sectional jealousy, ambition and rapacity on the one part, and individual greed on the other—an unexampled and frightful system of bribery and corruption—in effect, a new slave trade, wherein "white slaves" have been bought and sold in the District, and in the interior of the White House, as regularly as black ones outside of it.

10. Burning wretched bondmen at the stake, sometimes by sentence of the law, often by mobs, without a single effort, public or private, to efface this horror of the age.

11. Sacrificing by over-driving and under-keeping, by cruel and unusual punishments, and by sudden and mortal violence, more thousands of human victims to the god of gain than were offered up by the Carthagenians, from a far higher motive, to their Moloch.

12. Reviving slave trading piracy, and inaugurating Jeff. Davis piracy.

13. Conspiring and making war for the destruction of their country, because they are no longer permitted to pervert its power, corrupt its morals, and disgrace its name.

As *persons*, all the slaves are "within our reach" by means of that undying love of personal liberty, which glows in every human bosom. To their quickened sense, the dead silence of despotism only makes of the South a whispering gallery. The smallest matter from the Cabinet or the camp of liberty to them reaches with electric speed around the vast dome, and can summon at a moment myriads to our side, making them rapturous defenders of the nation, instead of forced assistants of its bloody assailants.

B. L. C.

ANOTHER LETTER FROM "J. W."

NEW YORK, August 12, 1861.

To the Editor of the Liberator:

It had not been my intention to offer any further remarks, in relation to the matter of my communication to your journal, as published on the 2d August; merely wishing to bring to the notice of sincere Abolitionists, rather a new, but yet it is believed a correct view, of the motives and purposes of the war, viz., that it is an attempt by the Northern aristocracy to keep slavery in the Union, under the Constitution that guaranties it. Hence, that the statement of many journals, that the abolition of slavery is the intention, I look upon as altogether fallacious. The opinion of the legal officer of the government, published in our papers of to-day, can only confirm the view I have stated. Even captive or runaway slaves are to be restored or paid for in due season. Your series of remarks upon my article were, as an old friend (perhaps next to Dr. Channing, the very oldest sincere Abolitionist) states, "no reasons, only illustrations and declamations"; hence, perhaps, it did not need to offer any further observations. I would ask, however, as respects your 7th, and last point, (that "J. W. has nothing but sneers and censures for the North, and apologies and excuses for the South,") to have pointed out where the latter exist. On the contrary, J. W. disapproved of the present secession of the South, whether it had a doubtful right or not, as explained in my article, and echoed in one in the Dublin *Mail* of July 20,* (which ought to be a neutral print, if any one can be.) If, however, the *Liberator* believes in no such thing as neutrality; that they who do not take a side must be wrong; then its 7th remark is perfectly natural. As to the 6th remark, J. W. admits that it *is* the right of all others, equally with the seceders, to judge of the "*causa injuriæ*," or *necessity* of secession. Great Britain took exactly that view of the case in 1776. So did France. Nevertheless, such judgment on the part of others they are bound clearly to prove, from the agreement that binds all. If that makes it a matter of doubt, it is expediency forms the judgment, not facts. In construing a law-document, we take facts, not expediency, and ask what clearly defined rights either party has under the agreement. If one has been omitted to be considered or noticed at all, the opinion is but an inference either way.

The 5th remark of yours is answered by the same argument. You deny that the secessionists have any

* "A number of those States declare that faith has not been kept with them in the compact of confederation. Whether they possess the right to so terminate the connection, is neither assumed nor denied by the deed of Union. This silence is claimed by each side in the quarrel as favorable to its own cause. What we have to say is this, that it is something more than mournful, it is monstrous, it is an outrage and disgrace to humanity that, on a point that may be ruled either way, the shocking spectacle of an attempted subjugation of those independent States, who merely ask for self-government and freedom to decide their own destinies. We say deplorable, even if the Southern States were merely colonies."

cause, while the Colonies had the greatest, to change their mode of government. A disinterested arbitrator could alone come to a fair decision on this point. If partisans were right, no intermediator in the shape of law would be necessary. As a general thing, extremists are both wrong. But you do not seem to see, that the *merit* of the case is not made a part of the Declaration; there is no exception; it says, "*All* just government is only by consent of the governed"—the degree of oppression, or indeed any at all, is not a part of the theory; and Mr. Lincoln, in Congress, January 12, 1848, says, "Any people anywhere, having the power, have a right to rise up, shake off the existing government, and form a new one that suits them better; or *any portion* of a people may do so." I repeat, then, that the right of secession was a doubtful one; not that clear case to warrant secession and civil war, nor coercion; and so thinks the Dublin *Nation*, as aforesaid.

As to remark number three, it is readily conceded that the Southern leaders believed that "slavery had little or no security under the new order of things"; but that is no sort of argument against my position as respecting a *Northern* "cottonocracy" and "shipocracy," who had grown rich out of slave labor, which leads me to remark number two. "J. W. attributes the great prosperity of the North to this very institution of slavery," and, "we answer that it evinces not only interior demoralization of spirit, but gross ignorance of the laws of political economy." Now, as J. W. was an associate of Daniel Webster of the Free-trade party in 1820, and has ever since paid steady attention to the subject, he ought to be a tolerable judge of the laws and merits of political economy. The argument in the *Liberator* is, that slavery is the sum of all villanies; ergo, its labor has not only bankrupted itself, but been a positive loss to the North; "it has cost the North a vast deal more than it has ever produced." Aha! that's it, is it? Why, then, did not the North cut loose from it thirty years ago, as a simply prudential measure? Again, "if free labor had from the beginning been substituted for slave labor, the whole country would be thousands of millions richer than it is"; but we are speaking now of the *North*, not the *whole country*. Besides, what is meant by *free* labor? Black labor or white? Free black labor has existed in Hayti for more than half a century, but there is less trade there now, than there was when we were colonies even. Is free *white* labor meant? If so, it is not unlikely that, did the Southern climate suit a free white population, the whole country might have been millions richer; but it does not follow that the *North*, under such a competition, would have been. There must certainly be a profit from the labor of four millions of slaves; and if, as the *Liberator* says, "slavery is not a self-sustaining institution—never makes both ends meet, &c.," where does the profit go to? Is not J. W. right in saying the North gets it? The *Liberator* says, "The simple fact is, that the South grows a valuable raw material, which the free North, by her mechanical ingenuity, and manufacturing and commercial enterprise, is enabled to convert into valuable articles of merchandise, &c." Exactly so; the *Liberator* has hit the mark; but does the North do all this without profit? Agriculture at the South cannot make "both ends meet," but how about the working up its products? Is not t[illegible] species of industry in all countries the most lucrative? How, then, "has the South cost the North a vast deal more than it ever produced"? This raw material is certainly the foundation, on which Northern "mechanical ingenuity," &c., converts it into such valuable results. In short, by the *Liberator's* own showing, my saying is proved, that "the North gets the kernel, and the South the mere shell." Would it be so, if it were all free labor at the South,—black or white? Would not the profits be more equally divided, even if more raw material were produced? So long as all, or nearly all, the industry and enterprise are at the North, must she not of necessity have the "best of the bargain"? The *Liberator* itself proves it; and, therefore, can the conclusion be escaped, that the interest of the North is deeply in slave labor, and a war well worth while to retain it? On the other hand, the interest of the real friend of the slave is peaceable separation; for while we have him in the Union, it is even more the interest of the Northern manufacturer, than the Southern planter, to make him work to the utmost. These may be all new views to Northern anti-slavery men, but let them be examined.

Lastly, as to remark number one, as to seeing no feasible project for the abolition of slavery—"This indicates that with him, liberty is not a principle, is not the natural condition of man," (and then a long list of sentiments and general truisms.) Now, J. W. assumes that the North sees no feasible project for the abolition of prostitution or gambling; perhaps the *Liberator* sees none. "This indicates that, with *him*, virtue is not a principle." This is exactly the same argument. Many a nation has desired to abolish these vices, none have ever succeeded beyond regulating; and why? Because a greater evil is apparent. That is the difficulty with slavery. You copy a sermon of Rev. W. J. Potter. "It is not possible, nor desirable, to fix any details of any scheme of emancipation, because we want that the scheme should be fixed by the South itself"; he says, and "the same humanity that bids us give freedom to the slave, bids us do so without anarchy and violence, but with its proper blessings of order, prosperity and peace." Here we have the whole story. We cannot act without the cordial concurrence of the South, yet we have been trying to make a government matter of it; a forced step without the concurrence of the South. Have we thereby led the South any nearer to any plan of abolition, or the reverse? The South alone, as Mr. Potter says, can form any feasible plan; they alone have the experience. They have (many eminent men) desired emancipation themselves; have they ever shown a feasible plan? Consider what it combines—the education of the slave, the laws of enforcing work, the interest of the master, the interest of the North, and of all the countries depending upon the product of slave labor; the future of four, perhaps ten millions of blacks; the compensation to be made to the masters, as was but thought just by Great Britain in liberating her slaves; the desirability of the present social condition of free blacks, at the North, despised everywhere. Was there ever a question fraught with such stupendous considerations? Can even the *Liberator* answer it? Such generalization, as exists in remark number one, may be truisms and correct sentiment, such as we all maintain towards prostitution, gambling and intoxication; but, in action, we must be practical. We must see clearly, almost beyond a doubt, every step of our way. It is not enough that we have a correct principle, and apply it hap-hazard, because it is so. We do not go round, and tell every one that such a man is a cheat, because he deceives us; yet that is a correct principle, almost a duty. Principle and discretion should always go together. Is it a wonder, then, that the writer should say that he never saw a completely feasible plan of abolition, nor heard of one by any eminent statesman or philanthropist? If the *Liberator* has, it must have transcendant ability, and ought to lay it before the public. J. W. is satisfied, for the present, with the immense step forward, of cutting loose slavery from the Northern shoulders; if, as Mr. Potter says, the South only can justly emancipate, they have then the chance, and may be forced to do so in arranging their European business connections. Is not this a better opening than Northern coercion, civil war and bloodshed—even if these *were* intended for emancipation, instead of the reverse? J. W.

New Music. Oliver Ditson & Co., 277 Washington street, have published the following pieces:—

1. Let me kiss him for his Mother. With brilliant Variations for the piano, by Charles Grobe.
2. Child of my Heart. Words by Blanche D'Artois. Music by C. E. Kimball.
3. Rosalie. O, thou wert bright as opening day. By E. C. Sebastiani.
4. River Side. Baracolle, by Wm. Horatio Clarke.
5. La Bella Rose Mazurka. By R. B. French.

THE DESIRABLE RESULT.

"Whate'er thou purposest to do,
With an unwearied zeal pursue."

The guiding and controlling power in the present struggle, the ultimate occasion whereof is acknowledged to be slavery, is far from exhibiting, in its present stage, a professed radical tendency. In what it may eventuate, in the progress of its career, is quite uncertain. This somewhat depends on the length of the war, the persistence of the contending sections, the favorable or unfavorable results of the successive battles to be fought, the chances of reaction among the people on either side, and the probabilities of the interference of other nations, for various reasons best known to themselves. As the matter now stands, the Northern army is composed of various elements, politically considered. Democrats and old-line Whigs march, shoulder to shoulder, with Republicans of every grade,—their war-shibboleth being "Defence and vindication of the flag, and preservation of the Union." Under this sign, they propose to wage the war, to crush the rebellion, to conquer the enemy, and to reëstablish the integrity of the Union. Rigid observance of the provisions of the Fugitive Slave Law, determination to discountenance and suppress slave revolts, and Congressional admission that slaves are not only property, but national property, subject to taxation as such by a national law, to defray national expenses, are prominent features thus far developed and maintained both by the Administration and its friends, as well as by the Democrats. All these items tend, to a certain degree, to justify the Southern views on these subjects. They are advocated as proofs of fealty to the Constitution; and yet, on other matters relating to the employment of the navy, at least, and to the Habeas Corpus Act, this instrument is strenuously claimed by many to have been ignored or set aside.

Why this fatherly tenderness on those points, and actual disregard on these, when it is well known and universally admitted what is the real occasion of the war; and when it is evident that a settlement of the irritating question alone can afford a sure guaranty of permanent peace; especially, too, when it is so obvious that a state of peace is the only condition under which the republic can thrive? Foreign nations have their eyes upon us; and their inference of our wishes will be deduced from our practical admissions, which we cannot consistently gainsay, as officially announced by our national policy. They are interested spectators of our acts and their tendency, as affecting their interests. Many of them regard us as freemen, practicing self-government in a land of freedom, which spreads wide open its arms for them to come and participate in our blessings. They consider this country the safety-valve of the world; and our example should convince them that our invitation to them is cordial, and worthy of their acceptance. Can we do this by keeping ourselves in the uncertain quicksands of revolution and civil convulsions? And can we avoid these fatal evils without removing their cause? Why then extenuate the matter, till the country is frittered down to impotence? When all are agreed as to the fundamental cause of the difficulty, why not seize the bull by the horns and the hydra by the throat?

Otherwise, let the Constitution be observed in all its parts, until it may be altered. Let no more governors be appointed by the Executive over the territories; no more organic acts be framed and imposed by Congress to organize territorial inhabitants who have the constitutional right, on the principles of self-government, to choose their own rulers and legislators, as servants, and not as colonial masters; let no more restrictions be harnessed upon Southern chattels than upon Northern, nor the habeas corpus writ be suspended so questionably by the President's sanction; let no menacing ships-of-war be arrayed, without constitutional sanction, against a revolting State, nor the guns of a fort, bought by the whole nation for its defence, be pointed at any part of the nation, till Congress virtually or directly order it to be done; let none of these be done, and there will be no need of their subsequent approval by Congress, and scarcely need of reference to the policy of Washington in the famous Pennsylvania insurrection of 1794. For a violation of these provisions will furnish quite as valid precedents for further violations on future emergencies, as the act of secession, if now countenanced, will be likely hereafter to warrant other acts of a similar nature. And though it may be deemed by some Republicans sufficient excuse for such violations, to plead "*salus populi suprema lex est*," we cannot but agree with John Selden, that "there is not anything in the world more abused than this sentence; for we apply it as if we ought to forsake the known law, when it may be (in our opinion) most for the advantage of the people, when it means no such thing. It is not *salus populi suprema lex est*, but *esto*: that is, in all the laws you make, have a special eye to the good of the people." Besides being a very learned man, his memory is still more endeared to us by his choice of the motto, Liberty above all things.

The mere physical conflict of war will only demonstrate such facts as the comparative strength, skill, resources, of the respective armies; which is the stronger, more skilful, or more fortunate, and not which is right. It does not even determine whether the clergy and chaplains of the North, differing as they do sectionally, and diverging in rare harmony from their eighteen centuried gospel standard of Peace, are more correct in their imprecations and orisons than Southern preachers. But its effect may add four or five States from the border-line to the free States, and thus weaken the hold of slavery on those farther South, for a future harvest to freedom, and a jubilee release from servitude. No credit therefor, however, will be due to the professed intentions of either army, or of the administration, as now directing. Such result will be incidental. It will rather escape through the interstices of the sack than out of its opened mouth. It does not appear in the programme. We are sure, too, that it energetically agitates the forbidden question; and who can silence the voice?

A separate confederacy might be deemed by some a thorn in the side; but would not an impending fear of another rebellion continually disturb the national repose, and depreciate its value as a member of the world and as a home for its family of freemen, if a mere conquest by physical force be achieved, a forcible re-instatement of the Flag in the South be effected, and the Union be soldered together by an amalgam of powder and bayonet? Would not these add a thistle to the thorn? If compulsion is to be used as the cement, why cannot intermediate conditions be imposed to harden that cement? It is not necessary to exterminate the negro, nor to discard his labor. If he be exactly adapted to raise cotton, sugar and tobacco, and no other class of laborers can supply his place, let him remain at reasonable wages, and the profits will accumulate rapidly to his employer. This would break down both slavery and aristocracy, and give the North a free pass all over the South, thus constitutionally allowing "the citizens of each State all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States," freedom of speech and action, as at home by their own firesides.

In such suggestions, we cannot see any more flagrant violations of the Constitution, which in certain practical respects has become a dead letter, and will doubtless so continue under the present and recent state of things, than have been tolerated for years by all sides. To have a popular instrument observed, it should represent the people's wishes; and if ours needs amendment, our compromise should embrace provisions for the purpose. Nor can we see that war is more profitable than free labor, whether it be black or white. Our aim then should be, in vindicating the flag and the Union, to do something, in the expensive and destructive process, for the enhancement of these emblems in value to this nation and to the world, to us and the world's posterity. ***

"O. S. M." next week. We have many more communications on file than we can find room for.

EMANCIPATION THE ONLY CURE.

Dear Liberator:

We all see the evils of slavery at last. We know that the only cure for them is emancipation. Would to God that we had earlier understood that there can be no abiding union or prosperity, save on the basis of liberty to all! We hope we are approaching emancipation. Still, it is at best a blind and tardy progress. Emancipation by force has its objections. It would not leave the slaves in such relations with their masters as would make improvement and progress at all easy. It would remove slavery politically, but not intellectually or morally. The hostility of race would be only increased. The roots of slavery in the pride, the avarice, and the cruelty of the human heart would remain as rank and rife as ever, and would soon send up a yet more poisonous growth of sin. It would irritate the masters so much that they would continue the enemies both of the slaves and of the government. The firmest Union men at the South would suffer the most by a forcible emancipation. To compromise, or to recognize secession, is to give up all possibility of emancipation. Either would be wrong and ruinous. Yet a continued war may tempt us to do one or the other. War itself I can look at only as too wicked a means to be justified by any end. War is to me only a compound of anger, strife, contention, envy, malevolence and revenge, with idleness, debauchery, and general demoralization. There can be no war without the war spirit, without hatred of our brethren. This we do not yet see. While the nation approved of slavery, it saw no evils in slavery. We have made up our minds that war is right, and closed our eyes to its evils. The evils of war will come upon us only the faster. War must weaken and demoralize us, and thus lessen our power to help the slave. Still, one course remains. The first of August tells us what we ought to do. We can emancipate the slaves, and at the same time pacify their masters. We can make the destruction of slavery the restoration of the Union. We can bring about the only abiding peace, a peace founded on justice, freedom, and universal content. We can make master and slave equals, friends and co-workers. Let government assist every loyal slave State in emancipating, educating, and employing the slaves. Let the portion of the government compensation to the whole expense correspond to the alacrity with which the State accepts the terms. The Northern border States, Maryland, Kentucky and Missouri, have been kept back from emancipation, 1st, by dread of the expense of compensation, and, 2d, by the temptation of the profits of slave-breeding for the South. The latter hindrance has perished; let us remove the other also. If we begin with them, there will be so much gain in principle. Other States will soon follow. The government which offers to free them from all the evils of slavery and war, poverty and anarchy, would present the strongest possible claims on their obedience, nay, rather, their gratitude. We can afford to be magnanimous enough to spare their lives and property, and to remove the great obstacle to their prosperity and progress, with little immediate loss, and great ultimate gain to the whole Southern people, and large immediate profit to the most rich and powerful of the citizens. Is this possible? Yes, for it is right. Is there not at least possibility enough to make the measure worth considering? It would be expensive, but not so expensive as war, for war settles nothing; but emancipation with compensation will settle every thing. It is what must be done first or last, or slavery must continue, and all real union perish. Sooner or later, we must buy and free the slaves, and the sooner, the better. Every day of war makes us less able to offer, and the South less willing to accept.

CAMBRIDGE.

THE ANTI-SLAVERY MISSION.

Danversport, August 8, 1861.

Friend Garrison,—The question, whether, in view of the times, Anti-Slavery men should hold fewer meetings than usual, is being discussed. My interest in the cause is the only excuse that I have for saying a word upon it.

Opinions here are various; but to me the matter appears thus:—To hold them as a mere form is useless; to hold them in mere bravado, or because of opposition, is no better. We injure ourselves, and consequently our cause, when we get off the right track, on either hand. If we make our meetings what we ought to make them, we cannot possibly hold too many, though we tax to the fullest extent all our abilities, moral, intellectual, physical, and pecuniary. But, if in our meetings we forget the grandeur of the cause we advocate, or teach by word or example other principles than those of truth, generosity and justice, or lose aught of faith, honor, magnanimity and high moral sense, *we cannot hold too few*. It grieves me that our meetings are not all of that high character which the cause demands. Partial failures oftenest arise from the forgetfulness of some of our ablest speakers. At least, they seem to forget when they spend precious time talking upon comparatively small side issues. Excitement and anger almost always come at such times, and they bring with them a more bitter loss than that of wasted hours. Little bickerings and personal attacks and disputes have no rightful place in anti-slavery meetings. Nor does it seem to me that taunts and gibes are fittest weapons for anti-slavery uses. Denunciation, bitter and long-continued, and carried to the extremest verge of truthful exaggeration, injures the heart of him who indulges in it, and all who hear it, whether friend or foe.

The work is great before us. The people, at last, are partially awake. Balked by the slaveholders in their usual pursuit of mammon, they look up and stand aghast at the new developments of a tyranny that they never before cared for, or attempted to understand. Many are more willing than ever before to hear and learn something of the vile system that seriously threatens to ruin the nation. Never before was there a better time to speak. But it is not well to anger and disgust all who come to hear us, by words just fitted to arouse the baser passions of a mob. Some of our speakers are unexceptionable in these matters; but a few, I think, would do well, for conscience sake and the good of the cause, to strike a key-note higher in the hearts of men. Extravagant denunciation is the weakest of anti-slavery weapons, but it is so easily wielded by some, that they, perhaps, do not know how excessively they use it. Reformers must always present truths very unpalatable to the unreformed, but that gives no warrant for causeless or unjust attacks. Criticism is needful, often, and wholesome; but, if carried so far as to grievously wound the sense of justice in the minds of reasonable men who are not personally concerned, it must be injurious. Very lately, in one of our meetings, the prejudices of the people were needlessly played upon, until angry retorts were made; and these being paid back in much the same kind, the whole meeting was belittled. It was no lack of earnestness, or ability to aid the cause, that led to such results; but, whatever was the cause, the evil was very apparent, and reached much further than the better influences could follow. The work that anti-slavery men have before them is so great, that no labor should be wasted, and no strength misapplied. The people are to be convinced that the total abolition of slavery is the absolutely necessary work of to-day. They must be taught to comprehend some of the higher principles of Justice, Liberty, and Right. They must be made to feel that, if they could save the remnant of their fortunes, and their own liberties, by helping to hold others in slavery, they would not be worth the cost—that such ineffable meanness would be unworthy any civilized beings—that such wickedness is sure to bring, sooner or later, a deadly curse upon them. They must be made to understand that no wealth of earthly advantages, no strength of numbers, no intellectual greatness, no art of diplomacy, no political jugglery or statesmanship, no wisdom or power of man, can possibly save a people from suffering the utmost penalty of every persistence in crime. And more than this, let Anti-Slavery laborers still try to bring the people to a stronger love of the absolute Right, and to induce them to stand by it at whatever cost, and, with their best efforts, encourage them to grasp the great ideas of the age, and become equal to the demands of the times.

Respectfully, N. P. Jr.

THE TRIAL HOUR.

Dear Garrison:

Am I too desponding in expressing my forebodings that our trial-hour is at hand? To my mind, the clouds are shutting down with thick darkness. There may be a "silver lining" the other side, but sober facts and daily observation impel me to deep and rather gloomy reflections. The truth is, among the mass of the people there is nothing but *inhumanity* towards the negro. His race is hated, and "whom we hate, we injure." The bare acknowledgment of the manhood of the slave would change the whole tide of affairs.

Politicians are on the alert. Already are they beginning to divide with the choice rather to "reign in hell than serve in heaven." They seize upon the appalling depression in business—persuade the poor that something must be done to avoid destitution—that the dollar and bread are more than the "nigger," (to use their common and degrading dialect.) They look toward the suppression of free speech, lusting for power to work mischief on the heads of Abolitionists.

A citizens' or mass meeting was called in Milford last Thursday evening, to induce men to volunteer for the war. At an early stage of the proceedings, the following, among other resolutions, was read and passed unanimously.—

"Resolved, That Abolitionism is not, nor do we wish to have it the issue involved in the present conflict between the North and South; and that we believe the man or party of men, who tramples under foot, or gives to the flames the Constitution of the United States as being "a covenant with death and an agreement with hell," is as deserving of the scaffold as Jeff. Davis and his coadjutors."

True, a large majority of those who composed the meeting were foreigners—recreant countrymen of the land that gave birth to the noble O'Connell. However, the Chairman was a most esteemed gentleman of the Republican party, and several of his associates were present, dissatisfied, no doubt, with the gross character of the meeting, but quite too tame and silent in such an hour. Surely, this is not the time for Abolitionists to "lie upon their oars"—not the time to suspend our meetings. Now, if ever, we should

———"be up and doing,
With a heart for any fate."

I have been incited to these reflections by the stirring words of our devoted and ever-vigilant friend, Parker Pillsbury, from whom—on the eve of his departure for the far West—I have just received a timely note:—

"Concord, (N. H.) Aug. 12, 1861.

Dear Friend:—* * * I should haste to Milford, as you desired, but my destiny seems to be ever towards the setting sun. In a fortnight, should my plans succeed, you will hear of me beyond the Alleghanies. * * * * I came near getting mobbed last Sunday, for saying even less of Southern men and means of defence than Gov. Sprague said last week to his Legislature. Phillips was right at Abington on the First. Our Government is a 'murderer,' so long as the war goes on as at present. We dare not hang a spy, when we know that all our plans are revealed by him, and the army defeated in consequence. Postpone our meetings! By the woes of the enslaved, NO! It is high treason against Humanity, that should never hope for forgiveness. Let our cry be, as at Marengo, rather—'Push on your column!'

Phillips did well on the First. Why cannot we now cry, All hands to the work! Henry T. Cheever says well, in the last *Standard*, what is the work of the 'Pronounced Abolitionists,' at this time. For one, I will try to do just that, while my voice is as loud as the sparrow's on the house-top."

May Heaven smile upon the faithful labors of our brother, and grant him strength "sufficient unto his day"! G. W. S.

Milford, (Mass.) Aug. 19, 1861.

THE WAR AND SLAVERY.

William Lloyd Garrison:

Dear Sir,—Some weeks ago, in noticing General Butler's twaddle in answer to a rebuke from Governor Andrew, you devoted a few words to the "Horrors of St. Domingo." In one of Mr. Phillips's speeches, he alluded to an insurrection of slaves in a Danish West India island. The popular ideas on the dangers of freeing slaves are utterly disproved by these two instances: the popular mind will soon open to a demand for such information. In freeing the slaves of the Southern States, the North will seek relief from the intolerable burdens of the present war, and will readily listen to what, from party spirit and religious prejudice, it has heretofore denied, very willing of an excuse to do what its own interest requires. In a thirty years' war on slavery, our friends have accumulated every fact bearing on this subject. Possibly Mr. Phillips has combined them in one of his noble speeches. If so, is it in a pamphlet form? Mrs. Child's "Right Way, the Safe Way," is invaluable as bearing on British West India emancipation. But the leading facts of all the instances of negro emancipation, condensed in a modest sized pamphlet, will sell well in a few months.

The war looks somewhat discouraging at present. Lyon in the South-West corner of Missouri, and Butler in the South-East corner of Virginia, eight or nine hundred miles apart, with Rosencranz in Western Virginia, and Prentiss at Cairo between, hold the advanced positions of the Northern forces, about forty or fifty miles North of that 36 30 line which your compatriot, the revered Webster, and many other compatriots of yours in Boston, gave us so positively to understand was God's ordained boundary of slavery. I remember at the time I read those eloquent sentences, of feeling glad to be assured of so gratifying a fact by such a great man. I am sorry it don't turn out as Mr. Webster said, and am afraid it will take a good deal of Boston money to make Mr. Webster's words the things that are, instead of "the things that are not." The determined spirit of the North in action and words still lacks the high enthusiasm of a contest for principle. The national anthem died "a-borning." What was there to sing about? Liberty could not be the burden of the song, for all the warriors, from Gen. Scott down, down to Gen. Butler, have kicked her out of camp: all the lawyers, from Sumner to Breckinridge, have thrust her from legislative halls; have hounded the police after her, as if she had been a drab of low degree. Nobody would acknowledge her with a black face. So they all hoot at her, and call her "nigger." If here and there a man remonstrates that liberty, whether red, white, or blue, or even black, is still liberty, they howl and gnash their teeth, and ask him with inconsequent logic, "Do you want your daughter to marry a nigger? Is a nigger equal to a white man?" So the goddess is suppressed, and the people scoff at her because just now she is black. But why should she monopolize all the glories of national song? Why don't some enthusiastic Douglas Democrat string his harp to the glories of "Popular Sovereignty"? some tuneful Breckinridge man pipe on "State Rights"? or some gallant Republican immortalize the theme of "Free Soil"? Why, in short, don't Everett compose a hexameter on "The Union, the Constitution, and enforcement of the Laws," and have it sung in the *Ledger*? The arguments and appeals applied by the Abolitionists to the American conscience are now being seconded by four hundred millions of arguments addressed by Congress to a far more sensitive part of the American organism, viz., its pocket, and the Abolitionists will be called on to furnish the excuse for putting down the slavery at whose bidding they have so long been mobbed, and the National Hymn may yet be sung in the name of Liberty. Respectfully yours,

J. B. LYON.

DISLOYAL PAPERS IN NEW YORK.

The following is the presentment made by the Grand Jury in the case of certain papers in New York city. The proceedings occurred in the United States Circuit Court:—

"The Grand Inquest of the United States of America, for the Southern District of New York, beg leave to present the following facts to the Court, and ask its advice thereon:

There are certain newspapers within this district which are in the frequent practice of encouraging the rebels now in arms against the Federal Government, by expressing sympathy and agreement with them, the duty of acceding to their demands, and dissatisfaction with the employment of force to overcome them. These papers are the New York daily and weekly *Journal of Commerce*, the daily and weekly *Day Book*, the *Freeman's Journal*, all published in the city of New York, and the daily and weekly *Eagle*, published in the city of Brooklyn. The first named of these has just published a list of newspapers in the free States opposed to what it calls '*the present unholy war*'—a war in defence of our country and its institutions, and our most sacred rights, and carried on solely for the restoration of the Government.

The Grand Jury are aware that free governments allow liberty of speech and of the press to their utmost limit, but there is nevertheless a limit. If a person in a fortress or an army were to preach to the soldiers submission to the enemy, he would be treated as an offender. Would he be more culpable than the citizen who, in the midst of the most formidable conspiracy and rebellion, tells the conspirators and rebels that they are right, encourages them to persevere in resistance, and condemns the effort of loyal citizens to overcome and punish them, as an 'unholy war'? If the utterance of such language in the streets or through the press is not a crime, then there is a great defect in our laws, or they were not made for such an emergency.

The conduct of these disloyal presses is of course condemned and abhorred by all loyal men; but the Grand Jury will be glad to learn from the Court that it is also subject to indictment and condign punishment."

The Burning of Hampton—The Rebel Incendiaries Confess their Guilt. It will be seen by the following letter, copied from the Petersburg (Va.) *Express*, that the rebels confess their guilt in burning the town of Hampton, an act which the Richmond papers have attributed to the Federal troops, and have stigmatized as most cruel and diabolical:—

Camp at Bartlett's, August 9, 1861.

On Wednesday evening, it was *decided by General Magruder to be expedient and proper to burn Hampton.* In furtherance of this object, just after dark, the troops were moved from in sight of Hampton to another road which approaches nearer to Newport News, and not far from the town. The Old Dominion Cavalry, under command of Capt. Phillips, and the Mecklenburgh Cavalry, under command of Capt. T. F. Goode, and a command of infantry, under Col. Hodges, were detailed *for the hazardous purpose of firing the town.* The cavalry companies marched in front, and the infantry behind.

Just here I will state that an efficient fortification had been thrown across the main street by the Yankees, but the guns had all been removed. We marched to the fortifications, carried our horses off from the street, and then dismounted. Infantry were detailed to hold our horses while we were to execute the work. We marched down the street, and while a consultation was being held, a brisk fire opened from the sentinels at the bridge upon us. They were supposed to be from forty to one hundred strong. An order was then issued for the reinforcement of the infantry, which was no sooner given than Col. Hodges' joined with them in double quick time, and rushed to the spot. The rascals only fired once after the infantry made an attack upon them. They ran off as fast as their cowardly legs could carry them. No one on our side was injured.

We were now ordered to proceed with the burning, and harder work a set of fellows never did. We continued to set fire to house after house, until all were in flames within and below the fortification. A portion of the cavalry companies were then detailed to complete the burning above the fortifications, which they did, and then covered the retreat of the infantry to camp, about three miles distant. The town was most effectually burned, and I feel sure that no person was burnt, though it was about midnight.

That it was a most perilous undertaking will at once be seen from the fact that we were in reach of the shell from Fortress Monroe and the steamers which had been seen lying about, and also the fact that the Yankees had a regiment of infantry not far from the bridge, and could have easily made an attack on us. Having the advantage of the light from the burning houses, they could have opened a most disastrous fire upon us. There was danger, also, of a reinforcement from Newport News, although Gen. Magruder had guarded all points with pickets.

St. Louis, August 14, 1861.

The rebels in this State are conducting their warfare upon principles worthy of Thugs and Comanches. Assassination is their strong point, and they seem to delight in the indiscriminate slaughter of friends and foes. A few days since, an aged and infirm citizen was shot dead upon his own porch. Two old and peaceable residents of Potosi, Washington county, with their wives and children, are here, stopping at Barnum's Hotel. They were driven from their homes, and spent one night concealed in the woods, to avoid the tender mercies of the rebels. Last Saturday, a friend of mine from Kansas was coming East on the Hannibal and St. Joseph Railroad, when a volley of a hundred shots was fired into the train from a clump of trees which it had just passed. As he was on the rear platform of the last car, his position was peculiarly exposed; but he dropped flat upon the floor, (as did the passengers inside the cars,) and thus escaped injury. Night before last, a train on the Pacific road, west of Jefferson City, was also fired into from an ambuscade. A rifle ball struck the conductor, Fred. Whipple, entering his right side, penetrating the lungs, and passing completely through his body. Its force was spent as it came out on his left side; his clothing stopped it, and it was afterward found in his boot. Mr. Whipple died in a few hours. He was a native of Springfield, Massachusetts, and a man universally beloved. He leaves a family in California, Missouri. This atrocious practice of firing into railway trains and endangering the lives of women and children, as well as men, will never be suppressed until a terrible example is made of some of the murderers. They should be treated as outlaws from the human race, and shot down wherever they are found. The trains frequently carry, among other passengers, Federal soldiers, and for the remote chance of injuring some of them, they seem willing to shed any amount of innocent blood.

☞ A negro was brought into Washington on Friday, who represents that he was one of a regiment of negroes that took part in the battle at Bull Run, at which time he made his escape, and has since wandered about until he finally got within our lines. He asserts that there are in the rebel army in Virginia from two to three thousand negroes armed with Hall's rifles. Most of them are from farther South than Virginia. The negroes from down South, he says, have been taught that they would be butchered if they fell into the hands of the Unionists; but those who have been picked up in Virginia have a different idea, and would all run away if they could. This statement is corroborated by that of another negro, brought in since the battle of Bull Run by the 2d Maine Regiment, who added that these negroes had been instructed to pilfer from all the dead and wounded of our men they could find on the field.

Another Proclamation. The President has issued a Proclamation, dated the 16th, declaring all commercial intercourse between the seceded States and other parts of the United States to be unlawful, and all goods and merchandize passing to or from the said seceded States, with the vessels conveying the same, to be forfeited to the United States. Also, that from and after fifteen days from the date of the Proclamation, all vessels belonging to any inhabitant of the States in rebellion, found at sea or in any port of the United States, will be forfeited.

Philadelphia, August 19th. Pierce Butler was arrested this afternoon by the U. S. Marshal, by order of Mr. Cameron. He was taken to New York this evening, en route to Fort Hamilton.

It is stated that Pierce Butler's arrest was caused by intercepted letters giving information to the enemy.

☞ Among the important events of last week is the arrest at Washington of C. J. Faulkner, of Virginia, the late American Minister to France. He is suspected of laboring in behalf of the Confederation abroad, and is supposed to have been appointed a Brigadier General in the rebel army.

Easton, Pa., August 19th. The office of the *Sentinel* newspaper, which has been advocating peace and compromise, was gutted to-night by a mob. Colonel Johnson, Congressman elect, was burned in effigy, and made to show his colors. Intense excitement prevails.

☞ Among the cheering events of the week is the complete success of the great movement of the Government for securing means to carry on the war. The Banks of Boston, New York and Philadelphia have agreed to loan the Government *one hundred and fifty millions of dollars*, probably the largest loan ever negotiated. Here is substantial loyalty. The London *Times* need give itself no further anxiety about the interests of English capitalists in this matter.

☞ Ex-Governor Adams of South Carolina is dead. He was an old secessionist and slave-trade revivalist.

Hubbardston. Mr. E. H. Heywood of Boston gave an address in Hubbardston on Sunday, 11th inst., on "The War." The Unitarian church had been engaged for him the week previous, and notices of his meeting were read from the pulpits. But during the week some turbulent individuals threatened disorder, and the parish committee deemed it proper to revise their decision. Boisterous efforts were made to prevent his obtaining any place to fulfil his appointment; but, on the guarantee of three responsible citizens for any damage which might occur, the Mechanics' Hall was finally secured. The meeting, thus liberally advertised, was of course very large, and Mr. Heywood was favored with an attentive and respectful audience, not a whisper of disturbance being heard during his interesting address.—*Worcester Spy.*

Prize of $100.—The Church Anti-Slavery Society has reissued its offer of a prize of $100 for an acceptable tract which is not to exceed twenty-four pages, on the question: "How shall Christians and Christian Churches best absolve themselves from all responsible connection with slavery?" This prize was offered last year, but the number of competitors was few, and the efforts were not deemed worthy of popular circulation. The time is now extended to January 1, 1862. Manuscripts are to be sent to either of the following Committee on adjudication: The Rev. J. C. Webster, Hopkinton, Mass.; Deacon J. Washburn, Worcester, Mass.; the Rev. Samuel Souther, Worcester, Mass.

Death of Prominent Citizens. Deacon Samuel Greeley, a well-known Boston citizen, died at Swampscot, on the 16th inst., aged 78 years. He was a graduate of Harvard College, of the class of 1802, and has been a member of the Legislature, and also of the Board of Aldermen.

Nathaniel Faxon, Esq., for many years a leading member of the shoe and leather trade, at the well-known sign of the big shoe, Dock Square, died in this city, 15th inst., at the advanced age of 84 years. Mr. F. came to this city a poor boy, worked industriously, and rose gradually until he accumulated a very large fortune.

A despatch received in this city Monday morning from Plymouth, Mass., announces the death of Rev. J. S. Clark, D. D., for many years Secretary of the Massachusetts Home Missionary Society, and at the time of his decease Corresponding Secretary of the Congregational Library Association.

☞ Gen. Fremont has wisely established martial law in St. Louis, appointed Major McKinstry, of the U. S. Army, Provost Marshal, and arrested the President of the Board of Police Commissioners, John A. Brownlee. The Provost Marshal has issued stringent orders against wearing concealed weapons, the sale of fire-arms, &c., and a fleet of steamers has been concentrated at St. Louis for safe keeping.

New York, August 17th. The *Herald* reports the discovery of an attempt to blow up Fort Columbus, on Governor's Island. Four men are represented to have gone there Monday night, with the intention of laying a train to blow up the magazine and destroy several hundred tons of powder, and a large number of soldiers quartered there. The authors of the infamous scheme escaped. The sentry who passed them to the Island is missing.

The Income Tax. The *National Intelligencer* says that the President of the United States will pay seven hundred and twenty-six dollars, and each member of the Cabinet two hundred and sixteen dollars under the tax on incomes laid by Congress.

☞ The "Shark Guards," a company of New Hampshire volunteers, embraces in its ranks several men who measure over six feet, and one who towers up to the height of six feet and seven and one half inches.

The Prince Napoleon coming to Boston. It is stated on good authority that Prince Napoleon will visit this city in about two weeks. It is his desire to avoid all public display.

☞ Horace Greeley, who has been confined to his house for the last three weeks from serious illness, is recovering, though still unable to attend to business. He had a severe attack of brain fever, which at one time threatened to prove fatal.

☞ The "Fraternity" propose to observe the forthcoming anniversary of the birthday of the late Theodore Parker by suitable exercises at Allston Hall, on Friday evening, the 23d inst. Brief addresses will be made by several of Mr. Parker's friends, interspersed with music, and the occasion will doubtless be one of much interest.

Free tickets of admission may be had at the Anti-Slavery Office. Addresses by Wendell Phillips, W. L. Garrison, E. H. Heywood, and others.

☞ MERCY B. JACKSON, M. D., having had fifteen years' experience in the Homœopathic treatment of diseases, offers her professional services to the Ladies and Children of Boston and vicinity.

References.—David Thayer, M. D.; Luther Clark, M. D.; John M. Tarbell, M. D., Boston. Eliphalet Clark, M. D., Portland, Me.

Rooms No. 20 Bulfinch street. Office hours from 2 to 4, P. M.

DIED—In Springfield, August 11, of cholera infantum, Raymond Danforth, son of E. W. and Frank O. D. Clark, aged 10 months and 9 days.

WEST NEWTON
English and Classical School.

The next term will begin Wednesday, Sept. 1, 1861. Both sexes are received as family or day pupils. For particulars, address NATHANIEL T. ALLEN.
West Newton, Aug. 15.

HOPEDALE
HOME SCHOOL.

The next Term of this Reformatory and Progressive Institution will commence on *Wednesday, Sept. 4*, and continue Fifteen weeks. For full particulars, please address WM. S. HAYWOOD, *Principal.*
Milford, Mass., Aug. 6, 1861.

TRANSIENT BOARDERS.

The subscriber has just opened house No. 77 Myrtle st., for the accommodation of transient Boarders. The location is a pleasant one, within a few minutes' walk of the most central portions of the city. Every exertion will be made for the comfort of those who may favor the house with a call. Rooms furnished with or without board. Terms moderate.
Boston, Jan. 7. S. NEWELL.

NOW READY,

SERMONS AND SPEECHES BY GERRIT SMITH: containing his Six Sermons on the Religion of Reason, and three of his recent Speeches—one of them delivered lately, on the War. Price 50 cents.
For sale by ROSS & TOUSEY,
July 19.—4t No. 121 Nassau street, N. Y.

$40 PARKER $40
Sewing Machines,
PRICE FORTY DOLLARS.

This is a new style, first class, double thread, Family Machine, made and licensed under the patents of Howe, Wheeler & Wilson, and Grover & Baker, and its construction is the best combination of the various patents owned and used by these parties, and the patents of the Parker Sewing Company. They were awarded a *Silver Medal* at the last Fair of the Mechanics' Charitable Association, and are the best finished and most substantially made Family Machines now in the market.
☞ *Sales Room*, 188 Washington street.
GEO. E. LEONARD, *Agent.*
Agents wanted everywhere.
All kinds of Sewing Machine work done at short notice.
Boston, Jan. 18, 1861. 3m.

IMPORTANT TESTIMONY.

Report of the Judges of the last Fair of the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association.

"Four Parker's Sewing Machines. This Machine is so constructed that it embraces the combinations of the various patents owned and used by Elias Howe, Jr., Wheeler & Wilson, and Grover & Baker, for which these parties pay tribute. These, together with Parker's improvements, make it a beautiful Machine. They are sold from $40 to $120 each. They are very perfect in their mechanism, being adjusted before leaving the manufactory, in such a manner that they cannot get deranged. The feed, which is a very essential point in a good Machine, is simple, positive and complete. The apparatus for guaging the length of stitch is very simple and effective. The tension, as well as other parts, is well arranged. There is another feature which strikes your committee favorably, viz: there is no wheel below the table between the standards, to come in contact with the dress of the operator, and therefore no danger from oil or dirt. This machine makes the double lock-stitch, but is so arranged that it lays the ridge upon the back quite flat and smooth, doing away, in a great measure, with the objection sometimes urged on that account."

Poetry.

NOT YET.

BY WILLIAM CULLEN BRYANT.

Oh country, marvel of the earth!
O realm, to sudden greatness grown!
The age that gloried in thy birth,
Shall it behold thee overthrown?
Shall traitors lay that greatness low?
No, land of Hope and Blessing, No!

And we who wear thy glorious name,
Shall we, like cravens, stand apart,
When those whom thou hast trusted aim
The death-blow at thy generous heart?
Forth goes the battle-cry, and, lo!
Hosts rise in harness, shouting, No!

And they who founded, in our land,
The power that rules from sea to sea,
Bled they in vain, or vainly planned
To leave their country great and free?
Their sleeping ashes from below
Send up the thrilling murmur, No!

Knit they the gentle ties which long
These sister States were proud to wear,
And forged the kindly links so strong
For idle hands in sport to tear—
For scornful hands aside to throw?
No, by our fathers' memory, No!

Our humming marts, our iron ways,
Our wind-tossed woods on mountain crest,
The hoarse Atlantic, with his bays,
The calm, broad Ocean of the West,
And Mississippi's torrent flow,
And loud Niagara, answer, No!

Not yet the hour is nigh, when they
Who deep in Eld's dim twilight sit,
Earth's ancient kings shall rise and say,
"Proud country, welcome to the pit!
So soon art thou, like us, brought low!"
No, sullen group of shadows, No!

For now, behold, the arm that gave
The victory in our fathers' days,
Strong, as of old, to guard and save—
That mighty arm which none can stay—
On clouds above and fields below,
Writes, in men's sight, the answer, No!

From "Temple Bar" Magazine.

THREE TIMES.

First time I saw my Love, my eyes
Were gladdened with a sweet surprise;
There woke a thought that never dies,
That bright June morning.
A vision, fairly clad in white,
Dawned softly, freshly on my sight,
And in her hand were roses bright—
June roses, pure from speck or blight,
My Love's adorning!

Last time I saw my Love, she lay
All pale, all silent, cold as clay;
The light of life had died away;
O, sad and sweet last time!
And still she wore a robe of white,
And on her pillow, lightly prest,
And in the hand that lay at rest,
Solemnly on her peaceful breast,
Were roses—buds not opened quite—
Gathered before their prime.
A tender care had laid them there;
But my dead Love was far more fair.

Next time I see my Love, I know
A glorious garment, white as snow,
On which no stains of earth can show—
A garment meet for heaven—
Will robe the form I love to see;
My angel-love, who waits for me,
And holds a palm of victory
For earth's white roses given.

OVER THE WAY.

Gone in her childish purity,
Out from the golden day;
Fading away in the light so sweet,
Where the silver stars and the sunbeams meet,
Paving the path for her silent feet,
Over the silent way.

Over her bosom tenderly
The pearl-white hands are prest;
The lashes lie on her cheeks so thin,
Where the softest blush of the rose has been,
Shutting the blue of her eyes within
The pure lids closed in rest.

Over the sweet brow lovingly
Twineth her sunny hair;
She was so fragile that Love sent down
From his heavenly gems, that soft bright crown,
To shade her brow with its waves so brown,
Light as the dimpling air.

Gone to sleep with a tender smile
Froze on her tender lips,
By the farewell kiss of her dewy breath,
Cold in the clasp of the angel Death—
Like the last fair bud of the fading wreath
Whose bloom the white frost nips.

Robin—hushed in your downy bed,
Over the swinging bough—
Do you miss her voice from your glad duet,
When the dew in the heart of the rose is set,
Till its velvet lips with the essence wet
In orient crimson glow?

Rosebud—under your shady leaf,
Hid from the sunny day—
Do you miss the glance of the eyes so bright,
Whose blue was heaven in your timid sight?
It is beaming now in the world of light
Over the starry way.

Hearts—where the darling's head hath lain,
Held by love's shining ray—
Do you know that the touch of her gentle hand
Doth brighten the harp in the unknown land!
Oh, she waits for us with the angel band
Over the starry way.

From the Monthly Religious Magazine.

SAFETY OF THE RIGHTEOUS.

"Fear not; for they that are with us are more than they that are with them."—2 Kings, 6:16.

The wicked and the base do compass round
The pure and humble in their righteous way,
And with fierce onset, and the trumpet's sound,
They seek the servants of the Lord to slay;
They trust in wealth, or in the cruel sword,—
Vain idols, that cannot defend or save!
They fear no threatenings of God's holy Word,
But, trusting in themselves alone, are brave.
But though no human help the righteous know,
They fear not in the last, the trying hour:
God, through his gracious love to them, doth show
The unseen hosts and ensigns of his power,
Which compass them about on every side,
In whose protection they may safe confide. J. V.

UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION.

Thy hill-tops, New England, shall leap at the cry,
And the prairie and far-distant West shall reply;
It shall roll o'er the land, till the fartherest glen
Gives back the glad summons again and again.

Oppression shall hear in its temple of blood,
And read on its wall the hand-writing of God;
Niagara's torrent shall thunder it forth,
It shall burn in the sentinel star of the North.

It shall blaze in the lightning, and speak in the thunder,
Till Slavery's fetters are riven asunder,
And Freedom her rights has triumphantly won,
And our country her garments of beauty put on.

The forests shall hear it, and lift up their voice,
And bid the green prairies and valleys rejoice;
And the Father of Waters join Mexico's sea
In the anthem of Nature for millions set free.

J. G. W.

The Liberator.

HENRY C. WRIGHT TO JAMES HAUGHTON.

On which rests the Responsibility of the present War of Bullets and Bayonets between Liberty and Slavery, the North or the South?

MONROE CENTRE, (Maine,) July 20, 1861.

TO JAMES HAUGHTON, Dublin, Ireland:

DEAR JAMES—In a recent letter to Wm. Lloyd Garrison, you ask—"What is H. C. Wright doing in this crisis?" Doing his duty to his God and his kind, in resisting tyrants, *by such means as to him seem just, and adapted to the end.*

I have carefully read your letter. Two prominent points are presented in it—(1) that this war of bullets was begun by the North; (2) that Abolitionists have swerved from their principles, as Abolitionists and as Peace-men. In both I think you unintentionally misjudge us. Allow me to narrate the simple facts respecting the origin and object of the overwhelming scourge that is now upon us.

Two antagonistic Ideas have been embodied in our national government, as it has been administered ever since it went into operation, March 4, 1789—LIBERTY and SLAVERY. The former is the thought of the North; the latter, of the South. From that day to this, these two Ideas have been contending for the mastery. The issue has been—Shall Liberty or Slavery—Free Labor or Slave Labor—Free Institutions or Slave Institutions—hold dominion over the nation and over the continent?

As early as 1820, a plan was formed by the slaveholders to subject to Slavery the entire national domain, together with Mexico and all Central America, and the islands adjacent. The Missouri Compromise was then formed, giving over all south of 36 deg. 30 min. to slavery, and nominally excluding it from all north of that line. In the discussions in Congress at that time, this plan was clearly unfolded. It seemed so wild and improbable that the North laughed at it; but from that hour the Slave Oligarchy have kept that object steadily in view. It was then determined that slavery should be made to triumph, in the Union, or out of it; by the aid of the Federal Government, or on its ruins. They expected to do it by its aid. It had wholly subserved the slave interest thus far. In every instance where the two Ideas had grappled for mastery in the Legislative, Judicial, or Executive department of the Government, slavery had triumphed. Slaveholders, having forced the North into subjection in the Missouri conflict, were emboldened to think that, in due time, they could compel it to allow slaves to be held and protected in every Northern State, and in all the territories.

From 1820, slaveholders bent their energies to have it recognized as a fact, by every department of the government, and by the whole people, that the security, perpetuity and unlimited extension of slavery were guaranteed by the Constitution. Slavery interpreted that instrument to suit itself, and compelled Congress, the Supreme Court, and the Executive, and, through them, the whole people, to accept its interpretations. The will of the slaveholder became the supreme law of the land. By threats of dissolution and civil war, the North was driven to admit the Constitution to be just what he said it was. In fact, the will of the slaveholder became the Constitution of the National Government, and nearly every State government, North as well as South. To speak, to print, or in any way to act, or even to think or feel for liberty and against slavery, was deemed unconstitutional—that is, against the will, the interests and designs of slaveholders. Slavery, as an Idea, or an abstract right, must be acknowledged, and slave-labor, slave-society, and slave-institutions, as actualities, must be protected and perpetuated under the Constitution. The entire nation seemed to be prostrated under the feet of the slaveholder, and to have lost the power of domestic, social, commercial, literary, political, religious, or military resistance to his insolent and bloody rule. Governors of Northern States, and the Presidents of the United States, in their annual messages, recommended that resistance to the encroachments of slavery should be made treason against the Constitution and Union, and punished as felony.

In 1830, William Lloyd Garrison inaugurated a WAR OF IDEAS against slavery, and in defence of freedom and free institutions. He arraigned slavery before the tribunal of Humanity, as a wrong which no power in the universe could make right—as "the sum of all villanies." He called for its immediate and unconditional abolition. Earnest, determined, and philanthropic souls gathered around him, to prosecute that holy war unto death or victory. To understand this war of Ideas inaugurated by Garrison, and the work which he and his coadjutors found before them to be done, I would revert to the fact, that two Ideas had been embodied in the government—LIBERTY and SLAVERY. These two Ideas had taken possession—the latter of the South, the former of the North. In their nature they were antagonistic and irreconcilable; and a truce or a compromise between them was as impossible as between gunpowder and fire, or truth and falsehood. The family, the church, the school, the college, finance, commerce, and local government; the entire individual, domestic, social, ecclesiastical, literary, financial and political life of the South, were based on slavery; the entire circle of life in the North was based on liberty. The habits of thought, feeling and action, and the entire character of the South, were the natural fruits of an Idea that turned human beings into brutes and chattels; that ignored, absolutely, all rights of property, person and family, and made men, women and children mere articles of merchandise, to be bought and sold in the shambles. The habits of thought and feeling in the North were, in part, the natural fruits of an Idea, that asserted and respected these rights, and revolted at the practice of holding and using men as property.

Consequently, the entire life of the South must, of necessity, be as hostile to the life of the North as is slavery to liberty. There could be no more harmony between the life and character of the North and South, than between the two moral and eternal conditions on which they are founded. Northern life must yield to slavery, or Southern life must yield to liberty. Events favored slavery; and free life, free society, and free institutions fell prostrate before the piratical tyrant. The North became the mere body-guard of the slave-breeding, slave-driving, slave-trading South—the mere watch-dogs of its slave-barracoons. The first thing to be done, in their war of Ideas, by the Abolitionists, was to rescue Northern life, in all its modes of manifestation, from the dominion of slavery; especially to rescue the literature, the press, the politics and religion of the North from that debasing and insolent rule. We said to the people—"Wherever you feel it your duty to live and act, whether in the Church or in the State—whether in a political or religious party—whether in the pulpit or on the platform—whether at the ballot-box or the communion-table—there live and act for liberty, and against slavery."

It was supposed, that if the war of Ideas could be made to culminate in the North, in a majority in the Church and State, at the communion-table and ballot-box, against slavery, and in favor of freedom and free institutions, the South would submit to that decision, and allow the majority to rule in regard to the existence, extension and perpetuity of slavery, as in all other questions of social, religious and governmental polity. Thus it was hoped by Garrison and his associates that the great and irrepressible conflict between Liberty and Slavery might be settled in a bloodless battle of Ideas. How faithfully, how earnestly, how heroically the Abolitionists have labored to work out this bloodless result in favor of freedom, the history of the past thirty years will attest.

But, even Abolitionists had not fully fathomed the murderous character of slavery, and the bloody designs of slaveholders. These had determined, as events have proved, that, in case the war of Ideas should culminate in their defeat at the communion-table and ballot-box, they would inaugurate a war of bullets, and compel the North to meet them on the field of blood. They have appealed from the field of THOUGHT to the field of DEATH.

Of course, in arraigning slavery, and calling for its overthrow, the Abolitionists arraigned and condemned every thing in the social, religious, political and commercial institutions and customs of the country that sanctioned and sustained it. Near the beginning of this war of Ideas, John C. Calhoun declared that such a war against slavery, and against the character of slaveholders, was far more to be dreaded by the South than a war of bullets and bayonets against their lives.

In the prosecution of this war, the Methodist, Baptist and Presbyterian Churches, as national bodies, were divided into Northern and Southern, enslaving and non-enslaving divisions. Slaveholders could find no security for slavery in a union with Northern churches. They seceded, and formed Southern churches, based on slavery and the slave-trade, as their chief corner-stone. The discussion respecting the Bible and Church support of slavery prepared the minds of millions in the North for a discussion of the question of a Constitutional and Governmental support of slavery. A political party arose in the North, that denied the constitutional right of slavery to extend itself into territory beyond that which it now occupied. A majority of the voters seized the idea, and carried it to the polls in several successive presidential and congressional elections. The party grew rapidly. It claimed to be in its principles and action strictly constitutional. Its object was not the non-existence of slavery where it now is, but its non-existence where it is not. "No further extension of slavery" was its motto. On this issue, its final triumph seemed secure.

The slaveholders took the alarm. More loudly and menacingly than ever, they threatened civil war and the overthrow of the Government, should the Republican party get possession of it. True to their purpose to secure the lasting empire of slavery in the Union, or out of it, by the aid of the government, or on its ruins, they began more openly and earnestly to prepare for the final struggle. They foresaw that if the Republicans got control of the Government, they could no longer use it as a means to further their plans. Hence, they matured their scheme of Secession in all its details. They saw that the Government, in the hands of the new party, must have freedom and free labor for its basis; and, consequently, must come to mean the non-existence, as well as the non-extension of slavery. In short, as they viewed it, it must become an Abolition Government; the active, deadly, eternal foe to the existence, prosperity, perpetuity and propagation of slavery.

Under these circumstances, "the peaceful, quiet secession," of which you speak, was out of the question. Secession with them meant the total and absolute destruction of the United States Constitution and Government; an exterminating war upon a free Constitution, a free Government, free labor, free institutions, free schools, and, as one of their leading organs expresses it, (the Richmond *Examiner*,) "every thing that has the prefix *free* to it."

Secession—the formation of a Southern Confederacy, based upon slavery and slave-labor as its "corner-stone"—the destruction of the United States Constitution and Government, and the substitution of their slave Constitution and Confederacy in its stead, with Washington for its capital—this was their programme. Leading Abolitionists penetrated their plan of gigantic wrong and outrage, and promptly and earnestly exposed it. But the Northern mind, generally, could not or would not take the alarm. The villany seemed too vast, the crime too dark and horrible.

Meantime, the slaveholders proceeded steadily and stealthily to carry out their plan to destroy the old government—as follows:—To run it in debt—to deprive it of its means to pay—to ruin its credit—to seize and retain its forts, arsenals, custom-houses and mints—to send its navy to distant seas, beyond its reach for immediate use—to rob its Northern armories and navy-yards, and place their contents in slave States, and within ready reach of slaveholders—to distribute its troops into slave States—to corrupt the officers in its army and navy, and get them to resign when the time for action came—to have all foreign embassies filled by slaveholders—to call conventions in the slave States, and formally declare them out of the Union—to form a new government, professedly recognizing slavery as its basis, and its support as their only object—to repudiate all debts due the North in the South—to confiscate all stocks and bonds held by the North against the South—to inaugurate a system of privateering (piracy) against commerce, "the peculiar institution" of the North—to drive all Northern men and women out of the South, or compel them to swear allegiance to or fight for the slaveocratic confederacy—to get that confederacy recognized by foreign powers—to prostrate commerce and manufactures in the North by withholding cotton, and thus drive it to bankruptcy and ruin—to excite mobs in all Northern towns and cities to put down all exposure and opposition to slavery and the plans of slaveholders—and, finally, to expel the Administration from Washington, seize the capital and the archives of the United States government, and inaugurate there the slave confederacy as the only actual government of the country, and compel the entire North into subjection to the rule of slavery and slave institutions.

Such is the plan which is known to have been maturely formed in all its details, previous to the advent of the present Administration on the 4th of last March. In most of its details, it has been literally carried out. That Administration, on its assuming the reins of the government, found the treasury in debt $25,000,000; its resources dried up; its troops scattered where they were controlled by the slaveholders, and but one ship of war, of any account, at its command; its Northern arsenals plundered, and its Southern arsenals, mints, custom-houses, and forts mostly in the hands of the traitors, and the principal officers in the army and navy resigned and resigning, and gone over to the interests of the slave-breeding conspirators. Never was a governmental Administration apparently so helpless. The prospect was that the entire North, with all her free institutions, free labor, and free homes, must fall beneath the iron and bloody rule of slavery.

Do you ask, "What saved the North from that doom?" The slaveholders themselves. How? Two forts in the South—Sumter and Pickens—were prevented by the government from falling into the hands of the rebels. In their hot haste and madness, they gathered ten thousand armed men around Fort Sumter, in Charleston harbor, to annihilate a little party of seventy under Anderson, and opened their batteries upon them, simply because the government sought to supply them with food. The ten thousand chivalrous (!) and valorous (!) Southrons triumphed over the seventy. Repudiation of two hundred millions of dollars due from the South to the North; confiscation of stocks and bonds held by the North against the South; the blockade of the Mississippi against the produce and commerce of the North-West; whipping, tarring and feathering, and hanging all suspected Northerners found in the South; calling on the pirates of the world to make war upon Northern commerce; marching an army of fifty thousand upon the capital, and the murder of Northern soldiers in Baltimore, who were hastening to the defence of their capital and its archives;—these enormities aroused and united the North, and convinced them that resistance, or unconditional submission to the Slave Power, was the only alternative left them. *Shall liberty or slavery rule the North, the nation, and the continent?* The South forced this great issue upon the North; and this is now the sole and single issue in this conflict. Politicians, office-seekers and compromisers may call it a war for the Constitution and Union. Be it so; but the entire slaveholding South, and nine-tenths of the people of the North, enter into the war to settle the question, now and forever, whether free institutions or slave institutions shall have abiding and exclusive empire over this nation and the western continent.

You ask, "Is this statement of facts true?" Yes, if the slaveholders are to be trusted in their statements of their own plans and purposes; for it is derived from the public speeches and documents of Davis, Stephens, Yancey, Wigfall, Cobb, Rhett, Wise, and many other living actors in this great movement to secure, propagate and perpetuate slavery and slave institutions; from the organs of this slave confederacy, and from the speeches and action of the Southern plotters and perpetrators of treason against justice and humanity for the last forty years. To this end, the South sought the abolition of a government, designed to "secure the blessings of liberty," and to place in its stead and in its capital a government designed to secure and perpetuate the theft, robbery, concubinage, murder, piracy, and barbarism of slavery. Slavery could not be secure while liberty was allowed to exist by its side. Slave labor and slave institutions could never be safe while free labor and free institutions were tolerated by them. A government based on slavery could never be sustained, while a government based on liberty was allowed to exist in its presence. This, Calhoun and all the prominent men in this movement to sustain "the sum of all villanies" well knew.

The North, so far as this war is concerned, stands precisely in the same relation to the South as the traveller holds to the highway robber, the victim to the midnight assassin, or the peaceful merchantman to the pirate on the high seas. The highwayman says, "Your money or your life"; the traveller must fight, yield or die. The midnight assassin says to his victim, "I shall kill you, or you must kill me"; the victim must kill or be killed. The pirate says to the merchantman, "I shall slaughter and plunder you, or you must kill and plunder me." Shall he resist, or die? Not one in a hundred of the Abolitionists, not one in ten thousand of the Northern people are prepared to die, when such an alternative is presented, rather than kill. They believe in an armed defence of freedom and free institutions, and in armed resistance to slaveholders in their plans and efforts to enslave them. The South says to the North, "The decisive hour is come. I appeal from the *battle of ideas* to the *battle of bullets*; from the field of *thought* to the field of *death*. Slavery and liberty can no longer exist, each in the presence of the other; the grave is dug, and one or the other must be buried in it so deep and safe that no resurrection trump can awake it."

Such is the issue thrust upon the North by the South. Do you wonder at this great uprising?—that the North has sent four hundred thousand armed men to meet their enslavers on the field of death? and that four hundred millions of dollars are appropriated to their support? Tested by their own acknowledged law of life, they would prove themselves to be what Davis, Stephens, Yancey, Wigfall, and the slaveholders generally, have declared them to be—"the most cowardly, most contemptible, and most detestable of God's creation," were they to do otherwise.

"*Quiet, peaceful secession*"! You and I are partners in business. We differ in our modes of conducting our business. I insist on my way. You will not yield. I secede—*i.e.*, I proceed to destroy your business; to burn your shop, your stores, your goods, and take your life. You rise to defend yourself; to resist my assaults, and place me in a position where I can no longer endanger your existence. I cry out against you as a coercionist, and say, "Why not allow me quietly and peacefully to secede?" Exactly thus it is between the North and South. Slavery says to liberty, "Why not let me quietly and peacefully secede?" *i.e.*, Why not lie still, and let me cut your throat? When liberty starts into life to defend itself, and place slavery where it can no more harm any one, shall her friends say, "Let the pirate alone—you cannot subdue him"?

Be assured, my dear friend, all the calamities resulting from this war of bullets, between the North and South, whether they be felt in this or in other lands, will, by the historian, be laid solely to the slaveholders' account. The North would gladly have decided the question of slavery and slavery extension, in a battle of ideas culminating in ballots rather than in bullets. As decided by the ballot of last fall, the South would not accept it. They resolved to appeal to a battle of bullets, and to compel the North to accept the challenge, or be SLAVES! Time will decide whether a bullet can do more to sustain and perpetuate slavery and slave institutions than an idea had done.

In view of my narrative of facts, I ask you, and all our friends across the sea, to judge whether the North is deserving your sympathy and support, or your condemnation. I cannot but look to this conflict as one that must surely end in the ultimate abolition of slavery. No power, as it looks to me, can stay the hand now put forth to strike the monster dead.

You think we ignore our peace principles, in our manner of treating the war. I would like to make answer to that at another time. Meanwhile, GOD SPEED THE RIGHT!

HENRY C. WRIGHT.

REBEL ATROCITIES ON THE BATTLE-FIELD.

SHOCKING TREATMENT OF THE WOUNDED.

Almost too horrible for credence is the statement of the bayoneting of men who were disarmed and wounded, and incapable of further hostilities; it is humiliatingly sad to have to believe that our surgeons were charged on and cut down by the rebel cavalry, while engaged in their professional duties, and while under the shadow of their surgeon's green scarf and flag—to believe that our hurt and dying men were deliberately stabbed with bayonets, and cut to pieces with sabres, and trampled with savage glee and malice under the horses' hoofs of the Black Horse Cavalry—to believe that ambulances, filled with wounded men, were blown up by skillfully projected shells—to believe that every group of four men, seen bearing from the field a wounded soldier, was made the target, not of the musket of a common soldier, not of a single piece of artillery which might be thus aimed by a single excited and irresponsible gunner, but of whole batteries of rifled cannon, aimed, elevated and fired by command of the officers in charge, whose field glasses were brought into constant requisition to determine the exact distance, and insure the utmost precision of aim; but when to these atrocities is superadded the statement that a hospital, filled with wounded men and attending surgeons, surrounded by ambulances, and flying the hospital flag, was shelled, and was afterward deliberately set on fire and burned to the ground, broiling alive our suffering and helpless wounded men, the assertion is too monstrous to merit belief, until established by evidence of a nature that cannot be controverted.

To give the statements of surgeons and other officers, who were eye-witnesses of these things, is the object of this letter.

Be it understood at first that I shall give no irresponsible testimony. I shall not give any of the thousand rumors flying about of outrages said to have been seen, but which cannot be traced and positively established. I shall give no statement of common soldiers, many of whom are willing to testify to numberless butcheries, but who were, perhaps, excited, and certainly not in a position to see as much as they perhaps supposed. I give only a few accounts, taken from the lips of officers, of things which they themselves saw, and part of which they were.

To advance backward, and give the conclusion before stating the premises, I will say that the proofs are overwhelming and incontrovertible, that our wounded men were systematically murdered; that our surgeons were systematically shot down; that our ambulances were systematically blown up by shells; and that at the last, our hospital, a church building, was charged on by cavalry, who rode up and fired their revolvers through the windows at the wounded men as they lay on the floors, and at the surgeons who were attending to their wants, and that the enemy eventually set fire to the building and burned it, and in it scores of wounded and dying men.

Of course, in the excitement of a battle, there will occur cases of individual cruelty to prisoners, and perhaps we should be slow to believe many of the stories that are told of even this sort of work—but that our wounded men were systematically murdered is unquestionably true, for the same hideous work was going on in all parts of the field at once; and the murderous business was performed, not by isolated soldiers, but by bodies of men under the special command of officers of high rank, and evidently in pursuance of a pre-arranged plan.

There can, I think, be no reasonable doubt that, if not all, at least certain divisions of the rebel army had instructions not to take any prisoners, and not to let our wounded men be carried off the field. I proceed to adduce my proofs.

For the information of the uninitiated, let me premise certain things that are so simple that it may seem folly on my part, but I think it will have its use. An ambulance is a spring carriage for carrying off wounded men. It is of a peculiar build and appearance—its character easily recognizable at the longest distance at which it can be seen at all; and let me say that it can no more be mistaken for any other carriage than a trotting sulky can be mistaken for a locomotive engine.

A surgeon always wears a green sash, not only in our own service, but in every army of every civilized nation. The trimmings of his uniform are green, and therein they differ from every other officer. It is no more possible to mistake a surgeon for an officer of hostilities, than to mistake a drummer-boy for a major-general.

When, on or near the battle-field, a surgeon finds it necessary to make temporary arrangements for the care of the wounded, he selects a place as much sheltered as may be—generally in a ravine or behind a hill, and, if possible, under a tree. When the surgeon goes to work, he generally takes off his green sash, and hangs it on a prominent branch of the tree, or displays it on a musket stuck in the ground—the idea being to fly the green scarf in the manner of a flag, to show that the place is under the immediate care of a surgeon, and is to be respected accordingly. Whether the surgeon thus displays his flag or not, his position cannot be mistaken for anything else. The wounded men lying about, the cruel instruments in view, the busy doctors in their shirt-sleeves, and all the surroundings, attest the nature of the business there going on, and appeal, in the name of our common human nature, to the best feelings, and the safest protection of the contending armies, both sides indiscriminately.

Now to authenticated facts.

Lieut. S. R. Elliott, of the 79th Regiment N. Y. V. M., (Highlanders,) was standing near Col. Cameron of his regiment, when the latter was struck by a shot, and fell mortally wounded. The lieutenant and others instantly rushed to the fallen officer. Lieut. Elliott, with twelve men of the fifth and tenth companies of his regiment, raised the Colonel, and started to bear him off the field. No sooner was this group of men discerned by the field telescopes of the enemy, than they were made a target for an entire battery of rifled cannon and a number of infantry. The shots struck on every side of them, being aimed with great precision, and they were soon covered with dust thrown over them by the flying balls. Finally, a shell thrown by the rifled cannon battery struck in the centre of the group, exploded, and killed five men of those who were bearing the dying Colonel. The battery continued to play on them until they were out of range, but they escaped without further serious casualties.

Lieut. Elliott says that the shots which struck near them were not the chance shots of a general engagement, but were aimed at them specially—they were discovered by the field glasses of the rebels, and then the guns were aimed directly at them, and played on them till they were out of range—and with what murderous effect has been stated.

There was no possibility of mistaking the nature of this group, or their humane errand. The rebels saw a number of men bearing from the field a wounded officer, and instead of withholding their fire, invariably the practice of a civilized foe, they scientifically took the exact range of the retreating group, and brought a whole battery to bear on them, killing nearly half of them before they had succeeded in placing their dying Colonel in a place of safety.

Col. Wood, of the 14th New York Regiment, (Brooklyn,) being wounded, was placed in an ambulance, and was being carried off the field. The ambulance was fired at persistently by a battery of rifled cannon. A projectile from one of these guns at last took off the top of the ambulance, passed on and killed three men of the Rhode Island Battery, and dismounted their gun. The fire was kept up so unremittingly, that the men in charge of the ambulance were forced to leave it. In this case, also, the ambulance was made a special target, and was fired at until it was probably destroyed.

Lieut. Colonel Joseph J. Chambers, now commanding the New York 28th Volunteers, the Colonel being wounded and in the infirmary, tells the following story:—

Lieut. Colonel Chambers was in the thickest of the fight, and while he himself was hastening for reinforcements, saw near the brook (Bull Run) a rebel deliberately bayonet one of our wounded men, who was lying near the bank of the stream. Even in the exigency of the moment, Col. Chambers wheeled his horse, rode up to the rebel, and shot him dead.

Surgeon Barnes, of the New York 28th Volunteers, was in the fight all through, and came out of it in his shirt-sleeves, having lost coat, sash, watch, and all his surgical instruments, having been charged on by the Black Horse Cavalry, and compelled to leave the field, being driven from under a tree where he had established his temporary quarters, and where he was attending to the wounds of about twenty-five injured men, part of whom were secessionists.

Surgeon Barnes went up to the battle-field in the rear of the attacking column, and as soon as our men began to fall, he took a position with his assistants under a tree, in a little ravine. The wounded men were brought to him, and he took off his green sash and hung it on the tree, to signify that the place was under the charge of a surgeon. The injured men were brought in rapidly, and in fifteen minutes he had under his charge nearly thirty. As fast as possible, he attended to their hurts, and in a short time had been compelled to perform a number of capital operations. He amputated four legs, three arms, a hand and a foot, and attended to a number of minor injuries. By this time the enemy had discovered the place, and the nature of the business of the men in charge, and began to pour in musket balls and projectiles from rifled cannon. The place became unsafe for the wounded men, and it was seen to be necessary to remove them. The Surgeon's assistants and servant had become separated from him, and he had no one to send for ambulances, and was obliged to leave the wounded men and go himself.

It was no easy matter to procure ambulances enough, and it was probably thirty minutes before the Surgeon returned with the necessary assistance. When he returned, he found that every one of these wounded men had been bayoneted or sabered, and was dead. They were literally cut to pieces.

Sum up these facts. There were thirty men, all dangerously hurt—they had all been cared for by the Surgeon—they were lying on the grass in agonies of pain and thirst, with bandaged stumps of limbs, resting on the little hummocks—with their severed legs and arms scattered about—and, if more could be needed to show the nature of the place, the Surgeon's green sash was flying as a flag in the tree, and the Surgeon's instruments were lying in sight, and yet these thirty helpless men were there and then deliberately butchered.

The Surgeon gathered up his instruments, and started to retire to the rear, again to resume his duties. He was discovered by the enemy, and, although the boxes of instruments under his arms designated beyond dispute his rank and office, the infantry and a full battery of rifled cannon played on him till he was out of their reach—he was compelled to drop his instruments, and retreat as best he could.

Col. Slocum, of the New York 2d Regiment, was wounded by a grapeshot through the thigh. The Surgeon went to his assistance, found him, and attempted to dress his wound; but the rifle cannon commenced playing on them, and drove them from the field. They retreated, four men bearing the Colonel. In a short time, a halt was made, and again the rifle cannon of the enemy played on them and drove them away. All this time the Colonel was bleeding his life away. From six several positions was Col. Slocum removed before his wound could be properly dressed, although a tourniquet had at first been applied. At last, they took shelter in the Stone Church, (Sudley Church,) which had been occupied as a hospital. This church was soon shelled by the enemy. Col. Slocum was, by order of the surgeon, removed to the outside of the church behind, for supposed greater safety. It was soon found that the continual bursting of the shells made it more dangerous outside than within, and the Colonel was again taken inside the walls. His wounds were dressed, and he was, as soon as possible, removed from the church to Fairfax, and thence to Washington, where he is now rapidly recovering.

The shelling and ultimate burning of this church is asserted by a cloud of witnesses.

Lieut. Colonel Elliott, of the 79th (Highlanders) N. Y., saw the rebels shelling the building while the hospital flags were flying. He states that the hospital was made a special target, and that the attempt by them to destroy it, and slaughter our wounded men, was deliberate, and was followed up with the most persistent perseverance.

The surgeon of the 71st New York Regiment Militia was in the hospital, and saw the shelling, and the attempts of the rebels for its utter destruction.

Lieut. James Wilson of company G, New York 2d Militia, had charge of the wounded men of his regiment, whom he escorted to the hospital (Sudley Church) and placed them in care of the surgeon, he himself remaining to render assistance. In a short time the Black Horse Cavalry charged down to the church, firing in through the windows with their revolvers at the wounded men as they lay on the floors, and at the surgeons in attendance. A number of men attempted to escape through the doors, and were sabred as they came out.

With Lieut. Wilson was a young man named M'Cook, who was a son of Judge M'Cook, of New York. Wilson and M'Cook ran out of the building to escape, when they were met by the Black Horse Cavalry. M'Cook was shot through the spine, dead, and Wilson was taken prisoner. Wilson afterwards escaped; one of the two men who had him in charge being shot by our men, and he himself then shot the other, who was a captain of the Black Horse Cavalry.

Some members of the New York 71st discovered a lieutenant-colonel of an Alabama regiment wounded, and lying on the ground. He threw up his hands and begged for his life, to which response was made, "We did not come here to fight wounded men." They took him to the hospital, (Sudley Church,) where he was cared for by our surgeons. He said, his wounds having been dressed, "Boys, I give you my word of honor that not a man in this hospital shall be injured while I have a breath of life."

It is said by some that the rebels removed their own wounded from this hospital; if they did not do so, then this Alabama colonel was roasted alive with our men when the secession army afterward burned the building.

Some members of the 71st also found a wounded Georgian, whom they cared for, and took to one of our surgeons. After his wounds were dressed, he said, "This is more than we would have done for you." He added, "For God's sake, get out of this; you are fighting 100,000 men." This man was so impressed with the kindness of our men that he gave to one of the 71st his pistol as a keepsake.

Color Sergeant Charles Kent, of the New York Fire Zouaves, says he saw the death of Captain Downey, of company D, Fire Zouaves, a member of thirty-four engine company. He states that Downey was overpowered by a superior force; that he threw down his sword, and tossed his arms over his head to show that he was unarmed, and as if begging for mercy, but that he was instantly transfixed by a score of bayonets. Downey had led his company in a gallant charge up to a battery, and the last words he is known to have said to his men were these: "Boys, remember, New York is looking at you."

Sergeant S. G. Goodwin, of company H, Fire Zouaves, member of engine 30, saw one of our men lying on his back near his horse; the man was severely wounded, if not already dead. One of the enemy rushed up to him, and thrice pierced him through with his bayonet.

The same man saw a rebel strike at one of our wounded men with a sabre—the blow missing the man's head, but cut off his hand. One of the Fire Zouaves, who saw the cowardly act, instantly shot the rebel dead.

A member of the New York 2d says he saw one of our men struck by the fragments of a bursting shell, and knocked down. Two secessionists rode up to him, and finding that, though momentarily stunned, the man was but slightly hurt, one of them rolled the man over, and the other deliberately cut his throat with his sabre.

Other instances of the rebel manner of dealing with our wounded men I could cite, but the stories I have told, I think, will establish beyond question the truth of the following conclusion:—

1st. That as this slaughter of our wounded was not the work of a single company, or regiment of the enemy, but was going on in all parts of the field at the same time, it was done in obedience to an order from rebel head-quarters.

2d. That, if this is the policy of the enemy, it is to be feared that our own men will retaliate in kind, for their officers will never be able to restrain them in another action.

Every statement in this communication about the treatment of our wounded men by the enemy was taken by me from the lips of the officers, whose names are herein mentioned, and who themselves saw the occurrences. Not a line is hearsay evidence.

STARTLING BUTCHERY.

Since the battle at Bull Run, I have conversed with many officers and soldiers that participated in the contest, and of these, scores have testified to the most shocking acts of torture and barbarity practised upon our wounded by the rebel soldiers. Two fine appearing young men of the Massachusetts Fifth told me of the inhuman butchery of one of their own comrades — a lieutenant in the company in which they belong. He was wounded in the knee, and fell into the hands of the enemy, after crawling some rods in his attempt to escape. He was surrounded by a small squad of rebels, one of whom demanded of the wounded loyalist his name and place of residence.

"My name, sir, is Frank Smith," replied the prostrate and bleeding soldier, "and I belong to the Fifth Regiment of Massachusetts Volunteers."

"Why don't you say at once that you're a G—d d—d Yankee?" retorted one of the rebel assassins, at the same time displaying a long, murderous-looking knife, and with it making such demonstrations to show his bloody intentions.

The young lieutenant made no cowardly appeals for mercy, yet expressed his surprise at the treatment thus extended to a wounded prisoner of war. "You understand," said he, "that I have surrendered, and you certainly cannot mean to kill me!"

The immediate response to this was not heard by our informants, but they heard several of the rebels cry out, "*Kill him! He's a d—d blue-bellied Yankee! Knife him!*"

"And where were you that you did not shoot the villains?" I inquired.

"We were cut off from our regiment," replied one of my informants, "and were hiding in a thick clump of bushes, within a few yards of straggling bands of the enemy, and were watching a chance to make our escape. The least noise would have cost us our lives. Indeed, we expected every moment to be discovered, and share the fate of our comrade. Besides, one of our muskets was broken, so that we could have fired but a single shot. We staid till it was all over with poor Frank. He did his best to defend himself; *but his arms were held by the cowardly devils, while the infernal butcher with the bowie knife cut his throat, as near as we can judge, almost severing his head from his body!*"

This is a difficult story to credit, and I should have listened to it with more of doubt than confidence, had not the tears and choked utterance of the narrators afforded strong evidence of their sincerity, and the truthfulness of their tale of butchery and blood.—*Cor. Chicago Tribune.*

The Herald of Progress,

ANDREW JACKSON DAVIS, EDITOR.

COSMOPOLITAN in every department of knowledge; its crystallized thoughts are intended to furnish a beacon light for the future. Its columns are open to communications upon every subject. Its work is, to elevate the mind, and to add to man's material comforts. Particular attention is given to the department of Health, with new and progressed methods of treating disease, by the Editor. Devoted to no sect, belonging to no party, not given to ONE IDEA, it presents itself to a liberal-minded community, and asks their co-operation.

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WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.

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Refuge of Oppression.

THE SOUTHERN PRESS ON THE WAR.

We commend the following extracts from Southern papers to the attention of those who are still clamor for peace, if they had sufficient confidence that they could make their influence felt. The Richmond Whig, assuming that the North is in fact losing Washington, says:—

"They are alarmed for Washington, but they have not yet begun to tremble for New York and Boston. As Baghdad and Pesth have kept their world be on their peace with the treacherous, knavish, cowardly and cruel Chinese, short of Pekin, so we have not yet begun to fear for our cities since the *Chinese counterparts* on this continent until Confederation crumbles asunder. New York, and Confederate legions *Invade* or *Besiege* Common. Boston is the Pekin of the Western Empire, and New York is the wickedness of Southern armies. Washington is a mere circumstance. We don't want it, may further than to dislodge the *observe Yankee* that now infests it. Richmond, Baltimore, Norfolk, the tyrants with so much terror, is not worth a moment's consideration—beyond breaking the fetters (in passing) of that enslaved people. The great cities of *Pekin*—the headquarters of *the genuine Tartar hordes, with their pomp and stalkings.* The military association of the Yankee capital can alone give immunity for the past and security for the future. Then up with the universal shout, *On to Pekin!*"

The *Richmond Dispatch*, grown haughty and self-reliant since the first flush of success, appreciates the tricks of foreign intervention, and advocates entire non-intercourse with the North, even if all the independence of the Southern Confederacy should be established:—

"The experiment of republican institutions is lost at the North, and it can only be saved at the South by taking a strict non-intercourse with the *the moral Sodom and political Pandemonium on our borders* as the nature of the case will permit. We are willing to agree to the cessation of hostilities; but if any hostilities should arise, we prefer non-of intercourse, and commercial and political prejudices, to a hospitable intercourse, which alone cannot be granted without destruction to our social, political and commercial security.

This case, therefore, is not one for arbitration. The South cannot for a moment consider the question of her independence to any arbitration, much less to that of a foreign potentate. Did ever two linguante were to arbitrate the question of slavery and slavery? Independence is a question that cannot be referred to the South, and that is, in fact, the only question really involved in the present contest. The Yankees become sick of the war, and are incapable of descending from a demand of our servitude and blind to forgiving the privilege of purchasing wooden nutmegs and hurl clocks through our country; but neither of these demands are grounds for mediation, and we should be very wary of granting twenty privileges of trade, stopping of conquering the South by open hostilities, they will go the artifice of the Greeks before Troy, and attempt to introduce, by peaceful means, nutmegs, and wooden hoes into our midst. It is only some purpose of this nature that mediation can possibly mean, and we should distrust and eschew such schemes, as the Trojans should have distrust their enemies, even when bearing pretended gifts."

THE RULING RACE.

The following article, from the *Richmond Whig*, discloses the purpose of the South to overthrow our republican government, and establish in its place a proslavery aristocracy. As an authoritative expression of the sentiment of the Southern people and the principles upon which, if successful, they intend to govern the whole American continent, it deserves serious consideration:—

"We are too close pressed and too much influenced by the passing events which occur to indulge much in philosophizing. But the root and dispersion, at the great pitched battle now impending, brings into bold relief the great issue that the Yankees are humbugs, and that the sole people of the slaveholding States are the true successors of the rulers of the continent. Under every disadvantage we can claim, the preparations for the contest were made. The Northern States had seized upon all the common property of the partnership, and had monopolized the whole navy and army, and all the material, with the entire machinery of government in full operation; and boasted that they had an inexhaustible supply of men and money at their unimeasurable wealth. The Southern States had no advantages, they have been diligently engaged in organizing their power.

Under the direction of the most vaunted military character of the age—and of their creation, though for they never produced a genius capable of surpassing their overseeing a hand or wielding a steam engine, or directing some mechanical contrivance,—they organized a military force equal to the number of three hundred thousand, and equipped them in a manner and in the hands of men, by the time of the rude and poorly equipped volunteers of the Southern States, drawn from their peaceful pursuits for the first time, to the hearts of war, and they are routed and slain by the thousand, and driven back, pursued before a high wind, and guided by the highest military talent, (of Virginia birth-and-parentage) they have nothing to rely upon but their numbers, and that, in the fight, proves an element of weakness.

The fact is, the Yankees are very little better than the Chinese. They lay the same stress on the jingle of their dollars that the Celestials do on the noise of their gongs. Commercial greed is the ruling passion with them, they have cultivated the arts of money-getting and cheating, until gain has become their God, and they imagine it to be the strongest tie. With money in their pockets, was from a generous and chivalrous nature—and, as Macaulay says, Norway rats, they are swollen with conceit, and fancied that they were the strongest people on earth. They do not possess one gentlemanly attribute, nor a single talent that qualifies them for an age. The very first element they are destitute. They don't even know how to be a gentleman, and they have acquired in youth, amid youth associations. And as to mass, ninety-nine out of a hundred never saw a gun; and we have it on very good authority that Old Scott lost all patience in attempting to teach them how to load a gun. The vile old wretch he reaps a just reward for his treason and his tallent misapplied.

The brink-down of the Yankees, their utter unfitness for empire, forces dominion upon us of the South. We are compelled to take the respect, and it is our duty to prepare ourselves to our destinies. We must elevate our race, every man of it—breed them up to arms, to command—to empire. The art military should constitute a leading part of every white man's education. The South will have to be a high privilege, to be enjoyed by those only who are worthy to exercise it. In a word, the whole white population of the South should be brought into a high-toned aristocracy, duly qualified by with a sense of its own functions, and its obligations to freedom and civilization."

THE DEMOCRACY OF WALDOBORO' ON THE WAR.

At a Democratic meeting held in Waldoboro' Maine, on Saturday, 17th inst., at which delegates were chosen to attend the Bath Convention, the following resolutions were adopted. They are curiosities in Heresy—evidence of the Democratic audacity and malignity struggle to find appropriate expression, and the result will excite nothing but contempt:—

"1st. Resolved, That the present civil war was forced upon the country by a minority of the seceding States of the Democrat, by a combination of reckless ambitious and traitorous men, politicians, soldiers and discussionists, calling themselves Republicans. That this minority, in violation of the express provisions of the Constitution Rebellion, in its own behalf, and in defiance of the decisions of the Supreme Court, and of the Constitution. The action of that party in the late Presidential campaign outraged brotherly feelings, and violated the truth in speeches on the stump, for the purpose of creating a false issue, and the Rebellion, inaited and basilicly to the South and Southern rights. That it all Honest men, and Democrats, of whatever party cause into power, their aim has been to place power in the hands of men who have sought power and plunder, richer than to preserve the Union, and, in our opinion, the Union cannot be saved, and Republicanism, had the party in power been as anxious to save the country as to save the party.

2d. Resolved, That the members of the party in power are anxious to protract the present war, and have shown a lack of patriotism, and a desire to forfeit, by, but solely as a means of catching themselves to plunder, and gratifying their ambition for place and power; that their new-born profession of love for the Union, and of a desire to suppressions of change in opinions, but are prompted by a fear of a change in the public mind, and their unwillingness to adhere to their cherished mottoes, 'Let the South go and the Union slide,' adopted for the pretext by the supporters of Abolition power.

3d. Resolved, that our Southern brethren are not justified by us in withdrawing from Congress, and taking up arms against the Union in their rights, thus leaving the country wholly in the hands of the Abolitionists, and Republicans, and in the hands of the minority of a party whose history is a record of treason and perjury, and whose leaders are in spirit, and its infringement upon the rights of free speech; and, on our minds, Southern rights have been fully sustained and the Southern Senators and members of the House remained in their places.

4th. Resolved, That we do not admit the constitutional right of a State to secede from the Union, but we consider that secession is revolution and should be treated as such; and as all hopes of saving the Union by compromise are lost, while the Republicans have the power, we feel that it is better men that will not yield an inch to save the Union, than those who would yield anything to save the Administration, cannot be conquered, and if conquered, could not be held in subjugation, without converting our government into a military despotism, and, in our opinion, the Union cannot be saved, using this unhappy controversy, without more sorrow and bloodshed than the Union could be dissolved in peace, reclaiming as many of the border States as a true spirit of compromise will allow, and a part, with an eye to the natural benefits and interests and happiness of the whole people, and the rights of the minority, separate peaceably governments then by a confederation of a Union only in name, and leaving a portion of the country, and the Constitution in its miscule of the country drenched in fraternal blood.

5th. Resolved, That, in our opinion, by adopting the principles of the foregoing resolutions, the Democrat and Abolitionists crushed out in the early stages of the contest, and a peace which will be a reconstruction of the Union on a more permanent basis, and the United States restored to its former greatness and prosperity.

6th. Resolved, That our system of government has proved beyond a reasonable controversy, not only equal to the task, but, in our opinion, the most perfect system of government, and that the destruction of the Union with ruin, and the person of the Union, and the Constitution, and the North or South, are dissimilar in practice, and are only separated by a thin line, and that, if dissolved, the country with an enormous national debt, but leaves that country with a debt of gratitude, but are inured to pursue that course with the hope and belief that the Union can be preserved by conservative measures, therefore cordially inviting all thinking and discriminating men that are for pursuing that course, that it will be for the best interest of the whole people to take the matter under consideration, and if they come to the conclusion that the principles set forth in the foregoing resolutions are correct, to cooperate with us in carrying out our objects and save the country from further bloodshed, bankruptcy and ruin.

7th. Resolved, That we are for the whole Union North, and West, South and East, and we feel the greatest sorrow and regret that we are compelled to favor the separation of this once great and happy family of States; but believe that it is the only hope of saving our part of the wreck from the prize and destruction of Republicanism, relieving it to be of the utmost importance that the Abolition party cease to pour the vials of wrath on the party whose sentiments would be respected by the people of the South, and be ready to make compromises and mutual agreements as will be for the best interests of the North, and Democrats are ready to agree to vote for such men as will sustain the principles set forth in the foregoing resolutions.

"A Democrat, Democrat," who communicates these resolutions, says that they embody the sentiments of the Breckenridge Democracy of the county.

☞ A traitorous correspondent of the Philadelphia *Christian Observer* writes—"The Union party in Delaware, which is by no means an insignificant party, are unable to comprehend how war is to reconstruct our Union, or how our Government is to be sustained by trampling under foot our Constitution and Laws; or how the dignity of that Constitution is to be maintained by the violation of its most sacred obligations, by those who have sworn to protect and defend it."

Selections.

HON. D. S. DICKINSON'S SPEECH.

This veteran Democrat has been making a powerful speech in Wyoming county, Penn. He also at meeting the crisis is as far as possible from that of the Breckenridge school of Democracy. Speaking of the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus, he said:—"If I had power—a tribute, and also over remedy would arrest treachery, I would suspend the writ, and the individual."

The following extracts will show the earnest and patriotic spirit of Mr. Dickinson's speech:—

"But what is the true way of putting down what I shall term a rebellion? And we can all agree in that things that rebellion is either right or wrong, justifiable or unjustifiable—to be approved or condemned, as a whole. It is right for a portion of the country to take up arms against this Government, is right to sustain such action; and if it is wrong, they should be put down by the power of the people. (Applause.) There is no middle ground. There can be no compromise between sustaining the Government and attempting its overthrow. There is no peace proposition that will suit the case until the rebellion is first put down. Compromise, and we have gone far enough, compromise with rebellion, or aid or countenance it, I would go and take up arms against it. Because, if it is right for them to take up arms, it is right for them to have armed aid and assistance. If they are right, That is all I have to say on this subject, and when, then they should be overthrown by the true power of the Government. (Applause, and cries of 'good'); and put down so that no resurrection day will ever find rebellion again. (Renewed applause.)

"When my Democratic or Republican friends, or any other man, are disposed to call the President to account, (and I am not the President's friend by any means, but I go through with him, they will merely inquire whether Mr. Jefferson Davis & Co. have yet assembled any assembly of representatives (the United States? (Cheers and laughter.) I have the impression that Congress is not assembled, and meet within the boundaries of the United States; but assembles at a distance of a few governments, and they, in violation of the Constitution, are, I care not. It is due to him to say, however, that he has seemed to be in good faith attempting to put down the rebellion. He has not done all things as I would have done them, because I would have multiplied his men by about five, and where he has sent one blue, I would have struck a dozen. (Laughter and cheering.) Therefore I do not agree with him in that respect. When the country can have a settlement with him, for he is to be held, and I am willing to give him a fair account. I would not do even that under the smoke of an enemy's guns."

SPEECH OF GOV. O. P. MORTON, AT ROCKVILLE, INDIANA.

A large and enthusiastic Union meeting was held in Parke county, on which occasion, by invitation, Gov. Morton, of Ind., delivered the following addressed the people. We make the following extracts from the Indianapolis Journal:—

All republican government is based upon the principle that when the will of the people has been ascertained by the majority, the minority yield to the parties and all men must submit. Unless this principle be recognized and practiced, government cannot exist for a day. For illustration of this principle, I might refer to the Legislature, where such election is followed by a revolution; I have the assembly of the people in my county, and fly to arms for the redress of every fancied grievance. Such has been the history of many governments in France and other countries in Europe. Every officer of the Government, every citizen, every soldier, becomes the officer and agent of the people, whether they favored his election or not, and loyal citizen recognizes him as such.

Mr. Buchanan, when elected, although I did not vote for him, was President of the United States, and entitled to him by a foreign power, or any rebellion, and I was bound to support the Government against any such, and I was bound to support the Government against any such, and I was bound to support the Government against any such

and which he had followed to many a field of glory; the other, his deluded follower from another State, evidently from the lower walks of life, and with only a brave heart and a stern determination to stand by the cause he had espoused to the bitter end. And there, on that rugged bank, had come the solemn issue. They met it courageously, and fell as brave men fall.

Returning from the bluff where Garnett lay, I went up to the bluff on which the enemy had been posted. The first object that caught the eye was a large iron rifled-cannon, (a six-pounder,) which they had left in their precipitate flight. The star-spangled banner of one of our regiments floated over it. Around was a sickening sight. Along the brink of the bluff lay ten bodies, stiffening in their own gore, in every contortion which their death anguish had produced. Others were gasping in the last agonies, and still others were writhing with horrible but not mortal wounds, surrounded by the soldiers whom they really believed were about to plunge the bayonet to their hearts. Never before had I so ghastly a realization of the horrid nature of this fraternal struggle. These men were all Americans—men whom we had once been proud to claim as countrymen—some of them natives of our own Northern States. One poor fellow was shot through the bowels. The ground was soaked with his blood. I stooped, and asked if anything could be done to make him more comfortable; he only whispered, "*I'm so cold!*" He lingered for nearly an hour in terrible agony. Another—just developing into vigorous manhood—had been shot through the head by a large minie ball. The skull was shockingly fractured; his brains were protruding from the bullet hole, and lay spread on the grass by his head; and he was still living! I knelt by his side, and moistened his lips with water from my canteen, and an officer who came up a moment afterward poured a few drops of brandy from his pocket flask into his mouth. God help us! what more could we do? A surgeon rapidly examined the wound, sadly shook his head, saying it were better for him if he were dead already, and passed on to the next. And there that poor Georgian lay, gasping in the untold and unimaginable agonies of that fearful death, for more than an hour!

Near him lay a Virginian, shot through the mouth, and already stiffening. He appeared to have been stooping when he was shot; the ball struck the tip of his nose, cutting that off, cut his upper lip, knocked out his teeth, passed through the head, and came out at the back of the neck. The expression of his ghastly face was awful beyond description. And near him lay another, with a ball through the right eye, which had passed out through the back of the head. The glassy eyes were all open; some seemed still gasping with opened mouths; all were smeared in their own blood, and cold and clammy, with the dews of death upon them.

But why dwell on the sickening details? May I never see another field like that! There were on one spot ten corpses; two more died before they could be removed to the hospital; three died during the night; another was dying when I left.

All around the field lay men with wounds in the leg, or arm, or face, groaning with pain, and trembling lest the barbarous foes they expected to find in our troops should commence mangling and torturing them at once. Words can hardly express their astonishment when our men gently removed them to a little knoll, laid them all together, and formed a circle of bayonets around them, to keep off the curious crowd, till they could be removed to the hospital, and cared for by our surgeons.

There was a terrible moral in that group on the knoll: the dead, the dying, the wounded, protected by the very men they had been fighting, and who were as ready then as they had ever been to defend, by their strong arms, every right these self-made enemies of theirs had ever enjoyed.

Every attention was shown the enemy's wounded by our surgeons. Limbs were amputated, wounds were dressed with the same care with which our own brave volunteers were treated. The wounds on the battle-field removed all differences. In the hospital all were, alike, the objects of a common humanity that left none beyond its limits.

Among the enemy's wounded was a young *Massachusetts boy*, who had received a severe wound in the leg. He had been visiting in the South, and had been impressed into the ranks. As soon as the battle began, he broke from the rebel ranks, and attempted to run down the hill, and cross over to our side. His own lieutenant saw him in the act, and shot him with a revolver! Listen to such a tale as that, as I did, by the side of the sad young sufferer, and tell me if your blood does not boil warmer than ever before, as you think, not of the poor deluded followers, but of the leaders, who, for personal ambition and personal spite, began this infernal rebellion.

NEVER GIVE WAY TO BUGBEARS.

BY LIEUT. GENERAL T. PERRONET THOMPSON.

Such was the advice of the greatest man in Cambridge when George the Third was King,—and who was not a bishop, because he was supposed to have too strong a head upon his shoulders.

A "bugbear" is a *terriculum*, or hobgoblin, put forth by simple or interested people, to lead astray silly men or women who are open to be made game of.

The bugbear of the present day is, that if the men whose ancestors landed from the Mayflower touch the hellish "institution" which threatens to cut their throats, there must be deeds and sufferings, in comparison with which the "pigs of Lord Somerville's breed, running wild about the country," and "the clerk of the parish sore wounded in the hinder parts," (which are what a clerical wit threatened as the consequence of a fortnight's war in England,) are less than dust in the balance.

Nobody denies the evils of war; but war begun against us is not to be put down by behaving silly. When it has been worth while to raise five hundred thousand men and five hundred millions of dollars to put down a rebellion, it is worth while to make such a use of them as shall prevent the like rebellions forever, by cutting off their source. And that, not by acts of severity against the defeated rebels, but by doing the only thing which can prevent their being, at no long time hence, the sufferers from their own iniquity, which the good men and true have now the power to hinder, if they like. What excuse shall the true men make, if they cocker up the evil by refusing to apply the high-handed remedy, which God and the Adjutant-General's muster-roll have placed at their command?

Women, it seems, are to be the *cheval de bataille* of the bugbear-makers. In entering the stronghold of the blackest pirate that ever deformed his face with beard, there is nobody that would not desire to take care of the women. But we must not be made fools of on this point, by the colleagues of the pirate out of doors. Recur we, therefore, to the comparison already once put forward.

Suppose the British West India Islands had broken into rebellion on the first apprehension of a design to put an end to slavery; and this not passively but actively, by privateering against the commerce of the rest of the country, and storming the forts occupied by the troops of the legitimate sovereign. And when a force, to all appearance competent, is preparing to put down the outbreak, stand forth the anti-slavery men, (for so, no doubt, they would call themselves,) and cry, "Above all things, take care you give no encouragement to the slaves to assist you! Do not invite them to join you, either to make muskets or to do the heavy work in the sunshine which sends white men to hospital. If you do, remember you will be responsible for all that can come under the four pleas of the law, against every resident, male and female, of English blood."

How the world would laugh at such a threat! It hardly needs proving, that those who could be the dupes of such a miserable bugbear would show folly only to be equalled in bulk by the knavery of the promoters.

Suppose the English General, in charge of putting down the rebellion, to issue in General Orders, "Slavery is non-existent in all parts occupied by the British forces. In the parts not yet occupied, the slaves are invited to make no movement before the liberating force arrives in their own parish. Any attempt at major violences, on the part of white or colored, will be put down by military execution as soon as it can be reached. As fast as any district is occupied, volunteers from the colored people will be invited to join the three West India regiments and the Land Transport Corps, on terms which will be notified. Planters willing to continue their works, by giving present support to the laborers on them, will receive immunity for the past on entering the British camp, and military protection for the future. Vagrants found committing depredations will be sent to a punishment gang."

Suppose an English Commander-in-Chief to have the genius to issue such an order,—as why should he not?—and what becomes of the pretended terrorists at home, who affect to be alarmed for the condition of every white female in the Antilles? The whole is plainly a fraud, a delusion,—it may be of weakness of head, or it may be of obliquity of heart. The world is not destined to be finally ruled by either.

One point to be borne in mind, in everything connected with these transactions,—a thing to be written on the bells of the horses, and inscribed on every pot or bowl, lay or clerical, in Jerusalem and Judah,—is, that the defeated rebels have no right to claim compensation for the suppression of their nuisance, when they are offered the opportunity of carrying on their works from this moment in a cheaper manner than before. It is as if the Irishmen, prohibited from ploughing their horses by the tail, set up a demand to be paid for the horse. The answer would be, "Strange mixture of rogue and fool—the harness way is cheapest!"—*Bradford (Eng.) Advertiser.*

STARTLING DISCLOSURES.

Southern Secret Service Money in New Jersey—Press and People to be Suborned—Southern Agents distributing Secret Service Money to New Jersey Newspapers—The Rebels paying the Expenses of the Peace Demonstrations in New Jersey—$5,000 Blood Money left in Newark to Aid Treason there—Their Agents in Our Midst.

The rebels and destroyers of the Union are at work in the Middle States. During the last fortnight, agents of the Southern Confederacy have been visiting various sections of New Jersey, inaugurating movements for systematic peace meetings throughout the State. Individuals have been guaranteed against all expense, and these treason movements have been organized with diabolical shrewdness through dupes or willing tools in the late Breckinridge party, who, to gratify their hate, would help to crumble our free institutions for the sake of establishing a Southern monarchy.

The leading Breckinridge Democratic newspapers of New Jersey have commenced a systematic warfare against all the measures of the government to sustain the Union. We have been informed, on what we consider good authority, that $5,000 was received in Newark recently, from the Montgomery Secret Service Fund, to be applied in supporting secession papers in our State, and to be expended in getting up peace meetings.

This accounts for the treasonable sentiments of those hypocritical papers which are giving aid and comfort to the enemy at the North, and by advocating peace and compromise with armed rebels, endeavoring to dishearten the people and to embarrass the government.

The Newark *Evening Journal* predicts certain defeat for the North. The editor of that mendacious sheet proclaimed that an army of "300,000 men had been defeated at Manassas," and now traitorously declares that "our enemies are fighting for their liberties." The Hunterdon *Democrat* contains a long communication, *evidently written at the South*, in which President Lincoln is alluded to as "*an old Northern mud-sill.*" The *True American* teems with Southern ideas and rebel sentiments.

Southern blood money is being expended in New Jersey for peace meetings and treason newspapers. These agents are now traversing our State under the advisement of certain Breckinridge politicians, polluting the people with gold stolen from the federal treasury, or wrung from their helpless victims at the South.

Beware of these emissaries of the Southern foe! Beware of these agents of treason from abroad and their tory sympathizers here! Mark them well, and remember each one for all time to come. Let the stain of his treachery rest on him as did God's mark of infamy upon the murderer Cain. Know that wherever these peace meetings are held, they are the infernal machines of an unscrupulous foe, and that the secession newspapers of New Jersey are receiving pay from the Montgomery Secret Service Fund—the blood-money circulated by the rebels to seduce weak men and weak presses from their duty to their country in the hour of peril.—*Paterson (N. J.) Guardian.*

The City Council of Paterson, on Monday night, passed the following resolution, withdrawing all official connection from the *Register*, an anti-war or secession paper whose articles lately have outraged the community by their treasonable sentiments:—

Whereas, the present crisis of our country demands that every friend of the Constitution and the Union should rally for its support; and

Whereas, the *Daily Register* of this city is evidently a friend of the deadly foes of this government,—therefore,

Resolved, That the *Daily Register* be no longer authorized to publish the proceedings of this Board, or its ordinances; and that all persons acting by authority of this Board, be directed not to procure printing or advertising to be done in that establishment.

The City Council is so equally divided, politically, that the Democrats, at its organization, elected most of the officers. No division was called on the above resolutions, and they were passed as the expression of all parties in the Board.—*Ibid.*

We extract the following from the New York *Atlas*. After alluding to the destruction of the presses in Concord and Bangor, the editor says,—

"'Hard usage'! say the ultra advocates of free speech and a free press. Hard usage, certainly! But it is hard usage to a burglar to put irons on his wrists and ankles, and shut him up in a dark prison for an indefinite number of years. And if it be considered a rough way of dealing with sneaking traitors, let it be remembered that the *Union* papers have all been suppressed at the South. 'Stop them *all!*' cries the New Orleans *Crescent*, and the advice is followed. Here, there is an immense outcry about the 'freedom of the press' if even the worst of them are touched!

* * * * * *

Let it be remembered that these traitor papers, contemptible as they are, are not powerless. 'One sinner destroyeth much good.' One evil word may have endless consequences. The few demands for dishonorable 'peace!' made upon the government, have originated in the insidious treason of these newspapers. Traitors only half resolved have been made wholly so by the same evil influence. If there has been any pause in recruiting for the army, these barking dogs are, likewise responsible; and no one doubts that the continual attempts at embarrassing the national authority by one-horse judges have the same origin. Still more, what little there has been of disaffection in the army may be traced to this Upas tree. Are we called upon to allow it to grow and flourish, and throw out its black poison in our midst? or shall we be justified in abating the nuisance at any hazard? Once more we remark, that these papers *must stop their treason, or stop themselves;* and the easiest way will be found the best way, for them as well as for others."

It is to be deplored that mobs have violently suppressed several secession papers in New England; but it is more to be deplored that there were found men so mean and degraded as to sell themselves to the Southern traitors, and to pursue a course which rendered necessary the suppression of their incendiary papers.

It is said that sums of money have been furnished from the Southern rebels in aid of their Northern defenders. If such funds have been appropriated to the support of the Northern newspapers which have been violently suppressed, it will account for, if not excuse, the harsh remedy which has been applied. While a respectable, candid and truth-telling newspaper would not be allowed to exist a single day where Jeff. Davis's authority is enforced, is it strange that his own agents should experience difficulties among the people whose government these infatuated traitors are endeavoring to destroy?—*Lynn News.*

Tory Papers Suppressed. On Thurday last, U. S. Marshal Millward, of Philadelphia, seized that vile tory sheet, the New York *Daily News*, as it arrived on the boat to be sold about the streets of Philadelphia, also the packages destined to points further South. He also seized the type and printing materials of the *Christian Observer*, a tory paper under the guise of religion. This is a move in the right right direction, and we trust it will be followed up by prompt proceedings against every tory sheet in the State.—*Chester County (Pa.) Times.*

The Liberator.

No Union with Slaveholders!

BOSTON, FRIDAY, AUGUST 30, 1861.

THE ABOLITIONISTS AND THE WAR.

In the *Liberator* of June 21st, we copied an editorial article from the London *Herald of Peace*, in which a violent and most extraordinary attack was made upon the American government for not allowing Jefferson Davis and his traitorous conclave to have their own way, sever the Union through violence and blood, steal whatever they could lay their hands upon belonging to the government, and do whatever might seem good in their own eyes, without resistance or molestation. The American Abolitionists, also, were hotly assailed as recreant to their professions of peace, and to the Anti-Slavery cause for which they have suffered and sacrificed so much, and toiled so long, because they were giving their sympathies to the government on the issue presented by the Southern rebels, whose desperate conduct and devilish purpose as against all free institutions elicited not a syllable of reproof from this "peaceful" (!) London Aristarchus. To that article we made reply, showing its allegations to be false, and its position virtually a pro-war and a pro-slavery one.

In our present number, we copy in full the rejoinder of the *Herald of Peace* to our animadversions,—though that periodical has not the fairness to imitate our example, and allow our reply to appear in its pages. Though guilty of gross injustice, it takes nothing back, but exhibits the same perverse state of mind as in its first attack—claiming, indeed, to be as innocent as a lamb, and the object of a gratuitous assault on our part! "We, also," it says, "have come in for our share of that pitiless storm of ireful invective which is now pouring from the American heavens upon all mankind"! How adroitly the assailant here assumes the attitude of a defendant! But the dodge will not answer. "Our good friends in America," he adds, "insist upon it that they do well to be angry with us, just because we cannot run into the same excess of warlike riot with themselves." This is gross exaggeration and shameful caricature. What does the writer mean by "excess of warlike riot"? Has the American government done any thing in excess? On the contrary, has it not exhibited unparalleled long suffering and forbearance towards the conspirators against its life? Before moving a finger in self-defence, did it not wait until its forts, arsenals, mints, custom-houses, post-offices, &c., &c., in the seceding States, had all been perfidiously seized, and used for treasonable purposes, and a new confederacy formed within its limits for its ultimate overthrow? In its great extremity of danger, has it summoned too many troops, or put forth needless energy, or resorted to a single unjustifiable measure,—judging it from a governmental plane of action? Or has it not, rather, exhibited an almost criminal moderation—an absence of thorough earnestness of purpose—a preposterous leniency of treatment of its murderous foes—and a strong disinclination to push them to the wall, by an active and energetic employment of all the means at its command? The "excess of warlike riot" is language applicable only to the Southern conspirators; and with what regard for the sacred cause of peace, or the claims of the oppressed, or the free institutions of the North, the London censor can allow them to go "unwhipt of justice," and bestow all his censures upon the other side, which now embodies all that is left of true manhood and personal freedom in the land, is to us inexplicable. It is the strangest manifestation of "peace" that we have ever heard or read of. It is the ancient deceptive cry of "Peace, peace, when there is no peace." We also believe in peace, as radically and earnestly as the London writer; but how that is to be promoted by a cowardly truckling of the government to the enemies of every thing that makes for peace, and by granting them all their impious demands, in order that there may be a cessation of conflict, we are unable to see. Other things being equal, in any issue where there is a right and a wrong side, we cannot but desire the triumph of the right.

But, says our reprover, "They won't allow us even to say we are sorry that they are about to be involved in the miseries of civil war." Indeed! Won't they? Is this a truthful statement? Who objects to it? Who at the North, whether of one party or another, is not equally sorry? But sorrow, in itself, is no remedy, and a lugubrious countenance no help. The war has been forced upon the government, even against the most humiliating concessions on its part to avert it; and to bring it to a speedy close, in a right manner and on a true basis, is now a matter of general solicitude. It is not British "sorrow" that gives offence or creates surprise—far from it; but it is the disposition to confound all distinctions between the belligerent parties—to throw the blame upon those who are contending for their homes and firesides, for all that pertains to freedom of conscience and the liberty of speech—and to allow the traitors to escape without condemnation or arraignment.

"Among our *assailants*," says the editor of the *Herald of Peace*, "is Mr. William Lloyd Garrison, in the columns of the *Liberator*. Mr. Garrison is very angry, and, therefore, not very logical"—&c. An assailant is one who commences an attack, not he who repels it. All that we did was simply to deny the justice of certain charges brought by this editor against the American Abolitionists in special, and the people of the North in general, in relation to the war. Whether we were logical or not, angry or not, his readers could form no judgment, because what we wrote was carefully kept from their eyes; while, on the other hand, (in accordance with our uniform practice ever since we occupied an editorial chair,) we printed his long objurgatory article without abridgment—thus allowing the readers of the *Liberator* to see and judge for themselves as to the strength of the reasoning used, and the quality of spirit evinced, on either side. He pays us a very high compliment for our past fidelity, for which we would return a proper acknowledgment; but what inducement be finds for us to stain our past career by compromising our principles now,—as, inferentially, he seems to imply,—we cannot imagine, and he does not even hint. He sums up the issue between us as follows:—

> "The two points in our article that have given the greatest offence are, first, our assertion that this is not an anti-slavery war; and, secondly, our lamentation over what we deemed a departure from principle on the part of those anti-slavery men, who, up to this time, having emphatically disclaimed the use of any but moral means in their conflict with slavery, have gone in for this war with undisguised exultation and violence."

Let us see. "This is not an anti-slavery war." When or where have we declared it to be an anti-slavery war? Have we not been painfully conscious of the repulsive incongruities with which the war is disfigured on the part of the government, so far as slavery is concerned? Have we not promptly and strongly censured those Generals who have volunteered to put down slave insurrections and restore fugitive slaves? Are we not constantly endeavoring to show the government, and all who are for preserving the government, that in no other way can Southern treason be extirpated, and permanent peace secured, than by abolishing slavery under the war power? And, undeniably, all the signs of the times indicate that this great act of justice and humanity—this master-stroke of public policy—is approving itself to the good sense and sound judgment of the people, without distinction of party. Since our first reply to the *Herald of Peace*, the slaves of all disloyal slaveholders have been freed as soon as they could place themselves under the national flag; and such fugitives as belong to loyal masters are also to be retained, leaving the question of compensation to be settled hereafter. This is a momentous stride; and an official proclamation of the government to the effect, that slavery is abolished throughout the land, must, ere long, receive the public sanction. There is no other alternative, except national destruction.

SPEECH OF WENDELL PHILLIPS, ESQ.,

Delivered at Allston Hall, Boston, on the Anniversary of the Birthday of Theodore Parker, *August 23.*

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—The anniversary which calls us together, to-night, is the birthday of our friend Theodore Parker. If there was any one feature of his character more prominent than another, it was that he never looked back, except for instruction. The true bent of his mind was to look forward to what he considered his duty. I do not like to look back, and sketch his character or life. If I wanted a monument, I should bid you look round upon this nation, shattered by the sceptre of Justice, and ask you to see the effect of that long life of his, devoted to the prayer that God would execute justice between man and man. I think if he were here to-night, his keen eye would glisten at the sight of what he would see about him. Every plan of his life successful, every prophecy fulfilled, every hope gratified.

He belonged to that class which, without office, has been able, by simple weight of character and thought, to revolutionize this country. He died just at the daybreak of the success of those efforts, and to-day the nation reels under the blows of his mighty right hand. I thank God for it! For us who sympathise with him, we may lift up our heads; for the day of our deliverance is come. The sky is all bright, from the centre to the circumference, with gleams of hope. God has broken up the foundations of the Union, and He will not renew it.

Theodore Parker, I think, would look upon to-day as the trial-day of democracy in this country. He prophesied this day—what use shall we make of it? What would be bid us do? What is the lesson that his lips, if they could break into sound to-day, would give us? Each one must guess for himself. It seems to me we are passing through the trial-day of democracy. We may perceive, if we don't guarantee that the people are equal to the crisis,—that, while the masses grope more or less blindly, they love justice, they mean liberty. (Applause.) They mean to hold the girdle of this country together, and consecrate it to liberty. (Renewed applause.) As we read history, the democracy of Greece fell because leaders and people were both rotten. There was never a voice raised against it, except that of Demosthenes. There was no person in the front rank or in the rear, who had an intelligent appreciation of liberty. Now, the uprising to-day—the purpose of the million—seems to me to indicate that the people are equal to the emergency. We know what we want, and we want it with a will; and unless the popular wish is cheated, this Republic will be preserved in its integrity. It will be preserved, as it can only be preserved, on the basis of the Declaration of Independence. To-day the Administration has been six months in office, and what has it done? Six months! The weapons which our people have had placed in its hands, how has it used them? Give two months to root out the public offices, and what has it done? Europe looks across the water, and sees twenty millions of people—their bonds at 96 in the market, their harvest in their barns, and their prosperity on a substantial basis. Europe also looks across the water, and sees eight millions without credit, without food, and without munitions of war. The Congress of the one sits guarded by 100,000 soldiers, and the Congress of the other unassailed. Europe sees the North acting constantly on the defensive, except when she has been twice beaten back like a stricken hound. It sees the weaker portion aggressive at every point. I ask, then, in these four months, what has the Administration done in response to the people? It has done nothing with that immense military array. Has it done anything in response to popular sentiment? Has it set forth any principle, or any avowal of purpose, or any great public opinion which they are to use? Not a line—not a word! The world speculates upon the purposes of the United States. It seems to me so far,—and six months is not a very short time, at a crisis like this,—that the hour has come, but not the man. (Applause.) No man with purpose indicated—no gallant spirit to gather up the enthusiasm of the people—that indispensable requisite, personal loyalty, which has carried all nations through like emergencies—none. My view is, that the trial of democracy shows the masses equal to the emergency; but the Administration not equal to it, either in courage, capacity, or statesmanship.

Everything is possible. Even this Administration may be outspoken and energetic; but what fair ground have we to expect it? The commander-in-chief was born in Virginia, and the President was born in Kentucky, and no man gets over his birth-place. The fact is, they look upon the question with State pride and State sympathy, whereas no one should attempt to re-build a nation but upon the corner-stone of eternal justice. Time is slipping away, and how long it may be necessary to educate the President up to the level of efficient leadership, I do not know; but if it takes much longer to move those halting limbs and open those eyes, Europe will take her own course. Whether Treason shall be called Revolution, is only a question of *time*.

If, on the 1st of March next, this country stands as it does now—the North defensive and the South offensive—Washington threatened and the Southern cities free—every one will expect Europe to stretch her hands across the ocean, and acknowledge the Confederacy. Every month, therefore, is vastly important; for the conquest of the South is not the business of a day. The question lies between secession and hasty recognition. I don't believe that there is a Union man at the South worth minding, except the blacks. There are hundreds, aye, thousands of men who have Union sympathies, but they are like men carved in marble—they have not the courage to make themselves felt. The only men to count on the checker board, to-day, are the blacks. Two hundred years of slavery and the violation of every right man holds dear, the hoarded vengeance of six generations, make the blacks inevitably and irrevocably loyal. Whoever fails, they remain true to the banner that promises liberty and justice, if not revenge. Let our regiments penetrate the South with that message. Let Fremont descend the Mississippi, and when he falls on New Orleans, he will have half a million of men under his flag. On the contrary, what voice is it that comes from Washington? Why, the inevitable statute of confiscation was wrung from the President by half the Senate on their knees. Bull Run might have taught him what was to be done. And the New York *Herald*, which is always well posted, says, "One victory, and then offer such terms as the South never dreamed of asking." Now it seems to be the duty of the hour to show unmistakably, by every channel by which public opinion makes itself felt, that the purpose of the Northern States, if such purpose exists, is to conquer—and conquer in the service of freedom. (Cheers.) There are two reasons for that. One is, should the South dream of compromise—that she may see that the Constitution of '87 is at an end, and that there can be no other, except one based upon equal liberty or manhood.

We are willing to accept the challenge now made to us—a Union for slavery, or a Union without it; and we abide the issue, no matter at what cost of fire, and blood, and treasure. We will make no peace but the peace of justice. (Applause.)

Men complain of the London *Times*. Do you suppose that the writers of that paper took their cue from reporters in these States? Why, they obtain their information from their own Government; and when they say that in this war our Government ignores slavery, they only speak the intelligence they receive from Washington. Lancashire and the Bank of England never base their information upon the speculations of a vagabond reporter. (Laughter.) They base their action upon the best information which the ministers give them. And we receive back from the press of London and Paris, the news of what our Government means.

The Cabinet talk of re-constructing this country as it was, but we mean to tell them that it can't be done. (Cheers.) We are to teach them that this war is the most intolerable abuse of the 19th century, the matchless crime of this generation, unless it means the emancipation of four millions of victims. We are to teach the Administration that thirty millions of people are not to be hurled into the hell of civil war, unless they have such a purpose as will make it the holiest crusade which the annals of the world has ever shown. It shall be a war to cut out the eating cancer which is destroying our leading men, and for which the people are ready, needing nothing but leaders. (Cheers.)

You and I do not often see such a production as Gen. Butler's last letter from Fortress Monroe. It is the noblest document I have seen in this war. Coming from you or me, it would have been called impracticable, fanatic; but the moment it came from a Democratic general—from a general who had led the troops of the North on the sacred soil of Virginia—the whole North cried out, Amen! It crystallizes the sentiment of the North into one purpose. It was a speech and an act. What we want of the Administration is an indication of a purpose—not an argument, but a proposition. Why, the ideas of the gunner are infinitely more important than his cannon. You and I are to load the muskets which we saw pass through our streets to-day with the purpose of liberty, otherwise their charge is empty powder.

Now, if the Administration takes another six months for the education of the Secretary of War in raising regiments, and the Secretary of the Treasury in missing notes, and the Secretary of State in blocking the wheels, why, then, one or two things happen. Foreign states will no longer leave it a domestic question. They will start to their feet, and make certain demands. What course will the nation take then? Will she yield? Perhaps so—perhaps not. You and I think that the spirit of Cromwellian Republicanism still exists among us, and that spirit, inscribing Emancipation upon its banner, will carry it to the Gulf, in defiance of all opposition, abroad or at home. (Cheers.) But with such changing elements, no man can be sure of this.

I understand that the Minister to Vienna tells England that if she moves but one step forward from her present position, it would free every slave, and destroy every cotton crop for the next three years. I almost believe it; but, by that time, the American people will have had twelve months of war—defeats as well as victories—and may possibly admit that it would be better to acknowledge the Southern Confederacy, and try to settle down into two States. I believe that the Union is the Gibraltar of slavery—that the Union out of the way, slavery cannot exist for ten years. Sorry should I be to see that the leaders were wanting, and that the masses were baulked of their purpose. I should acknowledge it as the most precious boon of the present generation if the four million of slaves would come before you daily—you who love the Union—and thus induce you to compel the Administration to do its duty.

I know that there is not the first germ of a purpose in the Cabinet at Washington—that you have to create it—that every member of the Cabinet wants some one to relieve him of the responsibility of action,—some even asking God to create an insurrection which would compel them to do what they dare not on their own responsibility. Now, one of the most triumphant, useful journals has closed its lips. All over the free States, the men who should have led their party are silent. I do not arraign them; but when this dead weight of silence settles down upon a people, while we are to be whipped into liberty—that every free press should be silent, while Washington is to be shelled into liberty—are there no men to utter their sentiments boldly, in order that there may be one agglomerate purpose to hurl it on the head of the Cabinet?

You may say that I arraign the Cabinet. I do. Those six months should have witnessed the capture of Charleston and New Orleans, and the landing of 6,000 men on Sullivan's Island. Sixty days after, there would have been a jubilee in every hovel in Carolina. Instead of that, I defy the most sanguine Republican to tell me what his President means—to tell me when this war shall be conducted with anything like that vigor which a bankrupt public demands. A million a day! Our best blood shed in ineffectual forays! Gen. Lyon—a man worth half-a-dozen victories—sacrificed to the War Department!

It is time that every press should cry out that this inhuman butchery should cease, or vindicate itself in the face of the world. In six months, England and France—the only powers that can force your Cabinet to anything like vigorous prosecution of policy—will interfere. There is one gleam, that this young general summoned, it may be, to supply the place of the general-in-chief—General McClellan—(loud cheers)—may possess the military vigor that will carry us beyond this danger. There may be another, whose name is dear to the people—I mean Fremont. (Cheers.) With Lane on his right and Montgomery on his left, he may pass down the Valley of the Mississippi, and may launch a thunderbolt to announce to the Government that he has freed the slaves of the South-West. (Continued cheering.) Or it may be that the people will take it out of the Government's hands, and deal with it in its own way.

It lies with the masses whether this war is to be made anything but the assertion of empire. The South has cut her own throat. She has gone into the swine—(laughter)—and is rushing down into the sea. (Renewed laughter and applause.) She has consummated her own suicide. But, assembled here as we are to-day—on the anniversary of such a birthday—we remember his deep interest in democracy itself. How proudly he counted always the millions of his countrymen! how grandly he predicted their future! To-day, therefore, we may well ask for such vigor of purpose as will save the empire unbroken, and true to its normal idea, Freedom—as will allow the masses to to carry out their purpose, hold all North America, and consecrate it to equal liberty. If the press is silent, where are our Senators? Where are our Republican leaders? Are there no gatherings of Northern men, that Washington may yet know it? There is a better thing that a Senator can do than drill a brigade. He can instruct a Commonwealth. He can teach the North. You should demand this of him. These leaders ought to speak to the millions. Would to God we had one man willing to take an ounce of responsibility! who would speak to twenty millions of the North, and guide them through this crisis!

What made Stephen A. Douglas wield such a power over the people? It was the pluck which he displayed. They were glad to see a man once risk an opinion, and not stop to cipher it out on the slate. We want a Curtius who will leap into the chasm—we want one who will look down from his height of leadership, and see that the people receive no injury—to carry to the President the wishes of the people; and this work must be done in the next three months. (Loud applause.)

BIRTH-DAY OF THEODORE PARKER.

The Birth-Day of Theodore Parker was commemorated at Allston Hall, in this city, on Friday evening last, by the "Fraternity Association," and a numerous and choice gathering of the friends of that much lamented champion of mental independence, free inquiry, universal progress, and impartial liberty. The platform presented an embankment of the choicest plants and flowers, profusely contributed and tastefully arranged, as if in grateful remembrance of his lively appreciation of those wonderful specimens of the Divine workmanship in creation. The exercises consisted in singing Mr. Parker's favorite hymn, "While thee I seek, protecting Power,"—the reading of a prayer made by him at Music Hall seven years ago, and written down at the time by a member of the Society, with some brief appropriate prefatory remarks by John R. Manley, Esq.—and speeches by Dr. Wellington, Wendell Phillips, Esq., Rev. William R. Alger, Charles H. Brainerd, Esq. William Lloyd Garrison, and Charles W. Slack, Esq. These, (excepting Mr. Phillips's, which had special reference to the present state of our national affairs and the purposeless action of the Cabinet, and which we give in another column as reported expressly for the *Pine and Palm*) were mainly devoted to grateful tributes to the memory of the deceased, feelingly and eloquently expressed, and to the recital of interesting personal reminiscences. Those charming singers, John W. Hutchinson and family, were present, and sang in their usual spirited and effective style. An excellent ode, written by Frank B. Sanborn, Esq., of Concord, was also sung. Such was the interest of the meeting, that the proceedings did not terminate till near midnight. It will be an occasion long to be remembered with pleasure and profit. We regret that we have not a phonographic report of all that was said and done to lay before our readers.

THE CASE OF ARTHUR ROBINSON.

Cincinnati, Ohio, August 20, 1861.

When I addressed a letter to you from New Orleans in November last, the people of that city were in the midst of a great excitement. The "irrepressible conflict" was then progressing in a satisfactory manner. About the middle of November, the conspirators and their dupes held a meeting in Armory Hall. An object of that meeting was to denounce Abolitionists residing in the city. Your correspondent received a full share of abuse, and the excitement against him in that crowded hall was intense. An employee in the post-office brought to the meeting copies of the *Liberator*, addressed to me, and extracts from the paper were read, much to the edification of the hearers, I hope. Imagine the excitement which existed, as the speaker read the paragraph headed, "The Constitution of the United States is a covenant with death, and an agreement with hell." Such wholesome truths were never before or since, I imagine, read in a public meeting at New Orleans. Several persons were appointed, on this occasion, to inquire into my case and advise proper action. I was closely watched: the "chivalry" going so far as to introduce spies into my house, concealing themselves at night between the roof and ceiling, peeping through a hole made for the purpose of watching my actions at home. To what depths of meanness does not slavery reduce men! Finally, on November 29th, I was arrested by two or three of the Mayor's police, assisted by some of the vigilants, and brought before his "honor." The *Picayune*, of the same date, contained the following:—

> "More Abolition Excitement. This morning, Arthur Robinson, a man of genteel appearance and education, was arrested by Corporal Dean and the Mayor's special officer, T. H. Dryden, at the request of two citizens, and brought to the Mayor's office, on the charge of entertaining Abolitionist sentiments, and expressing the same in public.
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> The accused is a native of Ireland, and came to the United States in 1854. He remained in New York until 1856, and has since been living in this city. He stated to the Mayor that he was decidedly adverse to slavery, and wanted to see it abolished at as early a day as practicable, by lawful means; that he did not contemplate anything wrong, but he could not help giving utterance to his feelings. In reply to the Mayor's questions, he acknowledged that he had conversed on the subject with free negroes, but would not state positively whether or not he had spoken to slaves.
>
> The Mayor committed him for further examination before the Recorder."

The reporter erred in stating that I had been in New Orleans only from 1856. During the eleven years and upwards I have spent in the United States, ten have been spent in four different slave States, and in them I imbibed anti-slavery opinions, and became "rooted and grounded" in abolitionism. During my imprisonment of nearly four months, I experienced what I had previously witnessed, that the tender mercies of slaveholders is cruelty.

A few individuals, natives of the South, and zealous advocates of the rebellion, were faithful to their professions of friendship for me. One, Thos. C. Campbell, is now in the rebel army in Virginia; he visited me in prison, and otherwise rendered important services, notwithstanding the warnings he received. Another, Alfred Bourge, a creole of New Orleans, went so far as to be on hand at the Recorder's (or committing magistrate's) Court, with friends, to assist in protecting me from the mob. I was not, however, brought out of prison on that occasion; threats of lynching having been freely made, and of the crowd assembled around the Recorder's office on the occasion, many were bent on mischief.

The Grand Jury, however, took the case out of the Recorder's hands, and indicted me, finding a "true bill," comprising five counts,—1. Using "incendiary" language; 2. Bringing into the State "incendiary" newspapers (referring principally to two copies of the *Liberator* received by me); 3. Bringing into the State a scrap-book of an "incendiary" character—(it contained several anti-slavery extracts, some of which, taken from the *Liberator*, were laudatory of John Brown; the puritanical character of the compiler, as exhibited by the extracts, was also very distasteful to the authorities); 4. Bringing into the State a copy of "Barnes's Scriptural Views of Slavery." The searching of my house, by the vigilants, and consent of the Mayor, resulted in obtaining these books, though several other publications, of an anti-slavery and a pro-slavery character, were passed by. The penalties attached to these counts is imprisonment, with hard labor, from five to twenty-one years, or hanging. That infamous enactment, the "Black Code" of Louisiana, was passed by the Legislature of that State in 1832, at a period of great alarm, resulting from rumors of a slave insurrection in the vicinity of Donaldsonville, near New Orleans, where the Legislature were sitting. The penalties attached to violations of its provisions are very unequal,—one year's imprisonment or death, at the option of the judge, in some cases. Last winter, a free colored man was convicted under this act, of using "incendiary" language in the presence of slaves, and sentenced to twenty-one years' imprisonment.

I was finally liberated without a trial. To this fortunate escape I am indebted to the efforts of friends. The fact of my being a Free-mason proved of great service to me with a few influential individuals,—although the body of Free-masons in New Orleans are just as willing to hang one of their number who is denounced as an Abolitionist, as coffee-house keepers would one of their class. The result of my observations, in this connection, is, that slaveholders, everywhere, are incapable of respect to obligations, unless the protection of their accursed system is involved. Said a physician named Hunter to me, while in prison, "If you were my brother, I would assist in hanging you." He was about fifty years of age. He spoke without manifesting any excitement, and meant what he said. If the influence of slaveholding will not make bad men worse, nothing can.

I may be indebted solely to the interference of the British Government for my release. On the 22d of February, Mr. Charles Tottenham, member of Parliament for New Ross, Ireland, (in which town I served my apprenticeship,) called at the foreign office, London, with reference to my case, and on the 11th of March following I was liberated,—just time enough for a communication from the foreign office to be available in my case. William Mure, the Consul in New Orleans, declined interfering in my behalf, although he knew I was a British subject: alleging that "the whole squad would be down upon us," if he should.

Shortly after my arrival in this city, I addressed my complaint to Lord Lyons, demanding damages to the extent of $5,000, to which the following reply was returned:—

> "British Legation, Washington, D. C., April 8th, 1861.
>
> Sir,—I have received your letter of the 4th instant. Your case has already been brought to the notice of her Majesty's Government. I will, nevertheless, forward a copy of your letter without delay to her Majesty's principal for foreign affairs. In doing so, however, I shall feel it my duty to observe to his lordship that I have reason to believe that you have not been correctly informed with regard to the conduct and motives of her Majesty's Consul at New Orleans.
>
> I am, sir, your most obedient, humble servant,
>
> LYONS.
>
> Mr. Arthur Robinson."

Having waited a reasonable time to hear further of

the matter from the Minister at Washington, I addressed him another letter, and received the following reply from him:—

"British Legation, Washington, D. C., July 23d, 1861.

Sir,—In answer to your letter of the 10th instant, I have to say that I forwarded to her Majesty's Government a copy of your letter of the 4th April last; that I have not received any instruction to make to you a communication on the subject to which it relates; and that I do not expect to receive any such instruction.

I am, sir, your obedient, humble servant,

LYONS.

Mr. Arthur Robinson, Cincinnati, Ohio."

Thus the matter rests at present.

ARTHUR ROBINSON.

SPEECH OF WILLIAM P. POWELL,

At the Celebration of British West India Emancipation, at New Bedford, August 1st, 1861.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen:

It would be superfluous to say anything in addition to what has been already said by those who have preceded me, in admiration of British West India Emancipation. The act of the British Parliament which proclaimed the boon of freedom to 800,000 slaves was one of long-withheld justice, and not an experiment. It was the *right* of the enslaved, and not a *privilege*. It was the *duty* of the imperial government, and not one of *magnanimity*. What a contrast this stupendous iniquity presents in this nineteenth century of the world's redemption! Two hundred and forty-two years ago, England joined hands with Spain, Portugal, France, Holland, Denmark and all civilized Europe,—Russia excepted,—and, in the name of a crucified Jesus, robbed Africa of 20,000,000 of her children. Less than one hundred years ago, as a nation that had grievously sinned before high heaven and the world's humanity, England humbled herself, as it were in sackcloth and ashes, and abolished the infamous African slave trade. Twenty-seven years ago, in order to make her "repentance not to be repented of" doubly sure, England, at a sacrifice of $100,000,000, set another example worthy to be imitated by our most guilty country, which adds another bright page in the imperishable book of fame, preëminently glorious, by emancipating 800,000 British West India slaves.

Sir, this act of British national repentance, without bloodshed, is unparalleled in the world's history. It has renovated, given a new impulse, and opened wide the floodgates of England's commercial greatness all over the world, beyond the calculation of the most astute political economist. It has reconstructed, on a permanent basis, the free industry of that little circumscribed gem of the ocean, upon whose imperial dominion the sun never sets. The glory of England, the only safe asylum of the oppressed of every nation, (Africa not excepted,) whose proud flag has floated over the pinnacle of the temple of fame, and withstood the surging waves of time for more than a thousand years, grows higher and brighter in the glorious sunlight of her progressive free institutions. What has made that speck of earth, that sea-girt isle, *great, glorious, and free*, and secured for her the constant wonder and admiration of the whole world? I answer, her free men, free labor, free thought, free speech, free press—her free Constitution, and her free Christian civilization. Sir, England's success, prosperity, and indomitable prowess, need no encomiums from your humble speaker. I have seen it in her thousand stupendous manufactories, and smoke-chimneys towering up to the heavens, belching forth their lurid light at midnight as signals, remunerating free industry. I have seen her millions of free operatives, agriculturists, mechanics and artisans, (aliases, "greasy mechanics, small-fisted farmers, and mud-sills," so to speak in South Carolina parlance,) on their holiday excursions, dressed in English broadcloths, calicoes, satins and silks. It is seen in her mercantile marine service, with tens of thousands of ships and millions of mariners. It is seen in her mammoth floating batteries of wood and iron, part propelled by steam, and manned by tens of thousands of brave tars. It is seen in hundreds of thousands of invincible soldiers and volunteer corps, who dare to do and die in defence of their country's honor. All, all speak out in thunder tones the irresistible genius of British freedom.

As with individuals, so with nations; national prosperity is always sure to follow sincere, humble repentance. National greatness is always characteristic of a righteous civil government. Hence, "righteousness exalteth a nation, but sin is a reproach to any people." "If thou take away from the midst of thee the yoke, then shall thy light break forth as the morning, and thine health shall spring forth speedily, and thy righteousness shall go before thee. And they that shall be of thee shall build the old waste places; thou shalt raise up the foundations of many generations; and thou shalt be called, The repairer of the breach, the restorer of paths to dwell in. And I will cause thee to ride upon the high places of the earth; for the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it." Thus we see Great Britain, taking advantage of God's promises, and wholly relying upon his sure mercies, is now reaping the golden fruits of a nation's obedience to God.

"Send the glad tidings o'er the sea—
His chains are broke, the slave is free!
Britannia's justice, wealth and might,
Have gained the negro's long-lost right!
His chains are broke, the slave is free—
This is the negro's jubilee."

If, sir, we place our hand upon the magnetic telegraph, so to speak, we feel the pulsations of the suffering heart of classic Italy at every vibration. Another touch, and the electric current sends a thrill of joy throughout the civilized world;—Italy is free! We again manipulate, and the answer comes back that 40,000,000 Russian serfs, who for centuries lay crushed under the hoof of despotism, are now by God's blessing redeemed and disenthralled. Hungary, and in fact all Europe, are beginning to show unmistakable symptoms of emancipation from the ultra-montanisms of a rotten and an effete mediæval age. Every where on the American continent, civil and religious liberty obtains, except in *these disunited States*. Even in Brazil, where negro slavery exists, (but soon to be abolished, if not neutralized by our "manifest destiny" slavery-propagandists,) there I have seen no invidious religious distinctions made on account of color or condition. There I have seen at the altar the unbleached African, celebrating high mass, surrounded by white priests, serving as *acolytes*. There, too, I have seen master and slave, white and black, rich and poor, lazaroni and Mary Magdalenes, all kneeling down, side by side, doing penance—worshipping at the same altar—eating and drinking the transubstantiated emblems of a crucified Jesus. There I have seen the judicial and civil officers of government, navy and army, composed of white and black freemen. There the slave can have his value appraised by government, and redeem himself. It is the same custom in the Spanish and Portuguese possessions.

But how stands the record in our own unfortunate, distracted country? Alas! tell it not in heathen lands, publish it not in the highway of the world's civilization, that *Cotton is still king*—the lords of the lash are still suffered to live as a terrible power! Sir, it is for this purpose we are here to-day—to plead the cause of 4,000,000 American negro slaves, because we believe that liberty, in its broadest signification, is the birthright of all mankind; because "right is of no sect, truth of no color, God is the Father of us all, and all we are brethren"; because, in the history of the world's progress, the time has passed away when men shall, at the behest of ruthless despots and of sickly sentimentalists, suppress their free "thoughts that breathe and words that burn," and speak with bated breath and whispering tones against this iniquitous, gigantic, atrocious system of all villanies; because we would not be faithful to our own convictions of duty, if we did not bear a faithful, consistent testimony against its enormities and further continuance; because we are utterly and forever opposed to the unholy, unchristian principles upon which this vile system is founded and upheld; and because, on the broad ground of our common humanity, we can do no less than "cry aloud, spare not, lift up thy voice like a trumpet, and show this nation her sins."

What is American slavery? It is a system of untold wrongs—a violation of every moral principle, of truth and justice, mercy and love, purity and honesty, and of social, civil, and religious liberty. The Rev. Dr. Breckinridge, more than twenty years ago, when not under the influence of a pro-slavery clerical anodyne, also asks:—

"What, then, is slavery? for the question relates to the action of certain principles on it, and to its probable and proper results; what is slavery as it exists among us? We reply, it is that condition enforced by the laws of one half of the States of this Confederacy, in which one portion of the community, called masters, is allowed such power over another portion called slaves; as

"1. To deprive them of the entire earnings of their own labor, except only so much as is necessary to continue labor itself, by continuing healthful existence, thus committing CLEAR ROBBERY.

"2. To reduce them to the necessity of UNIVERSAL CONCUBINAGE, by denying to them the civil rights of marriage; thus breaking up the dearest relations of life, and encouraging UNIVERSAL PROSTITUTION.

"3. To deprive them of the means and opportunities of moral and intellectual culture, in many States making it a high penal offence to teach them to read; perpetuating whatever of evil there is that proceeds from ignorance.

"4. To set up between parents and their children an authority higher than the impulse of nature and the laws of God; which breaks up the authority of the father over his own offspring, and, at pleasure, separates the mother at a returnless distance from her child; thus abrogating the clearest law of nature; thus outraging all decency and justice, and degrading and oppressing thousands upon thousands of beings, created like themselves, in the image of the most high God! This is slavery as it is daily exhibited in every slave State."

Such is American slavery in its mildest form, to say nothing of its barbarism and monstrous cruelties, as it existed more than twenty years ago, without one redeeming trait in its character in the year of grace 1861.

And here, sir, I beg leave to digress. Certain living philosophers, in order to justify the enslavement of our race—for instance, Professor Agassiz—have even gone so far as to advocate the plurality of the races, and contend that there is an insuperable geological, geographical, and ethnological barrier between the Anglo-Saxon and African race. Professor Grant, (said to be an Englishman,) according to his unsupported theory and bare assertions, insists that we are but one remove from the ourang-outang. Iconoclast, the notorious disputant as to the authenticity of the Mosaic account of the creation of the world, contends that it is impossible the various types of mankind could have been produced by one pair, and that we, together with all creation, are the spontaneous growth of—come-by-chance. The Hon. John Randolph, of South Carolina, in his speech at the convention to a frame a Constitution for struggling Kansas, now a free State, delivers himself of this disgusting philippic against our prostrate race, as follows:—

"Mr. President,—What does the gentleman mean by talking about the traffic in human flesh? Does he (Henderson) think that niggers are human, that they are flesh and blood like ourselves? Why, if John Randolph believed that niggers were human, no matter in however slight a degree, this Convention would not find John Randolph on the floor of the hall advocating slavery. No! if he thought that niggers were human flesh and blood, possessed of human feelings, affections and thoughts, having an immortal soul, John Randolph would be an Abolitionist. What! buy and sell our own flesh and blood? Trade in human souls! No! no! He believed in no such sickly stuff as that; and for gentlemen affecting to hold that slavery was abstractly right, and who put themselves forward as advocates of Southern rights, to talk about the 'traffic in human flesh and blood,' was simply balderdash. He didn't believe niggers to be human any more than a horse or a dog. If he did, he should advocate their right to freedom.

"A nigger, he held, was an animal—a cross between the baboon and the man; and he could prove his doctrine by chapter and verse, and by the niggers themselves. Did they look like white men? Was not their hair woolly, lips thick, nose flat, skull thick—and couldn't any anatomist tell the bones of a nigger from those of any human beings? He held that niggers were animals, but little more intelligent than a dog, and but one remove from the baboon, and he hoped gentlemen would not talk such nonsense as 'the traffic in human flesh disgracing our fair soil' again. He should vote against the amendment, because he did not want nigger-traders to have the opportunity to bring here all the vicious and diseased niggers with which the South was overrun."

Such, sir, are a few of the many disgusting, unscientific subterfuges resorted to in order to transform God's image, cut out in ebony, into four-footed beasts. On the contrary, in his scientific thesis, entitled 'Anthropomorphous of Animals," read at the opening of St. George's Hall in Liverpool, September 18th, 1854, Professor Owen asks this significant question: "Who knows but that the Anglo-Saxon and Chimpanzee are second cousins?" Also, Charles Dickens, describing the famous Gorilla, (now said to be extinct,) in his inimitable *Once-a-Week*, calls them *our near relations*. Well, sir, if we are to believe these *savans*, then the link is complete: we are not only their cousins germain, but bone of their bone, and flesh of their flesh. It is difficult, however, to reconcile these various opinions, even with that of common sense, common honesty, and common decency, to say nothing of Holy Writ, whose inspiration explicitly declares that "God hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell upon the face of the whole earth." Upon this rock of truth we take our stand, and claim for our race the undivided and inseparable identity of the whole human family.

But why should we waste time to disprove the thousand-and one miserable subterfuges of an already discomforted foe? The hand-writing of God's retributive judgment, in the present exigencies of the country, is inscribed in letters of blood on the walls of our slaveholding republican edifice, "*Mene, Mene, Tekel, Upharsin.*" The destruction of negro slavery, which has grown with the nation's growth, and strengthened with its strength, and interwoven itself into all this wicked nation's activities, must be adjudicated by God's instrumentalities, "Gog" North, and "Magog" South. And may God defend the right!

A word or two as to the African Colonization Society, with its malignant free negro hate—a Society that never even so much as pretended to ameliorate the condition of the slave, but, if anything, rendered his emancipation entirely beyond the hope of redemption. For example—from 1816 up to 1861, a period of forty-five years, only 5,770 slaves have been colonized to Liberia, within a fraction of just two weeks of this year's increase; and less than two and a half slaves, who have been emancipated per week, for the last forty-five years, under the auspices of this *slow-go-motive* Society, whose computed receipts from all sources for the same period cannot be less than $3,600,000. Now, sir, let us calculate the number of slaves who have escaped into British North America at 45,000, into the Free States 95,000, into the West Indies 5,000, and into Europe 5,000—being a total of 150,000, averaging sixty-four and a fraction of stupid, improvident negro slaves who have escaped every week since 1816, without the aid of organized benevolence, and who could not await the slow process to transport them to the burning sands of Africa.

Again, in order to accommodate rigid compensationists, computing the number of slaves in 1816 to be 1,500,000, and taking their value, per capita, the same then as the 800,000 British West India slaves in 1834—say one hundred million dollars ($100,000,000)—it would give us one hundred and eighty million, seven hundred and fifty thousand dollars ($180,750,000). Now, if the sum of three million, six hundred thousand dollars ($3,600,000), which the Colonization Society expended in colonizing 5,770 slaves during a period of forty-five years, had been hypothecated in 1816, as an emancipation fund—the African and inter-State slave trade prohibited by stringent laws—and all the slaves then living, and born on or after that date declared free, the adults in ten years, their children at twenty-seven years of age, and in the mean time educated, the principal, three million, six hundred thousand dollars ($3,600,000), and compound interest doubling itself every eleven years, would amount to the enormous sum of two hundred and thirty million, four hundred thousand dollars ($230,400,000). Deducting therefrom one hundred and eighty million, seven hundred and fifty thousand dollars, ($180,750,000,) the value of 1,500,000 slaves in 1816, would leave a clear balance in the national coffers of forty-nine million, six hundred and fifty thousand dollars ($49,650,000) in 1871, with the curse of slavery entirely abolished.

The way of duty is always the way of safety. These calculations being true, what is the true state of the question as it presents itself this day to the gaze of the civilized world? Why, instead of our model Republic marching on the high road of national prosperity, liberty and happiness, like the mother country,—oh! what a chapter is written in horrible letters of blood,—disintegration, disunion, revolution, and grim visaged internecine war! And for what object? Is it "to form a more perfect Union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves"? This war, as now maintained by the confederate rebel traitors, is carried on, and thus far with partial success, for the purpose of founding a new slaveholding government. It is not a war for personal liberty. It is not a war to loose the bonds of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens, to break every yoke, and let the oppressed go free. But it is a war—a shameful, outrageous war, to perpetuate the damnable institution of concubinage, cradle-robbing, and women-whipping—a war to obliterate from the statute-books of every nominally free State, all laws granting our people the least protection and political rights—a war to reëstablish the accursed African slave-trade! What say the traitors at Montgomery?

"Though last, not least, the new Constitution has put at rest forever all the agitating questions relating to our peculiar institutions—*African slavery*, as it exists among us, is the proper *status* of the negro in our form of civilization. *This was the immediate cause of the late rupture, and of the present revolution.* Jefferson, in his forecast, had anticipated this as the rock upon which the old Union would split. He was right. What was conjecture with him is now a realized fact. But whether he fully comprehended the great truth upon which that rock stood, and stands, may be doubted. The prevailing ideas entertained by him, and most of the leading statesmen at the time of the formation of the old Constitution, were that the enslavement of the African race was in violation of the laws of nature: that it was wrong in principle, socially, morally and politically. It was an evil they knew not well how to deal with; but the general opinion of the men of that day was, that somehow or other, in the order of Providence, the institution would be evanescent, and pass away. * * * *Those ideas, however, were fundamentally wrong. They rested upon the assumption of the equality of races. This was an error. It was a sandy foundation, and the idea of a government built upon it, when the storm came, and wind blew, it fell.*

Our new government is founded upon *exactly the opposite ideas; its foundations are laid, its corner-stone rests, on the great truth that the negro is* NOT *equal to the white man*; that slavery, subordination to the superior race, is his natural and normal condition. This, *our new government, is the* FIRST *in the history of the world based upon this great philosophical and moral truth.*

* * * * * * * * *

The negro, by nature or the curse of Canaan, is fitted for the condition which he occupies in our system. The architect, in the construction of a building, lays the foundation with the proper material—the granite—then comes the brick or the marble. The substratum of our society is made of the material by nature best fitted for it, and by experience we know it is best, not only for the superior but the inferior race, that it should be so. It is, indeed, in conformity with the Creator. It is not for us to inquire into the wisdom of his ordinances or to question them. * * *

The great objects of humanity are best attained when conformed to his laws and decrees in the formation of governments, as well as in all things else. Our Confederacy is founded on principles in strict conformity with these laws. This stone which was rejected by the builders is become the chief stone of the corner of our new edifice."

But what will the North do? Will the government prosecute this war of subjugation, and bring the rebel States,—slavery and all,—back to their allegiance? Ah! sir, if that is the sole aim of the government of President Lincoln and the federal army, they will be surely and shamefully beaten. This war, disguise it as they may, is virtually nothing more nor less than perpetual slavery against universal freedom, and to this end the free States will have to come. If the North should lose this last modern Archimedian lever, liberty for all God's children, every retrograde step that they may take will be followed by consequences too vast, too momentous to be grasped at by any finite being.

Never was there a greater opportunity for the American nation to put an everlasting end to negro slavery than now—never a greater opportunity for Northern men to make inquisition for the thousand and one Southern outrages committed upon thousands of defenceless Northern men and women, in open violation of constitutional guaranties, than now. I do not counsel bloody revenge for social, commercial and political wrongs. By no means; but I do counsel the people of the free States to instantly retaliate upon Southern aggression, by forever withholding their support to keep alive any longer the cancerous tumor of negro slavery, now preying upon the vitals of the nation's body politic.

Without going into detail, I propose that Congress, at its next session, instantly abolish slavery by proclamation, without compensation, in all the rebel States, which will put an end to the war, and their value confiscated to defray the expenses of the war—repeal the Fugitive Slave Law—form a new treaty with Great Britain, to effectually break up the African slave-trade—abolish slavery in Maryland and Virginia by compensation, and thereby make the capital free territory, as it should have been at the foundation of the government.

In fact, sir, to make the whole scheme short and comprehensive, let the national and State governments go to work, and reconstruct a righteous civil government; then shall we exclaim, in the language of the Psalmist, "God be merciful unto us, and bless us, and show the light of thy countenance, and be merciful unto us; that thy way may be known upon earth, thy saving health among all nations. Let the people praise thee, O God; yea, let all the people praise thee. O let the nations rejoice, and be glad; for thou shalt judge the folk righteously, and govern the nations upon earth. Let the people praise thee. Then shall the earth bring forth her increase, and God, our own God, shall give us his blessing. God shall bless us, and all the ends of the world fear him."

CORRECTION OF "J. W."

New Bedford, Aug. 27, 1861.

Wm. Lloyd Garrison:

Dear Sir—Your correspondent "J. W.," in his letter published in the *Liberator* of Aug. 23d, professes to quote from an extract from a sermon of mine published in the *Liberator* of August 2d; but, evidently attempting to quote from memory, he changes my language, and gives an entirely incorrect representation of my idea. He quotes me as saying, (at least so it is printed,) "it is not possible, nor desirable, to fix any details of any scheme of emancipation, because we want that the scheme should be fixed by the South itself." On turning to the extract in question, I find it correctly printed as I wrote, "it is not possible, nor desirable, *perhaps*, to fix *at this time* the details of any scheme of emancipation, because we want, *if possible*, that the scheme should be fixed in the South itself." I have only italicized certain words, not done in the original, in order to note the difference. Again "J. W." says, "If, as Mr. Potter says, the South only can justly emancipate," &c. So far from saying anything like this, I attempted to show in the sermon, as intimated at the beginning of the published extract, that it is the duty of the Federal Government, both on grounds of moral and of constitutional law, now that slavery has developed itself to its legitimate issue of war, to take measures for abolishing it forever; and the sentence quoted above, with regard to schemes of emancipation, was continued thus: "the government only taking the ground that emancipation there *must* be, but willing to coöperate with the South, or any part of the South, in determining the best way to bring it about."

"J. W." quotes me again as saying, "The same humanity that bids us give freedom to the slave, bid us do so without anarchy and violence, but with its proper blessings of order, prosperity, and peace." What I actually said, and what you printed, was, "The same humanity that bids us give freedom to the slave, bids us also provide that freedom be given to him, not with anarchy and violence, but with its proper blessings of order, and prosperity, and peace,"—and this was said, as the context shows, not as bearing on the *right* of the General Government to emancipate the slaves, but on its *duty* to care for and protect them against anarchy and violence *after* it has *decreed* their emancipation.

These convictions doubtless seem of more importance to me than they will to any one else; but, as I do not agree with "J. W's" position, I cannot claim the credit of being used for its support.

Very truly yours,

W. J. POTTER.

MEETING OF THE COLORED EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTE.

A large and respectable body of the colored citizens of Toronto, Canada West, assembled on Monday evening, August 12th, in the Sayer Street Church, on the occasion of the monthly meeting of the Association which bears the above title, and which was established about two years ago. After prayer by Rev. N. H. Turpin, and the usual business of the Society,

Mr. W. J. Watkins, who was present by invitation, proceeded to address them upon the duties and responsibilities of colored men. These he presented in a strong and forcible manner. He was not present, the lecturer remarked, to deal in intangible abstractions, but concrete realities. One reason why the colored people of the United States and of the Canadas occupied no higher position than at present is, said he, because they do not fully realize and appreciate the responsibilities which rest upon them, and which must be discharged by them, if at all. We have been more intent upon projecting new theories than in reducing old ones to practice. A theory may be as bright and as beautiful as the wing of an archangel, but it will be of but little advantage to the world unless it is made to sweep the circle of human activities. It must be crystalized into practical life. It does no good to form good societies, and there let the professed object of their formation evaporate into windy speeches and flaming resolutions and pic-nic excursions. Hannibal said to his army when the battle trembled to begin, "It is not words that are now wanted, but action." His men leaped into battle, and by united, determined action routed the enemy. Let this be our motto, said Mr. Watkins, if we would rise superior to the crushing circumstances which affect us. The startling events which crimson the wing of the present hour bid us "awake, arise, or be forever fallen!" Our long-tried friends, the Abolitionists, can no more act for us and do our duty, than they can breathe and eat and die for us. We must act well our part by the assumption and performance, to the best of our ability, of all the duties and responsibilities of fully developed manhood. Too long already have we slumbered. What! sleep amid the thunder and smoke of battle, when the events of the next hour may seal our destiny? Are *we* so infatuated, when white men are sacrificing their earthly all? The man among us who can sleep now, would sleep, if possible, amid the thrilling clangor of the resurrection trumpet. Recently, all Europe shook beneath the majestic tread of Garibaldi. He comes across the ocean to fling his ponderous weight against the Bastile of American despotism. Let not our inertia, our indifference to the tragic realities of the hour fill his throbbing heart with sorrow, and chill his noble nature with the apathy of despair.

After presenting the claims of the Educational Association, the lecturer alluded to the fact that many of the colored people of the United States, and some in the Canadas, are seriously contemplating emigration to Hayti. He had a word to say on this subject. It is useless to emigrate anywhere until we emigrate from the gross faults which have characterised us. Hayti needs men of the right stamp—those who feel the dignity of manhood, and act accordingly. Those who go thither should not be deceived. Hayti wants no one who will be an incubus upon her energies. Those who, in the States or in the Canadas, have been like driftwood washed down the stream, will be a valuable acquisition nowhere, and it is well for the struggling and noble people of Hayti if they remain where they are. Some are going there to be generals, judges, and legislators; some to marry their daughters to "Haytian noblemen." *Mirabile dictu!* But all such, if they go, will be, and ought to be, disappointed. Let solid men, who will help Hayti as well as themselves, go thither to develop the resources of the country, and thus conduce to its prosperity, and the government and the people will receive them with open arms. Remember that we go there to continue the warfare against that monstrous abomination, American slavery—not to get rid of the conflict. The interests of Hayti, and of colored America, cannot be dissociated. We go to help to promote those interests, and therefore help the millions of our race who will continue in the United States until Gabriel shall sing the requiem of the world's departed spirit. The speaker still held to the views he had always advocated concerning the expatriation of the race. It could not be effected. President Geffrard did not contemplate it. We remain, then, on this continent in close proximity with our oppressed brethren, who may yet summon us from the land of the pine and palm, to help strike down the haughty Assyrian. Onward, then, and upward! Never dream of peace until the last slave shall clank the last chain, and from among brutes and creeping things leap upon the broad and enduring platform of humanity, and swell the grand hallelujah of redeemed millions!

A vote of thanks was tendered Mr. Watkins for his instructive and able lecture, and the meeting adjourned.

THE FABIAN POLICY.

In reply to the frequently expressed desire to have the rebellion speedily crushed by vigorous measures, it has been urged that the Fabian policy has been adopted, and an Anaconda-like net was to be spread all around the rebels, and crush them all at once. Another reply is that Gen. Scott intends to achieve a bloodless victory by tiring, starving, and exhausting them, without much loss of life on either side. But we doubt whether any one knows his policy. No crushing has been effected, and that alleged plan has almost faded from popular memory; and a constant loss of life has been going on, all the time, with both sides.

As to the first, it was an ancient policy in an ancient war between two nations. Fabius was a Roman, made a general to fight Carthaginian Hannibal. Ours is a rebellion, or a demand for authorized divorce. When Gen. Washington practised the Fabian policy, his circumstances compelled him to it. His army was by no means well equipped in all the stages of the struggle. Besides, he was pronounced a rebel, and Britain was the mother government. Now, Davis is the rebel, and the United States are the mother. If the Federal forces are pursuing this policy, the rebels are playing at the same game. Our position is different from that of Washington when he strove for independence. And if the Fabian policy was adapted to his condition, it does not follow that it applies to ours. With Fabius Maximus it might have been proper, and with Gen. Washington. It may also be good for Davis. But, it strikes us that if slow work is the proper course for the success of a rebellion, quick work is the best course for its arrest. At any rate, they are acting on the defensive, and seem to be gaining ahead of us in skirmishes, stratagems, and battles. Unless some successful great and decisive achievement, or a series of successful battles, be won by us, the weight of evidence will be against us, discourage our men, injure the cause, and strengthen the rebellion.

Believing that neither Anaconda nor Fabius is the fixed policy of our experienced and wise General,—the circumspect Nestor of the battle-field,—and having full confidence in his skill, we must await the practical maturity of his well-weighed plans. Z.

Hon. Henry Wilson. The Washington *Star*, of Tuesday, pays Senator Wilson of Massachusetts, the following well deserved compliment:—

"Senator Wilson deserves the thanks of the country for the manner in which he has discharged the duties of the chairmanship of the Senate's Military Committee, during the recently called session of Congress. Never before have they been so arduous. He has had devolved on him the task of arranging the details of and maturing nearly every bill bearing on the military service of the Government, which he has discharged with remarkable energy, perspicacity, tact and industry, to the entire satisfaction not only of the President, the Secretary of War and the Commander-in-chief, (with whom it has been necessary for him to be in constant communication with reference to them,) but also to the entire satisfaction of Congress; a rare achievement indeed. He has thus fairly already earned an enviable legislative reputation. Heretofore his position with the minority prevented his remarkable business talents, as thus evinced, from becoming known to his fellow Senators and the country at large."

Combined Efforts to Break up the Slave Trade. The U. S. Marshals of Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Jersey, the Eastern District of Pennsylvania, and Delaware, met on Thursday at the office of Marshal Murray, by invitation of the Secretary of the Interior, to confer upon the adoption of some plan to prevent the fitting-out of slavers in Northern ports. After a brief discussion, and a mutual exchange of views upon the subject, the Marshals from abroad accepted Marshal Murray's invitation to visit a lot of captured slavers in Atlantic Dock, Brooklyn, and learn what that famous style of craft looked like, so that they would know it again. The Marshal acted the part of a guide and instructor very successfully, and explained to his less-informed brethren the numerous "dodges" of the business, and the resorts and habits of the persons engaged in it. To-day the party will take a look at the slaver captains and officers confined in the Tombs; and, at some subsequent day, will be treated to a sight of the haunts most frequented by that cunning class of fellows and their aiders and abettors.—*New York Journal of Commerce.*

Danbury, Ct., Aug. 24. At the raising of a peace flag at New Fairfield, to-day, about 400 were present. An attempt to run up the Stars and Stripes was successfully resisted, and resulted in a fight. Two peace men, named Wildman and Gorham, were seriously wounded, one, it is thought, fatally. Shovels, pick-axes, clubs and stones were freely used, but no fire-arms. There were but seventy Unionists present. The peace flag is flying. There is great excitement.

Bridgeport, Ct., Aug. 24. A secession flag, under the name of a peace flag, was hoisted at Stepney this afternoon. A secession meeting was held, at which speeches were made by one Schnable, a broken down Pennsylvania politician, and others. Union men from here took the flag down, and tore it into five hundred pieces, and held a Union meeting on the ground.

The Farmer, (a secession newspaper) office, was gutted by volunteers to-night, in the presence of from 3000 to 5000 citizens. The windows were smashed, the type distributed in the street, and the presses destroyed.

Sunday, 25. In cleaning out *The Farmer* office, last night, a U. S. mail bag was found, filled with papers addressed to leading secessionists in Alabama, Georgia and other Southern States; also 200 billies. Some curious letters were also found, exposing the treason of politicians in Hartford and elsewhere. One of the editors of *The Farmer* has gone to New Haven, and threatens to issue his paper from the *Register* office to-morrow.

☞ The troubles of the secession press increase rapidly. Yesterday, orders were received at the post-office forbidding the transmission of the *Journal of Commerce*, the *Daily News*, the *Day-Book*, and the *Brooklyn Eagle* through the mails of the United States. News dealers will not send them with other dailies, and the marshals seize them wherever found. The *Alleghanian*, a Western Virginia secession sheet, was extinguished on Thursday night, in revenge for an attack upon a meeting at which Gov. Thomas was speaking. The *Bridgeport Farmer* was utterly destroyed last night by a party of returned volunteers. This paper was the most abusive of any of its kind in the Northern States. The proceeding last night was witnessed by thousands of people, who did not think it worth while to interfere. The *True American* at Trenton, N. J., has succumbed to popular opinion and suspended publication, remarking that as it cannot be circulated, it might as well save the expense of printing. The press fever has also broken out in Wilmington, Del., where last night the *Gazette* office was beset by an excited crowd, in consequence of certain remarks about the Delaware soldiers.—*N. Y. Tribune, 25th inst.*

☞ The Sussex (New Jersey) *Herald* is one of the papers which sympathizes with secession, terming our army a "God forsaken abolition" horde, &c. The following notice from the two Sussex companies now in Virginia, show how the paper is appreciated:—

Cloud's Mills, Va., August 8th.

J. J. McNally—*Editor of New Jersey Herald:* By the request, and in behalf of our respective companies, we ask you to send no more copies of your seditious sheet to our camp. While we have left our native State to sacrifice our comforts, and, if need be, our lives, for the Union which we love, we do not wish to be insulted by your paper, which comes weekly, filled with treason to our Government, and aid and comfort to the rebels seeking to destroy it.

H. P. COOK, Co. B., 2d Regiment.
H. S. LINN, Co. D., 3d Regiment.

Secession Outrage. We learn from Mr. Delano, a conductor on the Hannibal and St. Joseph Railroad, that the passenger train was fired into when about four miles west of Palmyra. The Secessionists were under cover, and fired "at rest," yet, strange to say, though the impress of *fifty-nine* shots were left on the cars, no one was hurt!

When we consider that the train was loaded with women and children—even with some Secessionists beyond doubt—the act is fiendish to the last degree. But, then, this is only a fair sample of the cowardly barbarism of these pro-slavery miscreants, to the perpetration of which they have been encouraged by a mistaken leniency.

☞ Minister Pike, in his dispatch from the Hague, referring to the Bull Run affair, says that in his judgment this reverse will not especially prejudice our cause, or lead to adverse action in Europe. A public sentiment has gradually been developed on that side of the water in regard to our affairs, which is inclined to await a fair trial of the strength of the government without prejudging its ability to overcome its misfortune. "If," he remarks in conclusion, "it shall be shown to the country that simply huddling masses of men together does not make an army, and shall develop some kind of defence for the judgment and wisdom of experienced men, and for those who have charge of affairs, then the disaster may prove to be wholesome experience, and not unmitigated calamity."

☞ Intelligence from the other side of the Potomac shows that the rebels have drawn to Leesburg all their regular force from Charlestown, Winchester, and other points above, and concentrated them at Leesburg, where their army numbers from 11 to 12,000 men. Capt. Henderson's Home Guard alone remain in Jefferson county.

The rebels have taken to pieces at Martinsburg five locomotives belonging to the Baltimore and Ohio railroad, and were to make the attempt yesterday to transport them to Strasburg, or some other point on the Manassas road.

John Bright upon the War. John Bright, in a recent speech at Rochdale, England, alluded to the war in this country, and, among other things, said:

"I say that the war, be it successful or not, be it Christian or not, be it wise or not, is a war to sustain the authority of a great nation; and that *the people of England*, if they are true to their own sympathies, to their own great act of 1834, to which reference has already been made, *will have no sympathy for those who wish to build up a great empire on the perpetual bondage of millions of their fellow-men.*" (Loud cheers.)

Important News from Hayti. By the arrival of the brig Echo, we have dates from Port au Prince to the 5th inst. The Spanish difficulty has been amicably arranged, and all but one of the Spanish vessels had left the harbor.

The island was again quite tranquil, and commercial matters were generally quiet. The Haytien Government paid the Spaniards $200,000 for insulting their flag, but the boundary question was left open for future adjustment. The foreign merchants on the island came to the assistance of the government, and loaned them part of the money to pay the Spanish indemnity.

Awful Slaughter in China. We learn from the late China papers, that the insurgents have taken an important city, called Sew-chang-yuen, four hundred miles from Ningpo. At Chapoo, which place was also conquered, the carnage was awful, and those who escaped were obliged to hide themselves among the caves and rocks, many dying of privations and starvation.

☞ It is said that there was a collision, recently, at Norfolk, between an Alabama and a Virginia regiment, growing out of the taunts of the former against the courage of the latter. Five or six were killed.

☞ The President, with the Secretary of State, attended Gen. McClellan's review of several brigades on the south side of the Potomac, a few days since. The perfection of the discipline of the troops surpassed anything that has been seen in the military line in this country since the war of 1812. The volunteers have already become soldiers.

Gen. McClellan declares his perfect satisfaction with his army, and his army, the greatest ever seen on this continent, is equally satisfied with him.

☞ Capt. Judest, one of Gen. Sigel's skirmishers, wounded in the battle, reports that Sigel's attack on the rear of the rebels' camp was a complete surprise; that they were driven back toward Gen. Lyon's command in front with great slaughter, their dead being in heaps on the field; and for the first half hour Sigel did not lose a man. Subsequently, our troops were subjected to a murderous cross fire from a number of the enemy's cannon, throwing a perfect shower of shells and grape into our ranks.

After driving the enemy back about a mile and a half, Sigel drew off his force, and fell back on Springfield.

☞ According to careful computation from the complete official reports, the St. Louis papers make the loss of Gen. Lyon's army in the Springfield fight 223 killed, 721 wounded, and 291 missing; nearly all the missing, however, have come in, so that the actual loss may be fixed at about 950. That the rebels lost at least double that number is entirely certain from their own dispatches and admissions.

☞ The Baltimore *Exchange* publishes the following paragraph, which appears italicised:—"Lyon is *a dead cock in the pit this time, beyond all peradventure*, having been shot in 'the small of the *back*, while gloriously leading his column on to' *defeat*."

☞ The Memphis *Avalanche* humanely says as "we would hang any one for preaching the damnable creed of lust and equality, so will we show no quarter to any prisoner, but all such shall die upon the gallows." The editor prefaces his comments by stating that he is "neither sanguinary nor blood-thirsty."

☞ The Mobile *News* heads its intelligence from the North, "News from the Enemy's Country," and speaks of the Union troops as "Hessians."

☞ A bold attempt was made by the secessionists, near Cumberland, Va., to capture Gov. Thomas, the Governor of Western Virginia. They placed heavy obstructions on the railroad track, to throw off the train, but the engineer boldly pushed on, threw aside the barricade, and left the would be murderers howling with disappointment. To murder a whole train of passengers is a style of warfare peculiar to the chivalry of the Old Dominion.

☞ A letter from Richmond, Va., says the city was filled with men and women from the more distant Southern States, hunting information of relatives, which they could not obtain. No report of the killed and wounded at Bull Run had been made up, nor was it likely that any ever would be. The greatest distress prevailed.

☞ Among the several women recently taken under surveillance is Mrs. Greenhow, well known in fashionable circles. She, as well as others just arrested, is accused of giving aid and comfort to the rebels. The Provost Marshal's docket of such cases is not yet filled.

Bangor, Me., August 25.—The Bangor *Democrat Extra*, a secession paper, was deposited in the Post Office on Friday night. The Postmaster notified the Department, and retains the papers until he receives orders. The *Democrat* was suppressed by the people a week or two since, and the office destroyed. The extra was printed out of the city, although purporting to be printed here.

Philadelphia, August 25.—Wm. S. Johnston, nephew of the rebel General, was arrested at the depot, after purchasing a ticket for Louisville. His trunk contained a number of letters for the South.

Samuel E. Aiken, arrested as a Southern agent yesterday, is connected with Sloat, who is now engaged in Richmond altering arms for the rebels. His papers show his participation with the rebels. A coil of wire for a field telegraph was found among his baggage, and over $1000 in specie.

☞ There are said to be nine hundred colored contrabands now in Fortress Monroe, of the following classes and value:—Able-bodied men, 300; old men, 30; women, 175; children, 395. Total 900. Value, $506,000.

☞ Humphrey Marshal was asked in Louisville, recently, what he thought of Breckinridge. "He is the deadest man alive, except myself," responded Humphrey.

Our Affairs in Russia. Private letters from Minister Clay announce that in St. Petersburg, at Court, in Government circles, as well as in the public, the most ardent sympathy prevails with the Union, and against the slaveholders.

Anthony Burns has just settled as pastor of the colored Baptist Church in St. Catharines, Canada West. Since his redemption from slavery, he has been preparing for present duties at Oberlin and Fairmount Institutions.

☞ B. Rush Plumley, of Philadelphia, is one of Gen. Fremont's staff.

The only Freedom of Speech, Just Now—The Speech of Freedom.

Galignani announces that both Mdlle. Scheller and her companion, Mdlle. Fossali, were burned to death by the recent terrible accident at the theatre in Stralsund.

☞ Mrs. Broadhurst, a lady eminent in London select circles, was burned to death a short time since in her own drawing-room. Her hoops prevented succor.

☞ London is ecstatic over the discovery of a new vegetable, which seems from a description to be a cross between a potato and an artichoke.

☞ THE TWENTY-EIGHTH NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY SUBSCRIPTION ANNIVERSARY.—The exigencies of the cause having this year occasioned an earlier call for funds than usual, friends at home and abroad are entreated to advance and increase their subscriptions as far as practicable,—addressing them to William I. Bowditch, Esq., *Treas. Am. A. S. Society, Boston.*

MARIA WESTON CHAPMAN.

Whenever more convenient, transmit to either of the following gentlemen, who are both financial officers of the Society:—J. M. McKim, Esq., North Tenth Street, Philadelphia; S. H. Gay, Esq., 5 Beekman Street, New York.

☞ A. T. FOSS, an Agent of the Mass. A. S. Society, will speak in Buxton Hall, in South Weare, N. H., on Sunday, Sept. 1st; and in that vicinity on the Monday and Tuesday evenings following.

☞ MIDDLESEX A. S. SOCIETY.—A meeting of the Middlesex County A. S. Society will be held at Reading, Sunday, Sept. 15. Charles L. Remond, E. H. Heywood and others will speak. The public are cordially invited.

SAMUEL BARRETT, *President.*

Andrew Wellington, *Secretary.*

☞ MERCY B. JACKSON, M. D., having had fifteen years' experience in the Homœopathic treatment of diseases, offers her professional services to the Ladies and Children of Boston and vicinity.

References.—David Thayer, M. D.; Luther Clark, M. D.; John M. Tarball, M. D., Boston. Eliphalet Clark, M. D., Portland, Me.

Rooms No. 20 Bulfinch street. Office hours from 2 to 4, P. M.

WEST NEWTON
English and Classical School.

THE next term will begin Wednesday, Sept. 1, 1861. Both sexes are received as family or day pupils. For particulars, address

NATHANIEL T. ALLEN.

West Newton, Aug. 15.

HOPEDALE
HOME SCHOOL.

THE next Term of this Reformatory and Progressive Institution will commence on *Wednesday, Sept. 4*, and continue Fifteen weeks. For full particulars, please address WM. S. HAYWOOD, *Principal.*

Milford, Mass., Aug. 6, 1861.

TRANSIENT BOARDERS.

THE subscriber has just opened house No. 77 Myrtle st., for the accommodation of transient Boarders. The location is a pleasant one, within a few minutes' walk of the most central portions of the city. Every exertion will be made for the comfort of those who may favor the house with a call. Rooms furnished with or without board. Terms moderate.

Boston, Jan. 7. S. NEWELL.

JUST PUBLISHED,

And for sale at the Anti-Slavery Office, 221 Washington Street,

AN elaborate Work, entitled "Relation of the American Board of Commissioners to Slavery. By Charles K. Whipple,"—a volume of nearly 250 pages. In cloth, 37 cents—in paper covers, 25 cents.

Aug. 30. tf.

Poetry.

BE JUST, AND FEAR NOT.

Rebels against wrong, not right,
Did our brave old fathers fight.
But the tyrant eyed their bondmen!
"Ha! ha! ha!" said he,
"The game you play on me
Your own subjects shall set free.
Be it in white hands or black,
I welcome every gun more."
And so he told every lack-
Land serf and slave through Dunmore.

Then with a wrath and fear sublime
Shook the first men of that olden time;
Shocked were they, in their honest souls,
And kindled, as the blast kindles coals.
"Too true, O king, but the truth
Is not true from thy mouth!
Shall this sin of ours at our heads be hurled
By the satan who brought it into the world?
Who but he freights the slave ships?
Who but he cracks the slave whips?
What we'd make better, he makes worse,
Grasps the coin, and leaves us the curse!
Thanks to thee for a worthy vow,
Greedy old George the blind,
We swear that our quarrel with thee now
Shall be as broad as all mankind."

Then the big, trustful eyes of Sambo,
Mild and bright as a pitch-pine flambeau,
Saw in Jefferson's face Hope's sun more
Than in the crafty old sconce of Dunmore.
"All right. If not to die in slavery fated,
I'll wait, master." And he waited.

Soon then, at Washington's godlike nod,
Drilling white and black men on Cambridge sod,
It was, one May day on Virginia's shore,
That a mason, full of Solomon's lore,
And just this much of wisdom more,
His plumb-level and trowel bore,
And there laid the first true foundation
For an upright, happy, human nation.
Rock-crystal that stone was, clear and flawless,
Showing that lawgivers are not lawless,
But bound firmly, when they strike,
To hit all born men alike.

When the mother of States had laid that stone,
Joyfully met, under a July sun,
Her sisters kissed it and blessed it—every one.
"On such a rock we're independent."
And the swords leaped forth resplendent;
Bells set the air in ecstatic motion,
Like a frantic, storm-quaked ocean,
And, to make the hail real, tempest louder,
Every cellar's dirt was leached for powder.

Again the big, trustful eyes of Sambo,
Mild and bright as a pine-knot flambeau,
Saw in that just decree Hope's sun more
Than in the crafty words of Dunmore.
"All right. If not to die in slavery fated,
I'll wait, master." And he waited.
And he waited. And at first the chain
So slackened it scarce gave pain;
And he helped with the tyrant's might to cope,
With his big, mild eyes all full of hope.
Ah! woe to tell it, not *sic semper*,
Not after the tyrant fell,
Not after the jubilee bell,
For the freed master took the tyrant's temper.

Tighter the links coiled round and round him,
As if an iron anaconda bound him,
Which broke—hounds stood by to hound him!
"Death to their bodies, hell to their souls, who see
Through that crystal rock my bondmen free."
So the mother of States spake, spite of her crest,
Spite of the true stone her sisters had blessed,
Stealthily aiming to knock the nation
Off hers and its own rock foundation.

Struck at thus, where doth the nation stand?
[illegible] the old broken vow,
Planting its feet on the crystal base now—
Or timidly talk of "contraband,"
Hold black manhood's title from its Creator
Good, only if the white tyrant turn traitor,
Treat Bills of Right as pure figments,
Freedom chiefly a question of pigments,
Holding out to wicked States protection
'Gainst the most righteous of all insurrection?

One sledge-hammer blow from its puissant arm,
Doing a mo[illegible] fear, but no mortal harm,
Had left the slave's prison-house no lock.
[illegible] heavenly blow is not stricken,
But [illegible] the red battle thicken,
And our sons, crying, "Boys, never falter,
Let us lay our young lives on Liberty's altar,"
Pass through the fire to Moloch!
Blest their pure souls, though, as they look from the skies,
But shame to the priests who order the sacrifice,
Shame and a curse to the power that does not say,
Before the battle is set in array,
"In the land we add these glorious graves to,
There shall be no slavery for men to be slaves to."

In the good God's name, I say, civilians,
(For ye know well enough by your statistical beverage,
How freedom shows far the blessedest average,—
How what's best for one is best for a thousand millions,)
Ye do but murder on both sides in every battle,
Till ye proclaim our black brothers men, and not cattle.
Fighting for law, ye'll forever blunder it,
Till ye knock the traitors' lie from under it.
Spurn to hell, then, that claim satanic,
And our hearts shall know never a panic.

Boston, August, 1861. E. W.

☞ We have received, (says the Boston *Transcript*,) the following noble, fervid, and patriotic lyric for publication, from its author, Rev. JOHN PIERPONT. It proves that the unwearied fire of genius still glows, undimmed by age, in the soul of an honored American poet, whose first production was published half a century ago. Mr. Pierpont is 76 years old, and his poem has the "spirit of '76." As regards mere age, however, time practises on us a deception in regard to him, for his form seems to grow more erect, his gait more vigorous, his mind more vivid and creative, as he advances in years.

"E PLURIBUS UNUM."

I.

The harp of the minstrel with melody rings,
When the muses have taught him to touch and to tune it;
But though it may have a full octave of strings,
To both maker and minstrel the harp is a unit.
So the power that creates
Our republic of States,
Into harmony brings them at different dates;
And the thirteen or thirty, the Union once done,
Are "E Pluribus Unum"—of many made one.

II.

The science that weighs in her balance the spheres,
And has watched them since first the Chaldean began it,
Now and then, as she counts them and measures their years,
Brings into our system and names a new planet.
Yet the old and new stars—
Venus, Neptune and Mars,
As they drive round the sun their invisible cars,
Whether faster or slower their races they run,
Are "E Pluribus Unum"—of many made one.

III.

Of that system of spheres, should but one fly the track,
Or with others conspire for a general dispersion,
By the great central orb they would all be brought back,
And held, each in her place, by a wholesome coercion.
Should one daughter of light
Be indulged in her flight,
They would all be engulphed by old Chaos and Night:
So must none of our sisters be suffered to run,
For, "E Pluribus Unum"—we all go if one.

IV.

Let the demon of discord our melody mar,
Or treason's red hand rend our Union asunder,
Break one string from our harp, or extinguish one star,
The whole system's ablaze with lightning and thunder.
Let the discord be hushed!
Let the traitors be crushed,
Though "Legion" their name, all with victory flushed!
For aye must our motto stand, fronting the sun;
"E Pluribus Unum"—*Though many, we're* ONE.

The Liberator.

LETTER FROM O. S. MURRAY.

FOSTER'S CROSSINGS, Warren Co., O., July 7, 1861.

"*Be not deceived*"—*Be not* "*mocked.*"

BROTHER GARRISON: Two months ago, you thought me too "lugubrious." Well, I have been waiting, with all possible patience, and watching with all possible diligence and vigilance; and I have been able to find nothing to make me more hopeful. I will rejoice in having been a false prophet, and will be exceeding glad in having been no discerner of the times, touching this war, the government and slavery, if we can come out "emancipated and disenthralled"—will die content and happy, when I can see the accursed conspiracy against humanity defeated that has been the inspiration of our Federal Government throughout its entire existence—whether the defeat be accomplished by the conspirators, taking heed of their ways under the solicitations and warnings of philanthropists, or by their own overt acts of folly and madness, dashing blindly and plunging headlong to ruin.

The people of the North, with whom is the control of the case, are not prepared for a rational, peaceful, humane emancipation, under the dictates of philanthropy. They prefer waiting for gods to do the work bloodily. They have been most unfortunately educated in this regard. Having been always told that if they could not themselves do the work, gods would do it, they delay, and shrink from the responsibility. They trust in such gods as Washington and Lincoln—at least in gods who are the inspirers of such men; and this is no better. He who was honored in standing in Theodore Parker's place recently, and reported in the *Liberator* for July 5, by implication made Washington and Lincoln to be nobler and truer Presidents than John Quincy Adams. The words reported were, that Lincoln is "the noblest and truest President since Washington. (Applause.)" Not thirty lines afterwards he says: "If Mr. Lincoln had been allowed to carry on this government, he would now be returning fugitives, putting down insurrections, and hanging John Browns. He promised to do it, and he is a man of his word." It is preaching, mixed up like this, that muddles the heads of the hearers until they have no discernment of genuine morality and humanity. Whatever comes from gods they are taught is good, whether it be the breaking of chains and slavery, or the making of chains and slavery. Now, Washington was at one end of this governmental slaveholding process, and Lincoln is at the other; and gods have been in it all the way through, preached from pulpits North as well as pulpits South. It has been preaching and overreaching, exhorting and extorting, praying and preying, kneeling and stealing, saving souls, robbing and ravishing bodies, and ruining intellects.

Another, among the greatest hindrances to practical righteousness at the present time, is the Federal Constitution. This is more in the way now than the Bible. All who defend slavery by the Bible, defend it more by the Constitution; and many with whom the Bible is no authority make the Constitution authority all-sufficient for the iniquitous work. In the same number of the *Liberator* already alluded to, in an article containing very many very good things, copied from the Cincinnati *Gazette*, the question is asked: "Is the Government which we are supporting a legitimate, constitutional and just Government?" The *Gazette* of course would answer yes to its own question thus put in the case. But I answer, No—unless the legitimacy and constitutionality mean any thing else and all else than justice. A more flagrantly unjust Government exists not on earth. This needs no proving now to the readers of the *Liberator*. For the support of this Government, the call now is for four hundred thousand men and four hundred millions of money; and the response increases it twenty per cent. The object is to have men and money enough to preserve the Government as it is—to protract and perpetuate the chronic anarchy—to prevent emancipation, keep labor in the control of capital—laborers in the hands of capitalists. A "just" government would need none of this sacrifice of life, squandering of treasure, and dissipation of morals. The North, by itself, would need nothing of the kind. Any number of States, North and South, East and West, without slavery, and with the intelligence and sense of propriety boasted of by our people, would need nothing of the kind. If the object of this war were to abolish slavery and establish a just government, one half of this amount of money and men would do it. The object of using this enormous amount of men and money, I repeat, is, to prevent emancipation, and reestablish the same unjust government.

Capitalists have a common, mutual sympathy, North and South. Capital everywhere aspires to control labor—to own it. Capitalists everywhere coöperate for the ownership of labor—of laborers. Northern capitalists are as eager for it as Southern; and will do baser things to accomplish their purposes. They are only restrained by the intelligence of laborers. They take every advantage of ignorance they dare to. They restrain intelligence—perverting truth and reason—by all the ways and means they dare employ. The government, the ruling power in this nation, is not at Washington. The government is not in the Capitol—nor yet at the Capital, so-called—it is in *capital*. Gold governs. Commerce—that preëminent corrupter of morals and breeder of pirates—governs. Trade governs. The ablest political writer among the public journalists of the West boasts that "trade can heat philanthropy, no matter how long a start it may have." If Horace Greeley was truthfully reported of, while his name was before the caucus at Albany for presenting candidates to succeed Wm. H. Seward in the U. S. Senate, he found it necessary to protest against his friends making a corrupting use of money in his behalf. Nothing is more notorious than that money is the power relied on for elections; and that they who pay out money and elect their men expect pay in return for value received—the pay to be in the honors or emoluments of other offices, or the advantages of trade. Witness the doings under Buchanan's administration in the appointment of officers and the awarding of contracts. And our present administration bids fair to outdo its predecessor in the same direction. The N. Y. *Tribune*, for June 20, 1861, says—

"We learn from a source not likely to be misinformed, that Mr. James E. Harvey has not been recalled from the Portuguese mission, although there is ample and unquestionable evidence of his complicity with the traitors of South Carolina. If any uncharitable persons should suppose that Harvey has some strong though mysterious hold, not upon the Secretary of State, but on prominent friends of his, deeply interested in contracts, and that President Lincoln is not aware of the facts, it would be difficult to deny that appearances were in favor of their hypothesis."

This same "Secretary of State," whose "prominent friends" are here implicated by intimation, said, on the 18th of September last, at St. Paul, Minnesota:

"For the first time in the history of the United States, no man in a free State can be bribed to vote for slavery. * * * *For the first time in the history of the republic, the Slave Power has not even the power to terrify or alarm the freeman so as to make him submit, and scheme, and coincide, and compromise.* * * * I do not believe there has been one day since 1787 until now when slavery had any power in this government, except what it derived from buying up men of weak virtue, no principle and great cupidity, and terrifying men of weak nerve in the free States."

The wonder is, that Wm. H. Seward should have made such an utterance of conviction and such a confession. If a philanthropist had said as much in the way of accusing and convicting politicians and their victims, it would have been deemed "uncharitable"—denounced as "malicious." The probability is, that if he did not just then think and feel that he would himself reform and do differently in future, and endeavor to have others do likewise, in what he was dwelling upon, he intended at least to make the impression that such was his purpose and exhortation. But the confession, under all the circumstances, involves the confessor. No such time has yet arrived as he was calling attention to and fixing on for such a turning point in political conduct. What has taken place, and been manifested, to make us believe that all at once just then our politicians were converted to virtue and honesty—he among the rest? His 12th of January speech, and all his measures for the pacification and perpetuation of slavery, do not indicate that Wm. H. Seward is more above bribes now than before. On the contrary, all his acts in the case, taken together, rather make it plain that this virtual confession to former guiltiness and inequity, made at St. Paul, was the trick of all his tricks, the humbug of all his humbugs, imposed upon the honest and credulous, to blind them to the greater villany he had in contemplation—out-Barnuming Barnum, who, when he wants to humbug the people most unconscionably, impudently tells them, with affected frankness, he is going to do it.

In "Gov. Seward's speech at Auburn, the night before [6th of November] the battle," after taking his hearers round the course he had just been on through New England, the Middle and the Western States, he speaks of his getting "back again with an eager returning spirit to the metropolis, [New York city,] *where sits the soul that sends forth the mighty energy of that civilization.*" From New York primarily and preëminently goes forth the governing inspiration; and it starts through the hands and pockets of such men as Thurlow Weed and Wm. H. Seward, the constituted regency of New York capitalists.

The crowning act of this Northern conspiracy for enslaving the producing classes to the corrupt government—that would subjugate them, and make and hold them subservient to its own interests—is the measure copied from Louis Napoleon, that most infamous deceiver and betrayer of the people. The measure was introduced into the House by John Sherman, recommended in the Senate by Charles Sumner, and in the Cabinet by Secretary Chase of the Treasury. It persuades the people of small means everywhere to invest their little all at disposal, as creditors of the government—thus seducing them into sympathy with it, and support of it, in its conspiracies and inhumanities. Better, far better, to use their earnings for educating and enlightening children, that they may be kept above and out of the bribery and corruption.

Perhaps—probably—the New York *Tribune* comes nearer being philanthropic than any other leading political paper in the nation; and exerts a wider and more powerful influence. Now, the *Tribune's* standing leading column-head over this matter is—"*The War for the Union.*" It declares—"This war is in truth a war for the preservation of the Union, not for the destruction of slavery." In a late issue, it assumes to say for the people—"In the view of the people, the only purpose of the war is to crush the rebellion, and preserve the integrity of the republic." The day before this it said—

"The rebellion having been commenced under false pretences, no truce or treaty can in honor be proposed by the Government to the insurgents, until they restore the *status quo ante bellum*. Let them give up Sumter and the other fortresses they have seized; bring back the arms and munitions they have stolen at Norfolk, Harper's Ferry and other depots; surrender the ships and revenue cutters they have pirated; make restitution of the money and bullion they have pilfered from the New Orleans mint and elsewhere. Let them disband their troops, cancel their letters of marque, and cease making war upon the United States. In a word, let them dissolve their so-called confederacy, and acknowledge the supremacy of the Federal Constitution. The National Government cannot entertain even the thought of negotiating with traitors till they ground their arms, return to their allegiance, and sue for pardon."

All this they will soon be ready enough to do. And what then? The North will be with slavery on its hands still as before, with the expenses and demoralization of war added, and increasing misrule and barbarity and chronic anarchy for the future. If the *Tribune* would be glad of emancipation to come out of the conflict, it is afraid to call for it as a governmental measure, lest the North be divided on it—thus confessing that all this sham pretension of the North being a unit is only a pitching-in for a political squabble, to see who shall out-do in preserving the old Compromise—that is, preventing emancipation. Not that the *Tribune willingly*, voluntarily acts for the prevention of emancipation; but it is afraid to do otherwise. So of Henry Ward Beecher. He says, "This is not to be a crusade of emancipation." According to both, it is to see who shall "whip" or be "whipped," "in a fair, stand-up fight." This is the dignified language of Beecher and the *Tribune*. It is the language of the prize-ring—the language of a dog-fight. The language is worthy the enterprise. What is to be done is to settle a political animosity. The *Tribune* would "Thrash the secessionists into good behavior." If, while this is going on, the gods take interest enough in the case to madden and confuse the belligerents till humanity can do something at righting itself, all right. If otherwise, why—the will of the gods be done. Five hundred thousand men, and five hundred millions of money—a thousand or two or three, more or less, in a battle, with brains scattered, hearts and lungs pierced, bowels torn out, limbs severed—sisters and mothers in anguish—and all to know whether slavery is to be protected, nourished, cherished and cared for, under stripes and stars, or under a rattlesnake.

ORSON S. MURRAY.

P. S. Since a great part of this was written, I have waited on still twenty days longer, to see what encouragement I could find. All I perceive more encouraging is, that the South, in their extremity, are manifesting somewhat more of earnestness. But to have to base a hope for humanity on such prospects, such ways and means, is quite too barbarizing.

July 27. O. S. M.

P. S. 2d. I have just read Crittenden's resolutions. The sly old serpent, the veteran deceiver, is to succeed, after all. Slavery is to out-general liberty. The South are to come out ahead by accepting what they can get. The calling for the obliteration of party lines is only a call for obliteration of opposition to slavery—Union for slavery's salvation. Probably Crittenden (if not too old) will be the next President, and be supported by the New York *Tribune*, Louisville *Journal*, and the Charleston *Mercury*.

The falsity, villanous and atrocious, of Crittenden's position, consists of his exonerating slavery, and placing all the responsibility on the children of that iniquitous parent. Slavery is not to be warred upon, because the legitimate children of slavery, in the lap of their mother, are doing their mother's deeds. It is sufficient to cuff the children's ears, and let the old harlot go unscathed, entirely excused, with "established rights" to raise up another like progeny, and as much worse as she can. A Congress that can be thus handled and humbugged are fit to be hurled from their places. A people who will submit to such indignity and ignominy are fit to be ridden by unconscionable priests and politicians, and crushed under the iron hoofs of remorseless money-mongers and oppressors.

July 28. O. S. M.

EXCHANGE OF PRISONERS.

☞ Government is puzzled what to do about an exchange of prisoners. It cannot make an arrangement that is dictated by considerations of humanity without so far admitting the nationality of the rebels. This would have been all well enough to think of three or four months ago, but it is altogether out of place now. Since the middle of March, the Southern movement has proceeded with strides so gigantic that it has passed completely out of the narrow domain of Rebellion, and entered upon the broad, limitless field of Revolution. There is no sense in treating the evil as if it were something which it is not. To do that would be as wise as would be the conduct of the physician who should call a case of confluent small-pox a case of common cold, and administer accordingly. The time has departed when it was possible to treat the rebels merely as rebels. They cannot be handled municipally, but must be handled internationally. This is unfortunate, but it is the unavoidable consequence of our having been unable to do any thing toward the suppression of the rebellion. The rebel is the man who is banged, not the man who hangs other men.—*Traveller.*

PEACE AND ANTI-SLAVERY IN AMERICA.

Our brethren in America are in such a state of preternatural excitement that it is scarcely possible to say anything to them, or of them, that shall not be construed into an affront. The intense wrath into which they have worked themselves towards the British Government and nation, appears to us one of the most inexplicable phenomena in the whole range of political history. We have not been slow, as our readers can testify, to condemn the proneness which our countrymen have sometimes shown, to indulge a meddlesome and choleric temper towards other nations. But in the present case, we are bound to say, that the spirit displayed on this side of the Atlantic, has been on the whole a kind and generous one towards our American kindred. The feeling with which our people have watched the rising troubles in the great republic, has been neither exultation nor indifference, but sorrow and sympathy of the most genuine description, and that springing, we are convinced, not merely or mainly, from any apprehension of the injury which we must sustain in consequence of those troubles, but from the deep interest we have always cherished in the prosperity of a nation sprung from our own loins, and destined, as we had hoped, to give to the world the most perfect illustration ever yet witnessed of the development and triumph of free institutions. Our Government, as we showed in our last, have done nothing but what they were imperatively bound to do, in order to preserve their neutrality in this unhappy contest. With one or two exceptions far too insignificant to merit notice, nothing could be more considerate than the tone in which our public men have alluded to this subject. The House of Commons positively refused permission to one of its members, otherwise much respected, to make a statement on the question of which he had given notice, because, from his known disposition in favor of the South, it was thought he might utter sentiments that would offend and irritate our brethren in the North, at a moment so critical in their history. And even our press, amid the unbounded license of remark which it claims and exercises on all conceivable topics, has in this instance shown more forbearance and self-restraint than on any exciting question of foreign politics, that we remember discussed for many years. That a person ingeniously bent upon finding such things may cull here and there a spiteful or insolent remark, scattered over the innumerable publications issued in this country, is true enough, we dare say. But in the immense majority of cases, we contend, our press has spoken in a generous and sympathizing spirit. And so has it been, so far as we know, in all other directions. We can go into no place of worship where free prayer is used, without hearing petitions the most earnest and devout presented to Heaven for the peace and prosperity of the United States.

And yet, in spite of all this, our good friends in America insist upon it that they do well to be angry with us, just because we cannot run into the same excess of warlike riot with themselves. They won't allow us even to say we are sorry that they are about to be involved in the miseries of civil war. They repel as an insult the expression of regret, most genuine as it undoubtedly is, on the part of their best friends, at seeing their country drifting into that bottomless gulf of debts, standing armies, and ruinous military expenditure, in which the old countries of Europe are struggling for very life. We, also, have come in for our share of that pitiless storm of ireful invective which is now pouring from the American heavens upon all mankind. Our offence was the article which appeared in our June number, bewailing the civil war brooding so ominously in the western hemisphere, and especially deploring the countenance which that portion of the anti-slavery party who had hitherto professed the principles of peace, were giving to the war. For this we have been called to task with great severity by more than one American journal. Among our assailants, we regret to say, is Mr. Wm. Lloyd Garrison, in the columns of the *Liberator*. Mr. Garrison is very angry, and, therefore, not very logical. He uses extremely strong language, appearing to imagine, *more Americano*, that mere vehemence and audacity of expression may pass as a substitute for argument. But nothing that he can say of us, will alter our estimate of his character, or diminish the profound respect we have long cherished for him in our heart of hearts, as one of the best and bravest men now living on the face of God's earth. The two points in our article that have given the greatest offence are, first, our assertion that this is not an anti-slavery war; and, secondly, our lamentation over what we deemed a departure from principle on the part of those anti-slavery men, who, having up to this time emphatically disclaimed the use of any but moral means in their conflict with slavery, have gone in for this war with undisguised exultation and violence.

We are obliged to say that nothing has occurred since that article was written to induce us to recall or qualify the words we then employed. We believe still, as we believed then, that it is not an anti-slavery war. There was no sort of ambiguity about the language we used. We admitted that, beyond all doubt, slavery was remotely the cause of the war. But what we affirmed then, and what we re-affirm now, is this,—that we have no evidence to prove, but a great deal of evidence to disprove the assumption, that the Government of the United States, and of the great majority of the Northern people, are going to war with any intention or wish to abolish slavery. What we say is, that the moving impulse which has heaved the mass of the community into such violent agitation is not the question of slavery at all, but the preservation of the Union, the Constitution of 1787, the insult offered to the American flag. There may or may not be justifying causes of civil war. That is a question we do not now enter upon. But to say that a war waged under the influence of such motives is an anti-slavery war, is only wilfully to practise a delusion upon ourselves. Our anti-slavery friends in America are in a position very much resembling that occupied by the friends of the nationalities in England during the Russian war. These latter tried, in the face of all fact, reason, and probability, to persuade themselves that that war was to be a war for the liberation of Hungary and Poland. They asserted this loudly and persistently on the platforms and through the press. They snapped angrily at anybody who denied or doubted it. It was vain to cite the avowed purpose of the Western Governments as expounded in their own proclamations. It was vain to remind them of the whole past policy of the Powers most immediately concerned, as rendering their expectation utterly unlikely of accomplishment. It was vain to point out the enormous difficulties and complications involved in such an enterprise. It mattered not. They had made up their minds that it might, and must, and should be a war for the emancipation of the nationalities, and whosoever did not join in their sanguine hopes was a friend of despotism, and an enemy of human freedom. Well, and what was the result? The result was, as we had ventured to foretell, that the allies took especial care to do nothing that would tend in the slightest degree to provoke or encourage a rising of the nationalities, and when the Plenipotentiaries met at Paris, in 1856, to arrange the conditions of peace, Poland and Hungary were never once mentioned, nor was the smallest thought given to their sufferings and claims. In like manner we greatly fear our anti-slavery friends in America are mistaking their own passionate wish for the fact, and that some of them will awake out of their day-dream to find that though, in their eagerness to abolish slavery, they have been content to sacrifice their peace principles, they will have made that sacrifice wholly in vain. It is possible, indeed, that this conflict may, by tremendous social convulsion, overthrow the abominable thing which is the curse of the Western world. But we do not see how this can be done in a manner that shall be honorable to the cause of liberty, or that might not have been done as effectually and far more guiltlessly by a peaceable separation.

But we must try to justify to our own readers the opinion we have ventured to repeat above, that this war—whatever consequences may accidentally flow from it—is not in the intention of the great body of its promoters an anti-slavery war, and is not, therefore, *on that ground* entitled to the sympathy of the friends of freedom on this side of the Atlantic.

The last message of President Lincoln is now before us. It is full of the war from its first sentence to its last. And what does it say? To borrow the language of the *Economist*, "It does not suggest or hint that the cessation of negro slavery may be a *consequence* of the war; it does not say that the abolition of that slavery is the *object* of the war; it says, as distinctly as words can say it, that Lincoln is fighting to bring back the South—the South as it stands, with its angry population and with its slaves—into union with the North; it says that Mr. Lincoln is desirous of conquering certain seceding communities; it implies that having conquered them he is willing to continue the old federal Union with them; but it does not say that he intends to set free the slaves. Unquestionably he does not intend it. The war is a war of conquest, not of philanthropy." This appears to us, we own, a perfectly fair interpretation of the message.

But what do the journals say? The New York *Tribune* is admitted to be the most influential of all the papers that advocate what are called *Republican* principles, that is the principles on which the last presidential election was carried, the principles on which the actual government of the States is constructed. Well, in a recent copy of that journal now before us, the editor says in reply to a correspondent:—

"Our correspondent, and many others, insist that we shall make this war for the Union a war to abolish slavery. *We cannot assent to this.* We believe our assent to the project would prejudice and put back the cause of emancipation. For do but consider these facts:—In the war for the Union men of all parties are heartily enlisted. Democrats, old and live Whigs, Hunkers of every grade and school, are fighting in the ranks, raising regiments, paying money, just as freely and heartily as Republicans. For the Union, they stand ready to lavish their treasure and blood, *but not for abolition, or anything of the sort.*"

Then, again, we find large religious bodies passing resolutions ardently pledging themselves to support the war, without the smallest allusion to slavery, but simply and exclusively with a view to the maintenance of the Union, and the honor of the American flag. Here is the testimony of a leading member of the Episcopal Church in the States. In a letter from the Right Rev. Alonzo Potter, Bishop of Pennsylvania, addressed to some in the South, and published in the New York *Observer* of June the 6th, we find the following language:—

"I do not believe that at the North one man in fifty desires an invasion of your soil, or the destruction of your social system. . . . . *Only the smallest number of fanatics think or talk of slavery.* The whole question is one of self-defence, and of Government or no Government."

Mr. C. K. Whipple, one of the most faithful and unflinching friends of the anti-slavery cause in the States, commenting on the above opinion of the Bishop, says:—

"Here we have the result of the Bishop's observations, and also his own feeling in regard to the slavery question. His feeling is directly opposite to ours, since he esteems those 'fanatics' who care for the rights or the interests of the slaves. But his observation precisely agrees with ours, when he says that the great majority of Northern men are not even disposed to interfere with slavery. They are fighting for the Government of the country, and for nothing else; and so unspeakably besotted are they by their long tolerance of slavery and fraternization with slaveholders, that if, even now, the rebellion were abandoned, *a vast majority of Northern men would agree that the slaveholding might continue undisturbed.*"

For it is curious enough, that while our anti-slavery friends in America seem exceeding wroth when we deny that this is a war undertaken in the interests of the slave, they allow members of their own body to say so without rebuke. Thus at a meeting of the Friends of Progress, a very thorough anti-slavery body, the following resolution was passed on the 2nd of June last:—

"While we regard with sympathy and a measure of gratification the spirit of indignation and resistance now roused in the North to the insatiate demands and atrocious insolences of slavery and the slaveholders' rebellion, we still see that the North is yet far from standing equal to the requirements of this hour, or loyal to the claims of sovereign justice, in that *it persists in ignoring the slave, proclaiming from executive chair and from soldier camp its readiness and determination to maintain, and, with all the power of its bayonets enforce, his subjugation, and protect to the slaveholder his 'institution'* of robbery and murder, intact and inviolate; and we hereby bear our emphatic testimony against this attitude as base, dastardly, and cruelly inhuman, and sure, if continued, to brand this nation as a nation of rebels and traitors, North as well as South, to smite it with the blight of bankruptcy and death, making its every attempt to vindicate its liberties futile and a mockery, its very successes defeats, and its victories overthrows."

Hear again the language of several of the speakers at the last anniversary of the Church Anti-Slavery Society at Boston. Mr. Lewis Tappan said: "He feared that the action of the North was occasioned by an insult to our flag, not by love to the slave and the spirit of the gospel." Rev. Mr. Smith of Gloucester said: "The people were hurrahing for the Union, but they cared little for the slaves. He was never so disheartened as now, in consequence of the hostility of the press and the pulpit to genuine Abolitionism. If the slaves are freed in the present war, it will be in spite of the present interest of the government and the churches."

Mrs. L. Maria Child says:—"What do you think of the times? I am often despondent, still more often I am impatient to a point of fiery indignation, and I am seldom very hopeful. I told our noble friend Wendell, that I thought he began to hurrah long before we could see our way out of the wood. *It is evident that the Government mean no good to the slaves.*"

It is true that some members of the anti-slavery party are more sanguine. But even they hardly dare go further than to hope that the Government and the Northern majority may be pushed by the force of events beyond their own present purpose and policy.

Mr. Garrison's reply to our—we will not say charge, but—lamentation over the apostacy of those anti-slavery men who, having formerly professed peace principles, have now become ardent advocates of the war, is a very curious illustration of the maze of embarrassment in which a good and able man may become involved, when he has got himself into a false position. He first says that many of the American anti-slavery men never did profess peace principles. Well; the reply to that is obvious enough,—that our remarks did not apply, and were never meant to apply, to that class. He next gives a very faint and vague denial to the allegation that those who did make that profession have abandoned it, and then, by way of illustrating this denial, he proceeds to argue very strenuously in defence of the war,—he himself having been, as we always understood, one of the most conspicuous and emphatic in his advocacy, not only of peace, but of absolute non-resistance. And it is curious enough to find how quietly and complacently Mr. Garrison now adopts the old stock arguments against the views he has hitherto professed. He seems to think that by expatiating upon the turpitude of the South, their hatred of freedom, the violence of their language, their ferocity of spirit, and their cruelties in act, he has settled the question as to the propriety of invading their country with fire and sword. But the Christian principles of peace, if they have any value at all, are of value precisely *in reference* to such characters as he has described the Southerners to be. They teach us how we are to act, not towards those who are kind, moderate, and submissive to our will, but towards our enemies, towards those who curse us, and hate us, and despitefully use us and persecute us. No amount of invective against our opponents, no amount of actual demerit on their part, will suffice to absolve us from the obligations of the law of love. Nor does it at all avail to Mr. Garrison to put cases to us, as to how we have acted, or may act, in certain supposed emergencies, similar to those in which the American Abolitionists are now placed. We hope we have proved faithful to our convictions, even when, as has been frequently the case of late years, that has obliged us to place ourselves in opposition to the Government of our own country. No better proof of this can be given than in the unbounded opprobrium that has been hurled against us, as disloyal, unpatriotic, &c. But the real question is, not what we have done, or would do, but what we ought to do. And it always seems to us an indication of conscious argumentative weakness, when instead of grappling with and refuting principles, we find persons imagining hypothetical cases in which they try to shake our faith by pitting our interests against our principles.

The simple fact is, with regard to our ardent anti-slavery friends in America, they can only see one evil in the universe, and that is slavery. Surely, it does not behove us to censure them harshly on this account. It presses upon them so closely, they have been gazing upon it so long, and battling with it so bravely, that we need not wonder "the grim feature" should have swelled into such gigantic dimensions as to fill their whole sphere of vision. Still, it is greatly to be deplored, when a body of good men in their anxiety to secure the defeat of one evil, are prepared to invoke the aid and to lend their consecrating sanction to other evils as great, or perhaps greater. Heaven forbid, that in saying this, we should seem to try to extenuate the enormities of slavery. If any one wants our confession of faith on that subject, here it is. We believe slavery to be an abominable and accursed thing, which degrades man, and dishonors God, which is an outrage on reason, a scandal to humanity, and especially an insult and an affront to the whole spirit and genius of the gospel. But then we say precisely the same thing, with yet deeper emphasis of war. We believe that also is an abominable and accursed thing, which includes all the evils that are in slavery, and adds some others of its own, if possible, still more malignant and terrible. And is it to be supposed, that we can look on with pleasure, when we see men whom we honor and love, so blinded by their hatred of one sort of wickedness, as to rush with open arms into the embrace of another equally atrocious? We believe they don't perceive the full significance of their own conduct, when they join hands with the war power for the contest with slavery. It is to despair of truth. It is to acknowledge the impotence of moral force in its conflict with evil. It is to proclaim aloud, that Christianity, which in its first vigorous childhood, went forth, and, by sheer dint of the spiritual energies inherent in it, grappled with and overthrew the ancient paganism, backed though it was with all the military pomp and power of imperial Rome, has now become so effete and feeble a thing, that it cannot hold its own, except by invoking the aid of the legions of darkness, Fraud, Ferocity and Lust, Pride, Malignity and Revenge, Slaughter, Rapine and Violation, and "all the grisly host of Acheron," which muster and marshal under the banners of war. Don't let our friends deceive themselves. These are the auxiliaries with whom they are about to enter into alliance, for no war ever was waged, or can be waged, or will be waged to the end of time, in which these demons have not borne the principal share.

We cannot conceive a more affecting proof of the false position in which the peace portion of the anti-slavery body have become involved, than is afforded by the fact, that having staked their hopes for the slave upon the issues of this war, they are reduced to the necessity of striving to the utmost of their ability to make the war as prolonged, desperate, and deadly as possible. And to secure that it should be so, they do not hesitate to avow the most earnest and passionate wishes, that the South may continue, and be driven still deeper into all those evil passions and practices which in the same breath they denounce in the strongest language they can command as "ungodly," "atheistical," "diabolical," &c. That is to say, that of all other people, *they*, the avowed friends of peace, are obliged to long and pray that their enemies, who were but a few months ago their fellow-countrymen and fellow-Christians, should become more wicked, more morally vile and abominable, than they are. That we are guilty of no exaggeration in this statement will appear from the following quotations.

Mr. Lewis Tappan, at the meeting of the Church Anti-Slavery Society said:—"The insults which the South heaps upon the North are the most pleasing items of news that one reads in these days. These insults will spur up the North to their duty. *He hoped the rebels would not back down*, till the work of liberating the slaves was done. . . . . . *He received every insult and aggression of the South upon the North with joy*, because it gave strength to the anti-slavery sentiment. When 20,000 of our young men have been slain, the North will understand what they are fighting for, and his prayer was that war may continue till the North is converted."

Mrs. L. Maria Child says:—"Even those slaves now allowed to remain in Fort Monroe, are to be protected by the United States, *so long* as their masters are in rebellion against the Government. God grant they may *all* rebel, and *remain* in rebellion, and practise upon *us* the barbarism of slavery, till we are goaded to do from policy and revenge what we ought to do from justice and humanity."

We have no heart to make any comments on such words coming from such a quarter. Can any one now doubt that the policy must be utterly bad, that can have so far demoralized such men as Lewis Tappan, and such women as Maria Child, as to make them thus rejoice in iniquity, and make it their prayer to God that it should become yet more intense and malignant. If this is not doing evil that good may come, we cannot conceive how such an offence is possible. Our profound reverence and affection for Mr. Tappan have undergone no change. But if we needed anything further to induce us to abhor and execrate this unnatural war, it would be to find its maleficent influence clouding the judgment and conscience of a man like him, to so fearful an extent as is indicated by the words above cited. It is, however, only a temporary eclipse; and this good and great man will, we have no doubt, ere long emerge out of the darkness in which prejudice and passion have enveloped him, to a clearer vision of those "primal duties" springing from Christian truth and love, which "shine aloft like stars."—*London Herald of Peace, August 1st.*

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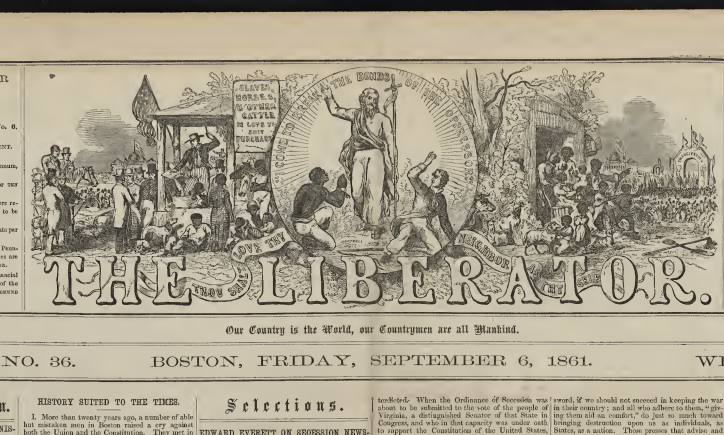

Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind.

J. B. YERRINTON & SON, Printers.

VOL. XXXI. NO. 36. BOSTON FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 6, 1861 WHOLE NO. 1602.

Refuge of Oppression.

THE SLAVERY POLICY OF THE ADMINISTRATION—OPPOSITION OF THE ABOLITION INCENDIARY PRESS.

It needs no argument at this time to prove that to the operations of the abolition agitators of the North can be traced the cause of the great war and all the evils, sufferings and loss of life attending it. Their continued and systematic agitation, in season and out of season, through their conventions, pulpit orations, stump speeches, fascinating novels, denunciations and editorials, in such papers as the *Tribune*, *Times*, *Boston Liberator*, and that class of journals, has from time to time furnished the revolutionists of the South with their material to inflame the Southern mind, prepare it for secession, and unite the entire South in their policy for a separate confederacy. In attempting to build up a party in the North, based exclusively on the abolition of slavery, they have palmed off upon their followers imaginary substitutes for bonfides, for bonds and mortgages, which, coming to the attention of their principles of the South, furnished the basis for a revolutionary party and their entire political bank in the shaves of which they would have been without power or influence. Going before the people of the South—by nature, habits and education an excitable race—with these statements and misrepresentations stated by the North, they have increased in power and influence just as the agitators of the North grew more saucy and arrogant. Leading the Southern mind step by step through its several stages, they finally succeeded in inducing the belief that the election of Lincoln was only another name for the inseparable consequence of the throes, and that their only salvation was its immediate secession and a separate confederacy. This was the third as soon as the election of Lincoln was made known, several of the Southern States declared themselves out of the Union, and immediately entered upon extensive warlike preparations; the banks, duly strengthened among their own people by the domineering attitude of the agitators of the North, found also willing hands in Buchanan's Cabinet to place at convenient points the latest style and most approved weapons of warfare in the hands of the government.

With the revolutionary material furnished them by the abolitionists, the secession leaders set strength on themselves, until, soon after the inauguration of Lincoln, eleven sixths disposed of, and established their fortunes with the Southern Confederacy. They had then

freedom to others, not freedom to ourselves. All fear of an interference of England (now an insuperable danger) would pass away, for the English people and the popular sympathies would be with us so strongly as to overpower the action of governments. Besides, we must *proclaim emancipation if we would conquer.*

It is to my reflecting mind, perfectly useless to attempt to conquer the South, unless we attack them on their weakest point. Their forte another preparation, we are besides back in disgrace from the field twenty-five miles of Southern territory.

Suppose that every nation, from the Potomac to Charleston Bay, from Charleston to New-Orleans, is loaded like this little pass near Manassas! Why should it not be? Why should not every man throughout the South Carolinians or Louisianians will not fight as well for their own soil as a Virginian?

We may, indeed, assume that our arms, attack their parts with success, poor expeditions over their wide territory, will should be successful in battle are greatly determined by chances, or by powers which we do not see. In a single accident may ruin a whole expedition, or a panic destroy a half-a-dozen regiments. All foreign observers concur in nonsense to believe that we can subjugate the South, or hold it after we have conquered it, unless in a military point of view, is in weakening the enemy by proclaiming emancipation. With such a surprise blanched abroad to the world, and published wherever the armies advanced, we have at once an ally in every country and in every Southern house.

The enemy's eight millions are weakened by the necessity of guarding and providing against the four millions of our allies.

A moral terror, a panic would pervade every Southern heart. Our flaming expeditions on the coasts, their army in Virginia would be almost entirely broken up. Each regiment would return to guard its own State or county.

What the Union cause should be of proclaiming and finishing emancipation, it is not necessary here to lay down. The resolution which has passed the Senate is too revolutionary, and has not the support of a broad premise of freedom.

We should have nothing anywhere by such proclamation,—nothing at the North, for there it is more moral, every day we wait that is the only key to victory; nothing at the South, for there it is war & revenge, nothing before the world, nothing before history.

And yet the religious zealot look upon the mysterious and sudden panic, just in the moment of victory, as a sign from on high to make our cause the cause of freedom and humanity, even the cause of the slave?

C. L. B.

GRAND SCHEME OF THE REBELS.

Correspondence of the Cincinnati Gazette.

LEXINGTON, KY., Aug. 24, 1861.

I have just this afternoon received from a long, tedious, and dangerous, but thoroughly reliable over the Southern Confederacy. Its purpose is to give the reader an insight into the full extent of the strength, facilities, preparations and resources of the Rebels, as well as of ascertaining their intentions and prospects, and what degree of success they possess. It has not been in the highest degree successful. And I hasten at this, my first opportunity, not with all possible dispatch, to acquaint you of a scheme, devised by the utmost vigilance, and discovered from the most authentic and reliable source, and which, in the audacious of conception and magnitude and grandeur of execution, if capable of success, exceeds anything of the kind ever devised. Omitting all allusion to all minor circumstances, which may have just occurred, I shall confine my remarks briefly to a sketch of the outline of this grand conspiracy, which is a truly a daring and splendid plot. Day after day, night after night, I have been over it, I have slept over it, and wasted, and listened, and prowled. There must be a plan, a great and decided plan, of operations behind everything. I know it, and I know it is. *Publish it—spread it broadcast over the whole North—circulate it from pulpit to pulpit—let it be sounded loud in the ears of the Cabinet, and let every man know and prepare against the deadly conspiracy.*

The Administration at Washington, and all its officials, both military and civil, have combined their attention altogether too strictly to matters and movements of Rebels, and to conspiracies against them, to small avail of territory. They are not comprehensive enough, or up with the Rebels. They are behind them. And from the very start they have controlled, mastered a definite, tangible, extensive, and, unfortunately, successful plan, consisting in pursuing Washington system of tactics, molesting the enemy with insignificant damage, possessing the territory at scattered and unimportant points, and allowing the Rebels to concentrate upon their strongholds, and to gather and organize their forces, and exhausting the efficiency of the army, and exhausting its spirit, the Rebels are engaged in the execution of a design deep-laid, wide-spread, long-cherished, steadily adhered to, and which shall serve as the signal from the Atlantic to Kansas. It is necessary to speak thus plainly, however disagreeable it may be. The Government is not blind to the gigantic interests and impending peril; it is not sluggish and indifferent to the great trust reposed in the range of its visions and operations. Hence this gigantic scheme of its detractors has escaped its suspicion. It is the united invention of Johnston, Davis, Beauregard and Lee. Their plan of the fall of Manassas, it was only meditated; now it is being vigorously prosecuted. Had they been defeated, it is impossible to say what would have been their course. It is the intermediate to a disaster. It was staked upon victory; and upon that issue alone they calculated. The struggle occurred just at the precise time they had proposed to play their game. All their exertions, advances, counter-marches, retreats and attacks were proposed to bring it on just then. The services of the three-months' volunteers was just expiring; and they had to be discharged, most completely to demoralize them as to render them dangerous, and it is necessary to retain their services to recognize or recuperate. Now follows the critical juncture. Washington, by the disposition of its troops, would be left in a much more exposed condition than ever before. The plan is to threaten an attack on that city—and yet not to make any of exciting it immediately, but with the intention of burrying its regular and undisciplined regiments and skeleton of hastily raised companies to its defence, and then, before the regular troops, ably led and systematized by McClellan, to fall upon Richmond in the unprotected state, to bring on war to the army and again achieve another Manassas triumph. The Rebels have their capital now, and that would bring upon them two battles—one with that force which is already there, and one with the balance of the three-years' troops which are distributed when they are concentrated. They want to have in a single struggle of it, and hence will propose it until all the forces intended for Washington are gathered in, and, as they say, when they will be poorly prepared to resist. A month will elapse before the plan is to be engaged in, so soon and probably it will be longer, for additional and greater reasons, yet it is to be carried out. The design is to have a united and simultaneous movement from Richmond, Tennessee, and Kentucky in Virginia they only wait the congregation of troops at Washington, as stated above. In Arkansas and the southern edge of Missouri, they only require an additional complement of men and arms, which are rapidly being supplied. The attack in Kansas will be prepared by the time the advance is made from Virginia. In Tennessee about their movements are such as not to give them full assurance of being able to execute their design in the full extent, or, rather, the discontented state of East Tennessee will not yet allow them to carry their entire force from that State, and the peaceful attitude of Kentucky has as yet given them a sufficient security to allow their troops beyond her borders. These two difficulties they are now toiling to obviate. Hence their endeavors to drive out the Union feeling in East Tennessee, to suppress the loud clamors of patriots, and prepare the force of their body of partisans. Hence, too, the establishment of camps just in sight of Kentucky and

GEN. BUTLER'S CONTRABAND OF WAR.

PART IV.—[CONCLUSION.]

PRESENT ASPECT OF THE QUESTION.

Before proceeding to treat of this topic, I recur for a moment to the crimes of the slaveholding traitors, not proposing now, any more than at first, to furnish a full catalogue, but only a brief list of the most violent and flagrant, leaving unnoticed a large class of a stealthy kind, in which fraud, deceit, treachery and swindling have been the main ingredients.

14. Violating by unheard of rules of parliamentary proceeding, imposed in defiance of natural and divine law, of the guarantees of the Constitution, and of all the venerated charters of English and American liberties—the sacred and fundamental rights of petition and debate, with no relaxation during ten years, except for the insulting admission of memorials from slave States for the annexation of Texas; and crowning these strange and persistent outrages by an attempt under the charge of treason to expel John Quincy Adams for presenting a respectful petition, praying that Congress would "adopt measures for the peaceable dissolution of the Union," although he had moved, in the same breath, that the petition be referred to a select committee, with instructions to report in favor of its rejection, and the reasons thereof.

15. Systematic and incessant rapine, fraud, corruption and cruelty practised upon the unfortunate natives of our country, by Southern States, citizens and federal agents,—selected mostly from the South,—and by Administrations, wielding in the interest of the slaveholders, and in obedience to their behests, the whole power of the Republic—treasury, army and militia of rapacious borderers, greedy of federal pay, greedy of Indian "beauty and booty," greedy of pickings and stealings from the commissariat and quartermaster's department; and repeatedly provoking wars of extermination against those simple and upright peoples by disguising themselves as Indians, murdering whole families of their white neighbors, and then summoning, in well feigned terror, the ready ruffians of the frontier and the nearest garrisons of the army to the harvest of death.

16. Enacting and executing, in palpable and virtually admitted violation of the Constitution, State laws for the seizure and enslavement of citizens of Free States, coming within the limits of Slave States on their lawful business; persisting for forty years in this flagitious villany in the face of a judicial decision against the validity of those laws by a national court, composed of Southern judges; expelling, with ignominious threats and demonstrations of personal violence, under the direction of Preston S. Brooks, representing the Governor of South Carolina, the envoy of a Free State, deputed to test in an amicable manner in their own courts, and finally, if necessary, in the highest of the nation, the constitutionality of those inhuman enactments; and consummating this unparalleled audacity and defiance of all law, divine and human, by ordering that it shall be felony, punishable by imprisonment in the penitentiary, for a minister of peace to come within the borders of South Carolina on such mission of justice and humanity again!

17. Corrupting and subverting, by fraud and force, the vital prerogative of the elective franchise, and thereby foisting into the highest dignity in the Republic, and, as we have proudly boasted, the highest upon earth, two false and usurping, to the exclusion of two legally elected Presidents. And because fraud and violence, striking at the ballot-box, will no longer serve their purpose of ruling the nation with despotic sway, they have at last resorted to treason to ruin it.

Having presented the foregoing as supplementary to the preceding part of this disquisition, I proceed to the object of the present division.

It has been asked, why seek to explode Gen. Butler's doctrine of "contraband of war," when you yourself cannot but rejoice in the result of its application, inasmuch as it has been the means of rescuing a goodly number of human beings from wicked thraldom? Conceding that every friend of justice, liberty and humanity must feel a satisfaction in the immediate and apparent result, I am still constrained to reply:—

1. That the assumption of Gen. Butler is totally unfounded and false.

2. That the doctrine, besides being false, would be narrow and impracticable if it were true; narrow, because it applies to property only, and does not recognize slaves as persons; impracticable, because the seizure or reception and possession of property as contraband does not divest the owner of his right, and transfer it to the possessor. The right remains in the original proprietor until the property has been condemned by a court of prize, duly advertised for sale at public auction, sold accordingly, and the proceeds paid into court; and then, after deducting the costs of court, paid over to the treasurer or other proper officer of the United States. Thus the human chattel would remain a chattel, with only a change of masters, the cities and towns of Free States would be converted into slave marts, and the United States into a regular slave-trader.

Mr. Cameron, in reply to Butler's first letter in May last, directs him "to employ the fugitives, keep an exact account of the labor by them performed, and the expense of their maintenance." He evidently understands that the property is not changed by the mere possession of the captor, but must await subsequent proceedings. He evidently means that the fugitives shall still be held as slaves, subject to the claim of their rebel masters, and that in some contingency they may be restored to their possession; for there is no instruction to give them any compensation for their labor, or the promise of any. Thus they have been working diligently and very effectively, it is said, many of them for months, without the comfort and encouragement of wages. It is plain that their wages is reserved for settling day with those amiable people, who have been robbing their servants all their lives, and in order that they may continue to do it with impunity, are now striving to murder us and destroy the nation. With prodigious assurance, they demand that we send back these persons to help them do these things.

If, then, we correctly understand the forecasting and proposed accounting of the Secretary of War, he is making the United States the agent and factor of slave-trading pirates and enemies, with whom, by the laws of war and the President's proclamation of August 16th, neither he nor any member of the government, any more than a simple citizen, can lawfully have any contract, intercourse or correspondence, unless it be to treat of peace, the exchange of prisoners, the care of the wounded, the abandonment of barbarian practices in the conduct of the war, reprisals for atrocities perpetrated upon Northern and Union men, and other analogous subjects.

The fugitives thus held by us may be restored by one of two methods, either by the United States voluntarily relinquishing its claim, or by decree of a prize court, determining the property not to be condemnable as contraband of war, as any decent prize court would certainly do.

The first method must be the one which Mr. Cameron has in view, for no man in his position would ever think of proceeding to adjudication on such a claim in any court inside of Christendom. If such be the intention, it follows that the government is still under the sorcery of the Delilah of compromise, and will continue to be shorn of its strength, and to be the sport and derision of its foes; for only by compromise with traitors can such restoration take place. To make it under any other circumstances would be to incur mortal guilt.

By the Rules and Articles of War, enacted in 1806, "*Whoever* shall be convicted of holding correspondence with, or giving intelligence to the enemy, either directly or indirectly, shall suffer death;" and by a law of 1790, "If any person owing allegiance to the United States, shall levy war against them, or shall adhere to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort within the United States or elsewhere, and shall be thereof convicted, shall be adjudged guilty of treason against the United States, and shall suffer death."

It was decided by the Supreme Court of the United States, in its golden days, that the words, "owing allegiance," are immaterial, and that "not only the persons, who bear arms, but those who assist otherwise, are included among those levying war." Every slave, therefore, who performs a part in the drama of the war on the side of the rebellious faction, is a traitor, and all slaves might well be warned by proclamation not to incur the penalty of treason by aiding and abetting the treason of their masters! Of course, slaves can contract no guilt when, in taking such part, they yield to overruling force, and act under duress; but though they do thus act, the mischief may be the same as if they levied war against the United States with the hearty concurrence of the will.

He, therefore, who from our side sends a man into the ranks or trenches of the traitors, or a woman into the kitchen or laundry of a rebel regiment, or either of them into the potato, corn, rice, tobacco, cotton or cane fields to raise provisions for their armies, or bags and hogsheads of merchandize to fill the parricides' loan, is a traitor. If one should enlist men in the North or in Canada, and send them South for any of those purposes, or knowing that their service or labor would be applied to any of those purposes, there would be no doubt of the highly criminal nature of the transaction, and no hesitation in seizing and arraigning him for treason; because he could in no way levy war against the United States more effectively. It was decided by the same Court in the same case, [4 Cr. 470,] that a recruiting officer, sending men to the ranks of traitors, commits treason, though he never go to a traitor camp, fort or field.

What mode of "corresponding with and giving intelligence to the enemy" can be more direct and certain than sending back a fugitive slave, who has seen our forces, forts and lines of fortification? We have received and are almost daily receiving useful information, little as we have profited by it, and little as we have merited it, from fugitive slaves. As our armies advance under competent leaders—if that is to be—into the enemy's territory, their topographical knowledge, their communications and guidance will be of inestimable value. Already, in repeated instances, the lives of our officers and soldiers have been saved by vigilant and patriotic women of Frank Pierce's "subject race." Subject! just as if he himself, when he uttered that apostate and undemocratic phrase, was not the abject subject of the meanest and most ferocious despotism on the face of the fair earth, which it contaminates! Those great-hearted women, at the risk of their lives, have again and again warned our men of ambuscades, which, without such warning, would have been fatal. The refugee slave sent back to torments, sure to be increased by his escape and his efforts to be loyal, will have the strongest motive to propitiate the tyrant, who holds his life or death in his hand, by imparting, though his whole heart may be with us, all the information against us which may be in his power!

Not a single fugitive has thus far been set free, or obtained an assurance of ultimate freedom. A great number, how many none can tell, have been thrust back, against law and without mercy, to chains and traitors: from Fort Pickens by Lieut. Slemmer, to die under tortures as a terrible example; from Fortress Monroe by Col. Dimick; from the steamer Quaker City; from the camps and columns of Gov. Sprague and Col. Burnside, of Rhode Island; Col. Jones, Col. Cowdin and Gen. Banks, of Massachusetts; Patterson, of Pennsylvania, himself a slaveholder, and strongly suspected of Secessionism; and many more.

While our armies have thus been violating law and humanity, and in effect aiding and abetting traitors and enemies, citizens of Free States in the service of the United States, endeavoring to take on board the steamer, Star of the West, some of the troops betrayed by the black traitor Twiggs, and afterwards captured in their unarmed state, contrary to capitulation, and their safeguard violated by the blacker traitor, Van Dorn,—were seized by the rebels, and sold at public auction as slaves! These unhappy men—unhappy, I fear, are all who trust this government for protection, except Secessionists and spies—were marched off by their purchasers to life-long servitude in the interior, nobody can tell where, and nobody thus far seems to care! That no circumstance of aggravation and insult might be wanting, they were carried a thousand miles from Indianola to Montgomery, that they might be put upon the block, and knocked off under the nose of Jeff. Davis! Has this fellow been warned, by any word or deed of our government, of the consequences which such fiendish acts must draw upon him and his confederate kidnappers and flesh-jobbers? Not a bit of it! These living martyrs of liberty, more to be commiserated than those among the dead, have not obtained from the government even so slight a token of recognition and sympathy as an official notice of their fate, or a public record of their names!

Twice has our country engaged in foreign wars for the single object of punishing this stupendous crime of reducing its citizens to slavery. In 1803, under Commodore Preble; and in 1815, under Decatur, before Tripoli and Algiers, we redeemed our countrymen at the cannon's mouth from captivity, *barbarian* in name and nature, but far less inhuman than that to which these traitors have doomed the citizens and servants of the United States within the last three months on our own shores.

So far from discerning any sign of a determination to redeem, as the government should do at any cost or sacrifice, the victims of this high-handed villany, or to deter, by a just and necessary retaliation from a repetition of it, we have seen new enormities of the same kind committed in Florida and Louisiana. Meantime, the venomous reptiles, who sting us thus, are threatening, with high and swollen crest, to enslave two Yankees for every fugitive slave whom we shall sell to Cuba, in addition to the 250 we have already sold thither! Thus do they invent calumnies to excuse the crimes they have committed, and new ones which they meditate.

I have entire confidence in the integrity, sagacity and good intentions of the President, but I wait with deep solicitude for proofs of decision, firmness, promptitude and vigor, corresponding to the exigencies of this great crisis in the nation's life. That this intellectual, high-spirited, industrious, opulent and powerful people will demand, and speedily at any price, will have, a more comprehensive, searching, cleansing, trenchant, swift and formidable conduct and sway of its unequalled moral and material forces, and a more complete executive mastery of the magnificent situation, is as certain as that Hercules, in his war against the thievish, brutal and bloody enemies of mankind, had a club; and grappled them not, as in the beginning, with naked hands. "He cut his club for himself in the woods of Némea."

I was one of the most anxious for the election of Mr. Lincoln; and by suggesting every considerate and reasonable allowance for the extraordinary difficulties and trammels contrived for him and the country by his mean and worthless predecessor, I have striven earnestly to repress an impatience for aggressive action against so malignant an enemy, already making open war upon us before Mr. Lincoln's accession; and another impatience, more pronounced, for the thorough expurgation,—if nothing more,—of spies and Secessionists from the Executive Departments, and traitors from the city of Washington. But, now, every true friend of the administration or of the country has begun, however reluctantly, to feel that time and the prodigious popular movement, now in its fifth month, have rendered that defence as stale and worthless as the name of Buchanan. Some time ago, this impatience found a little indirect vent through the press in referring to the sudden dismemberment of a British Cabinet at the bidding of the people of England, grown impatient and half frantic at the national disgraces and virtual murders, resulting from their neglect, blundering and imbecility; and more especially from the unhappy management of the War Department,—in the beginning of the Crimean war, a war of remote and slight concern, compared with ours for national existence. A curt and pretty severe reply was flashed back from Washington, to the effect that such allusion betrayed a pitiable ignorance of the great difference of organic structure between the Executives of this Republic and that Monarchy. Shall we take tamely this rebuff of red-tape, and subside in awful silence before it?

Few of us are unfamiliar with that difference. We have had sorrowful and mortifying occasions to consider it; and I, for one, venture now, through this unshackled and unshackling press, to declare, that the sooner the feature of the British system, whereby the administration of it is rendered *flexible* to the will of the nation, and the tools at all times transferable from feeble, infected or unskilful hands, to those which are trusty and able to use them, the better it will be for our safety, honor, prosperity, and the perpetuity of all that is dear and valuable in our noble institutions.

Things have changed since our Constitution was formed. We have had experience, and we have had trials and humiliations. We have lost some prejudices and learned some new truths. We have ceased, most of us, to mix in one hash—

> The Pope, the Turks,
> The *King*, the Devil, and all their works;

and we have painfully learned that, in its most important executive feature, our Constitution is a failure, and executive responsibility to the law, a myth.

When John Tyler was negotiating with filibusters for dismembering and robbing Mexico, pledging to them the protection of our army and navy against the efforts of the Mexican government to destroy or whip them from its borders, and,—that scheme being defeated by the exercise of the treaty-making and veto power of the Senate,—was intriguing to bring in Texas by circumventing the treaty-making of the Senate; when Franklin Pierce was backing the Border Ruffians in their murders, rapes and arsons, with the aid, and whenever they got into trouble and danger, with the protection of the Federal troops; and when James Buchanan was found to have been playing into the hands of traitors the greatest stake in our land or the world—I urged, in each case, upon some of our most faithful members of Congress, that these men should be impeached by the House, and brought to trial at the bar of the Senate. The unvarying answer from each of them was: "It would be useless. The effect, if any, would be to confirm their malversations, and lend them the appearance of a legal sanction." One gentleman said: "As well impeach Satan before his 'Synod of infernal Gods,' Moloch, Belial, Beelzebub, Mammon and the rest."

Chancellor Kent, having been consulted in respect to Tyler, replied that his course had been unconstitutional, unprincipled, and "would lead to the ruin of the Union"; and that he ought to be impeached.

Yet Tyler's sins were white as snow, compared with the crimson dye of Buchanan's and Pierce's.

It may be safely assumed, as an established result of the working of the Constitution, that the Republican executive, ordained for us by the fathers, is practically as irresponsible and inviolable as the sovereign of Great Britain. A vicious President can do but little harm, if majorities of both houses are against him; and if both or either is for him, it will always be impossible to impeach and punish him, and consequently to make good his constitutional responsibility.

The error of the Constitution consists in not providing a tribunal, removed as far as possible from the political arena, instead of the Senate, to try impeachments.

We, therefore, need, and if we love our country or ourselves we shall have, some new political arrangement to remedy this capital defect.

The English have for ages recognized and accepted the law and the fact of the entire irresponsibility of their sovereign. "The king can do no wrong." But they have never left themselves for a moment in the helpless condition, in which it has long been obvious that we are lying.

The British ministers are held responsible for executive offences; and the ordinary method of enforcing this responsibility is by driving them from office, either by voting down the measures they propose, or by a direct declaration of "want of confidence."

This is the point of difference between the British and American Constitutions, to which the rescript from Washington, in reproof of the distant muttering of the press, referred.

Seeing, therefore, that our actual position on this subject is precisely that of Great Britain, why should we not adopt her eminently democratic custom, and pack off a cabinet, or part of a cabinet, whenever dissatisfaction with their principles, conduct or measures has become general, or "want of confidence" has been unmistakably pronounced? If our American Secretaries value office more than they do the approbation of their countrymen, and more than they do the welfare of their country—for, surely, those are powerless for good who have lost or never possessed the public confidence—so much the worse, and the President should remove them forthwith. If he refuse, Congress should withhold from him the means of exercising his office and carrying on the government. It is scarcely conceivable that a continued disagreement and a dead lock should ever ensue.

That our government has freed no slave, but has prevented many from passing to freedom, and is treating as slaves all the fugitives who have escaped to them, is evident not only from their being worked without wages, payable to *them*, but also from their being confined to our camps and fortifications, or to the jail of the District of Columbia, in which, according to accounts, many have long been languishing. When the Massachusetts Third and Fourth Regiments (their term of service having expired) were about to leave Fortress Monroe, taking with them some of the servants to whom they had become attached and wished to employ, they were peremptorily forbidden by Gen. Butler. Fourteen of their favorites were wrested by superior authority from the Ellsworth Zouaves, under similar circumstances, within that ancient and famous slave-pen, the District of Columbia. Since that occurrence, the Provost Marshal of the District has issued orders, interdicting the departure of any refugee slave for the *North*; while, on the other hand, Gen. McDowell had forbid them to go with the army *South*—a superfluous proceeding, so long as he was in command!

After such an accumulation of merits on our part toward the traitors in arms, would it not be a wise and delicate overture of conciliation and compromise, if Gen. Scott were to write a letter, by a flag of truce, to the chief of the traitors, enumerating and acknowledging the little amiabilities practised on their side toward us; toward our seamen of the Star of the West; toward our defenceless prisoners and wounded heroes, butchered on the field of battle; toward our Northern citizens, tarred and burned alive at Pensacola and other places, because they refused to take arms against their country; toward Northern men and Southern unionists, continually hung and shot all over rebeldom for the same cause! And when these and other flowers of chivalry shall have been gathered for the traitor into one huge nosegay of overpowering sweetness, tell him that "for these courtesies we will lend" them our soldiers to pen and to guard their slaves, and a score or two of our regiments to put down the risings for freedom, if so dreadful a crime as *insurrection* should be committed by them, and their masters cannot conveniently quell it without weakening too much the grand army with which they are preparing to take Washington!

In his second letter dated in July ordering a change in the imprisonment of fugitive slaves from the Alexandria jail to our fortifications and camps, Mr. Cameron directs that their labor be "paid for," not *paid*. Here is no freedom nor justice for the slave, only a change of masters.

In a third letter of "August, 1861," in reply to Butler's of July 30, the Secretary marches two steps forward. He directs that fugitives from loyal masters be no longer surrendered or sent back, but employed, and, as we must presume from former instructions, the same accounts kept as in the case of fugitives from traitors. This is, undoubtedly, of considerable importance, and if the intimation that the loyal masters of fugitives thus received may expect compensation should be sanctioned by Congress, this great class of slaves may be considered to be free as fast as they may please to leave their masters, and take refuge with the Union forces. This, it seems to me, is the plain and obvious construction of the Secretary's letter; and yet it is impossible to feel confident about it, in the face of the fact that the writer has since interposed directly to effect the restoration of a fugitive to a master, represented to be loyal! If this be so, the Secretary of War still hangs fire, and must be too infirm of purpose to admit of much reliance upon his declarations or actions.

No positive assurance of freedom to the enthralled can be found in any thing emanating from the government, except in the confiscation act, passed at the late session of Congress, and in Gen. Fremont's recent proclamation. The confiscation act is a virtual invitation to all slaves employed, or intended or permitted, or given or sold by their owners to be employed, "in aiding, abetting or promoting insurrection or resistance to the laws," to flee and take refuge with us. Of course, such slaves can never be restored. The act also makes the same class liable to capture and confiscation as prize, and enjoins upon the President to cause them "to be seized, confiscated and condemned." This is interposing the same delays and embarrassments which must attend the operation of the contraband doctrine, but with this important difference, that the judicial process in the former will undoubtedly result in the enfranchisement of some slaves, but in the latter of none.

The proclamation of Gen. Fremont, a name of good omen, declaring the slaves of all the rebels of Missouri FREEMEN, is the first word touching the real cause and end of this war, which has had the right ring. It abolishes instantly and absolutely two-thirds of the slavery of that State. I venture this assertion, not because there is an equal or any preponderance of the white population and wealth in favor of treason, but because a rebellion, begun and waged for extending and eternizing slavery, necessarily embraces in its folds a disproportionate number of the devotees of that basest and beastliest form of Mammon worship; and because treason, like all other lawlessness, violence and crime finds congenial nourishment in its rank pollutions.

The residuum of slavery in Missouri cannot abide long under the effects of this brave and wide sweep, but will be speedily drawn into the vortex.

Nor will the effects be confined to one great State. The key-note is struck, which will awake the grand symphony, and usher in the Year of Jubilee.

> "From harmony, from heavenly harmony,
> This universal frame began;
> From harmony to harmony,
> Through all the compass of the notes it ran,
> The diapason closing full in MAN." D. L. C.

LETTER FROM A WESTERN WOMAN.

Another breeze, hot with battle, heavy with sad news, has blown from the West. Lyon, the brave—the lion of the house of Judah—has fallen; and the Germans are again busy in the midst of their sadness, giving honor to their "tapfem und braven Sigel," whose death we must be prepared to hear in the next news of importance; for the enemy loves a shining mark, and Sigel, according to Atchison, is "the best commander in America, without any exception."

How many such will even the faithful Germans (God bless them!) be willing to give to slaughter, if their beloved ideal, LIBERTY, is not to be realized in the land watered by their blood? The word Democracy has blinded many of them, but they are too simple and too wise long to be deceived into the belief that the thing *they* mean by that word is at all compatible with slavery.

How long shall we play the sickening game of fighting the Northern battle with one hand, and building up Southern slavery with the other, while our best and bravest fall, like autumn leaves, around us? Must they all die before the real work of war has begun?

We all know that the Republic of America has come to mean the North. It is OUR COUNTRY, with her free institutions, her civilization and industry on one side, and—I hardly dare to say what on the other. All of an aristocratic government that can be made to mean proscription, all of a free one that can be tortured into license. The line between them is distinctly drawn; there is no need of confusion. The choice is between Slavery with its horrors, and Liberty with its unspeakable blessings.

We have a vital interest in this question—"we women." Our brothers, sons, nephews, whom we taught to "speak plain the word country," are in this war, and *we will require them at the hands of government.* We do not demand that they shall return safe as to life and limb, but that, if they lose either, it shall be in the service of that which is better and dearer. We can see them fall, but not covered with dishonor.

I remember long ago reading or hearing a song, the gloomy refrain of which haunted me ever as the most hideous of curses:—

> "Shame and dishonor sit by his grave ever—
> Blessing shall hallow it, never, no, never!"

Such, it seems to me, will be the doom of those who fight for the extension and perpetuation of slavery; and rather than it should fall upon those dear to us, we would see the young heads only yesterday, as it were, hushed to sleep upon our bosoms, laid too low for shame to touch again.

Letters from volunteers in Cox's brigade breathe ominous indignation at the shameful tasks they are sometimes set to do since the capture of De Villiers, their gallant Colonel and real general. To guard the return of slaves, they had brought in as prizes—to see prisoners they had taken, by toilsome marches in pursuit of an ambushed and unscrupulous foe, a dangerous guerrilla chief amongst them, escorted through the camps, introduced to officers (!) and then dismissed "scot free," and loaded with presents! The poor fellows say, "Here we are, cooped up among mountains that hardly allow us air to breathe, fed on poisonous food, and unable through the weakness of our General to accomplish anything." These are the things that really "demoralize" a soldier.

A great deal is said about the sympathy of England. Mr. Phillips says we do not deserve it. *We* do not, but *our cause* does; and it is that for which we wish to be heard, and that which will compel the sympathy of all good hearts.

But that is not the question, after all. We may be interested in knowing how the sympathies of foreign nations tend; but the thing of importance for us to know is, *what they are going to do.*

You remember the story of Catharine of Russia saying to a man, who, instead of shouting, "Long live the Empress!" muttered, "It is too bad." We do not want to know what you think, but what course you will take.

The Queen of England's proclamation of neutrality was well enough, so far as it went; and if it shall be obeyed in good faith, in spirit and letter, we can have no just cause of complaint; but the people need not be surprised if we think we see indications that it will not be. I think no nation can complain of her inaptitude to go to war; certainly, that is not our complaint. But what means her flirting with Southern Commissioners? What means the present course of Lord Lyons, and the childish demand that one port be kept open? That eminently cautious and sensible nation is not in the habit of doing things that are childish and unmeaning. For a nation so old, so well versed in rebellions and the way to meet them, to call traitors who seize the arms of a government, and use them for the subversion of the same, "belligerents," seems to us plain people, and women ignorant of political sinuosities, a little queer.

Why should England studiously ignore the point, that certain ambitious men, calling themselves by the names of South Carolina, &c., are in arms against their government for the purpose of overthrowing it, and building up a Slaveocracy upon its ruins? They know it. There can be no confusion in the English mind on this subject.

Our people have a little cause for indignant apprehension. They not only remember the murder of the Sikhs, the conquest of China and Russia, but whose iron hand it was that, for centuries, crushed the life out of Scotland and Ireland. I have the blood of both nations in my veins. The old historic, glorious associations of Scotland live in my heart. I have pride in them, while I remember who bowed the neck of this proud nation to the yoke, and taught her the lesson of submission. But enough. We are well aware that England does not go to war until it is clearly her interest to do so, and then she does not spare her foe.

Mr. Richard Webb spoke of our readiness to go to war. I have no idea to what he can refer. He must be thinking of the Indians and a portion of the South. Peace, with its results to trade, commerce, agriculture, is our passion. We have submitted to everything but the actual overthrow of government, rather than have our dear trade, our most unparalleled material prosperity interrupted. War is generally looked upon by our people as the greatest of calamities, only to be invoked for a cause like ours. Not till our national difficulties culminated in the attack on Fort Sumter, and the President's moderate and strictly constitutional proclamation was met by the impudent defiance—

> "With mortar, Paixhan and petard,
> We tender Old Abe our Beauregard."

Think of such a reply from an English mob to a similar order from Victoria! Did we know that we had soldiers amongst us? And even yet, the splendid regiments that go by seem to us as if evoked by a magic not less strange than that of the "Spectre Caravan." Winthrop's hit of the "dragon's teeth that came up dragoons," no doubt seems fantastic to English ears. To us it has a wonderful fitness of illustration. Our nineteenth regiment, who won the reputation of regulars, and did such execution in Virginia, were quiet mechanics, many of whom never saw a military drill, or a soldier in full uniform, previously to their enlistment for this war.

In Pittsburg, which has sent out so many fine regiments years ago, such drill was brought into disrepute by men appearing on parade disguised as various animals, braying, crowing, squealing, and showing fight according to the fashion of beasts.

A standing army is regarded as the greatest of nuisances. In short, we have no idle, savage and mutinous population to be used as bullet-marks. Our people are thoroughly aware that, in a war of conquest, they have little to gain, and much to lose; and they have quite enough to do in "making a home" of the 160 acres given them by "Uncle Sam" for the pretty wife and six children God is to give them.

While travelling in Minnesota, we rested for a few moments on one of the boldest bluffs of the Mississippi, to take a view of Fort Snelling, as it lay there on the river-side like a great ship becalmed. I said to my friend, "Those port-holes are dangerous-looking things: what do you suppose they are used for?" "If I might guess," he said, "I should say the old folks hid their pipes, and the young ones their marbles there; an attack is probably the last thing any of them think of. I'll bet, now, there isn't a gun fit for service in the concern; and what nonsense it is to keep those big fellows there, when they ought to be out on the prairies at work." The reveille sounded, the soldiers left play, and lounged through their task. It seemed to us all a great humbug.

I speak of these things, because it seems to me that, to any one taking the view your friend does, the great significance of the present vast movement in our country is lost. Mr. Phillips has cause to fear a compromise. Suspension of business, a stand-still in monied affairs, is the thing that shakes the nerves of an American. The Fabian policy did well for Fabius, but we fear it will be disastrous for Scott. What force can hold our men to "drill" through many long months? To them it is idleness—waste of precious time—and that is death.

Ohio. E.

☞ *Laus Deo!—"the beginning of the end."*

GEN. FREMONT'S PROCLAMATION.

ST. LOUIS, Aug. 31. The following proclamation was issued this morning:—

HEADQUARTERS, WESTERN DIVISION,
ST. LOUIS, Aug. 30, 1861.

Circumstances, in my judgment, are of sufficient urgency to render it necessary that the Commanding General of this Department should assume administrative powers of the State. Its disorganized condition, helplessness of civil authority, and the total insecurity of life and devastation of property by bands of murderers and marauders, who invest nearly every county in the State, and avail themselves of public misfortunes and the vicinity of a hostile force to gratify private and neighborhood vengeance, and who find an enemy wherever they find plunder, finally demand the severest measures to repress the daily increasing crimes and outrages which are driving off the inhabitants and ruining the State. In this condition, the public safety and the success of our arms require unity of purpose, without let or hindrance, to the prompt administration of affairs. In order, therefore, to suppress disorder, maintain the public peace, and give security to the persons and property of loyal citizens, I do hereby extend and declare martial law throughout the State of Missouri.

The lines of the army occupation in this State are, for the present, declared to extend from Leavenworth by way of posts to Jefferson City, Rolla and Ironton, to Cape Girardeau on the Mississippi river. All persons who shall be taken with arms in their hands, within these lines, shall be tried by court martial, and, if found guilty, shall be shot.

Real and personal property, owned by persons who shall take up arms against the United States, or who shall be directly proven to have taken an active part with the enemy in the field, is declared confiscated to public use, and their slaves, if any they have, are hereby declared free men. All persons who shall be proven to have destroyed, after the publication of this order, railroad tracts, bridges or telegraph-lines, shall suffer the extreme penalty of the law. All persons engaged in treasonable correspondence, in giving or procuring aid to the enemy, in fomenting turmoils and disturbing public tranquillity by creating or circulating false reports or incendiary documents, are warned that they are exposing themselves. All persons who have been led away from allegiance are requested to return to their homes forthwith. Any such absence, without sufficient cause, will be held to be presumptive evidence against them.

The object of this declaration is to place in the hands of military authorities power to give instantaneous effect to the existing laws, and to supply such deficiencies as the conditions of the war demand; but it is not intended to suspend the ordinary tribunals of the country where law will be administered by civil officers in the usual manner, and with their customary authority, while the same can be peaceably administered.

The commanding General will labor vigilantly for the public welfare, and, by his efforts for their safety, hopes to obtain not only acquiescence, but the active support of the people of the country.

(Signed,) J. C. FREMONT,
Major General Commanding.

☞ The Philadelphia *Inquirer* says that a decree has been entered in the United States District Court, in the case of the schooner Enchantress, awarding salvage, in the sum of $1,500, to the crew of the U. S. vessel Albatross; and also decreeing that the negro cook, Jacob Garrison, who, by jumping overboard, gave the alarm, thus causing the recapture, should come in the same as one of the crew of the Albatross, for proportionate share of salvage. Restitution of the schooner to the owners was likewise decreed.

☞ The Ashtabula *Sentinel* says:—"We understand that John Brown, Jr.,—if, as it is expected, he obtains authority from the War Department for their equipment and transportation,—will raise a company of one hundred picked men accustomed to the use of the rifle, to serve the United States during the war, with Col. Montgomery, in the brigade of Gen. James H. Lane of Kansas."

MAUCH CHUNK, Sept. 1. *A Disloyal Pennsylvania Paper "Cleaned Out."* The Carbon *Democrat* office was entered last night, the type destroyed, and stands and cases upset, &c. The press was undisturbed.

INDIANAPOLIS, Sept. 1. A Peace Convention met at the Court-House yesterday. There were but few participants, although a large crowd assembled. Hon. R. S. Walpole, Chairman, while addressing the meeting, was interrupted, and he left the stand amid great confusion. A man named McLean then attempted to address the crowd, at the same time drawing a pistol, when he was handled rather roughly. Numerous fights occurred, but without any serious result. In the evening, the crowd visited the residences of Walpole and others of questionable loyalty, and forced them to take the oath of allegiance. The editor of the *Sentinel* was among the latter.

Gen. Butler was serenaded at Washington on Sunday night, and responded in a stirring speech.

BRILLIANT VICTORY — CAPTURE OF THE FORTS AT CAPE HATTERAS.

BALTIMORE, Sept. 1. The following General Order has been issued by Gen. Wool:—

HEADQUARTERS OF DEPARTMENT OF VIRGINIA, &c.,
FORTRESS MONROE, Va., Aug. 31.

General Order No. 8.

The Commanding General has great satisfaction in announcing the glorious victory achieved by the combined operations of the army and navy at Hatteras Inlet, North Carolina, under command of Commodore Stringham and Major General Butler.

The result of this gallant affair is the capture of 715 men, including the commander, Barren, and one of the members of the North Carolina cabinet, 1000 stand of arms, 75 kegs of powder, 5 stand of colors, 31 pieces of cannon, including a 10-inch columbiad, a brig loaded with cotton, a sloop laden with provisions and stores, 2 light-boats, 150 bags of coffee, &c., all of which was achieved by the army and navy and 800 volunteers and 60 regular artillery of the army.

This gallant affair will not fail to stimulate regulars and volunteers to greater achievements. Obedience under discipline and instruction are indispensable to maintain the interest, honor and humane institutions of the Union.

By command of Major General Wool.
CHARLES CHURCHILL,
Capt. 3d Artillery, A. A. G.

AN ACCOUNT SQUARED. The Federal forces took exactly the same number of cannon at Cape Hatteras, last week, that the rebels captured at Bull Run.

Gen. McClellan sent a general order, giving in brief the news of our success at Hatteras to every regiment, which was read at evening parade, and received by all with the greatest enthusiasm.

Not one of the Federal forces was hurt. The enemy lost eighty in killed and wounded. All the prisoners have been brought to New York for safe keeping. Among them are Col. Martin, Col. Thompson, Major Anderson, Lieut. Sharpe, late of the Navy, Col. Bradford, and other important officers.

LOSS OF THE PRIVATEER JEFF. DAVIS. Our merchants and shipowners need have no more anxiety as respects this piratical depredator upon our commerce. She was totally wrecked on the Florida coast on the 17th ultimo, and will never more do mischief. The Charleston *Mercury* says—"The number of her prizes and the amount of merchandize which she captured have no parallel since the days of the Saucy Jack."

NEW YORK, Sept. 4. The *Herald's* Washington correspondent reiterates the report of the death of Jeff. Davis, and says it is generally believed in Washington. The *Tribune* correspondent says that Jeff. Davis has long had a disease of the optic nerve, threatening a cancerous result, and that his physician apprised him that death would speedily follow the extension of the disease to the brain.

THE CONFISCATION ACT PUT IN FORCE. *New York, Sept.* 2. Surveyor Andrews, yesterday, seized twenty-five vessels, owned wholly or in part by rebels, including 8 ships and 7 barks. The value of the vessels seized is over two millions.

CINCINNATI, Sept 2. There was a fight yesterday at Boone Court House, Va., resulting in the total rout of the rebels. Their loss was 35 killed and a large number wounded. Forty prisoners were also taken. None were killed on our side, and but 6 wounded. Our men burned the town.

MASSACHUSETTS A. S. SOCIETY.

Collections By A. T. Foss:
At Osterville, 40c; Nathan Colman, $4; Centreville, 2 14; East Dennis, 7 30; Harwich, 8 50.
Collections by E. H. Heywood:
At Rutland, 3 31; Hubbardston, 3 26.
Collections at Abington, Aug. 1, $89 75.
EDMUND JACKSON, *Treas'r.*

☞ ANNUAL MEETING OF THE MASSACHUSETTS STATE TEMPERANCE ALLIANCE.—The Massachusetts State Temperance Alliance will hold their Annual Meeting, THURSDAY, Sept. 12, at 10 o'clock, A. M., in the Meionian Hall, Tremont Temple, Boston, for re-organization, and for such other business as may properly come before them.

All members of the Alliance, and all Temperance friends in the State, are urgently requested to attend.
EDWARD OTHEMAN, *Sec'y.*

☞ MIDDLESEX A. S. SOCIETY.—A meeting of the Middlesex County A. S. Society will be held at Reading, Sunday, Sept. 15. Andrew T. Foss, E. H. Heywood and others will speak. The public are cordially invited.
SAMUEL BARRETT, *President.*
ANDREW WELLINGTON, *Secretary.*

☞ MERCY B. JACKSON, M. D., having had fifteen years' experience in the Homœopathic treatment of diseases, offers her professional services to the Ladies and Children of Boston and vicinity.

References.—David Thayer, M. D.; Luther Clark, M. D.; John M. Tarbell, M. D., Boston. Eliphalet Clark, M. D., Portland, Me.

Rooms No. 20 Bulfinch street. Office hours from 2 to 4, P. M.

MARRIED—In this city, on Wednesday forenoon, Sept. 4th, by Rev. Dr. Dewey, Mr. CHARLES A. HOVEY, (eldest son of the late Charles F. Hovey, Esq.) to Miss GEORGIANA PRIEST.

DIED—At Rome, (Italy,) July 22d, Miss LUCIA WESTON, daughter of the late Capt. WARREN WESTON, of Weymouth, Mass.

Exiled from her native home, for several years past, by slow-wasting disease with which her cheerful and serene spirit bravely struggled to the last, she has finally yielded to that all-conquering power, before which nothing of strength, or beauty, or worth, or purity can stand; for never was there exemption known, in any age or clime, from its decaying touch, in that all are mortal. Anxiously, tenderly, with loving and tireless assiduity, was she watched and tended by those who were the nearest and dearest to her, and upon whom this bereavement must fall very heavily. She was endowed with qualities of mind and heart which strongly endeared her to all who knew her. At an early period of her life, her sympathies and activities were warmly enlisted in the cause of the poor oppressed and outcast slave, and she deemed it high honor to be ranked (even though opprobriously) as an abolitionist;—never abating her interest in the struggle to save the life of the nation by the abolition of slavery. So let her memory be honored and blessed!

> "Over her bosom tenderly
> The pearl-white hands are prest;
> The lashes lie on her cheeks so thin,
> Where the softest blush of the rose has been,
> Shutting the blue of her eyes within
> The pure lids closed in rest.
>
> Over the sweet brow lovingly
> Twineth her sunny hair;
> She was so fragile that Love sent down,
> From his heavenly gems, that soft bright crown,
> To shade her brow with its waves so brown,
> Light as the dimpling air.
>
> Hearts—where the dear one's head hath lain,
> Held by Love's shining ray—
> Do you know that the touch of her gentle hand
> Doth brighten the harp in the unknown land?
> Oh! she waits for us with the angel band
> Over the starry way." [ED. LIB.

WEST NEWTON English and Classical School.

THE next term will begin Wednesday, Sept. 1, 1861. Both sexes are received as family or day pupils. For particulars, address
NATHANIEL T. ALLEN.
West Newton, Aug. 15.

HOPEDALE HOME SCHOOL.

THE next Term of this Reformatory and Progressive Institution will commence on *Wednesday, Sept. 4*, and continue Fifteen weeks. For full particulars, please address WM. S. HAYWOOD, *Principal.*
Milford, Mass., Aug. 6, 1861.

TRANSIENT BOARDERS.

THE subscriber has just opened house No. 77 Myrtle st., for the accommodation of transient Boarders. The location is a pleasant one, within a few minutes' walk of the most central portions of the city. Every exertion will be made for the comfort of those who may favor the house with a call. Rooms furnished with or without board. Terms moderate.
Boston, Jan. 7. S. NEWELL.

JUST PUBLISHED,

And for sale at the Anti-Slavery Office, 221 Washington Street,

AN elaborate Work, entitled "Relation of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions to Slavery. By Charles K. Whipple,"—a volume of nearly 250 pages. In cloth, 37 cents—in paper covers, 25 cents.
Aug. 30. tf

Poetry.

MISSING.

Not among the suffering wounded ;
Not among the peaceful dead ;
Not among the prisoners. "MISSING"—
That was all the message said.

Yet his mother reads it ever,
Until, through her painful tears,
Fades the dear name she has called him
For these two-and-twenty years.

Round her, all is peace and plenty ;
Bright and clean the yellow floor ;
While the morning-glories cluster
All around the kitchen door.

Soberly, the sleek old house-cat
Drowses in his patch of sun ;
Neatly shines the oaken dresser ;
All the morning's work is done.

Through the window comes the fragrance
Of a sunny harvest morn,
Fragment songs from distant reapers,
And the rustling of the corn ;

And the rich breath of the garden,
Where the golden melons lie ;
Where the blushing plums are turning
All their red cheeks to the sky.

Sitting there within the sunshine—
Leaning in her easy chair ;
With soft lines upon her forehead,
And the silver in her hair—

Blind to sunshine—deaf to fragrance—
On that royal harvest morn ;
Thinking, while her heart is weeping,
Of her noble-browed first-born :

How he left her in the Springtime,
With his young heart full of flame,
With his clear and ringing footstep,
With his lithe and supple frame :

How with tears his eyes were brimming,
As he kissed a last "Good bye,"
Yet she heard him whistling gayly
As he went across the rye.

MISSING. Why should *he* be missing ?
He would fight until he fell ;
And if wounded, killed, or prisoner,
Some one there would be to tell.

MISSING. Still a hope to cheer her !
Safe, triumphant, he may come,
With the victor-army shouting,
With the clamor of the drum !

So, through all the days of Autumn—
In the eve and in the morn—
She will hear his quickening footsteps
In the rustling of the corn ;

Or, she will hush the household,
While her heart goes leaping high,
Thinking that she hears him whistling
In the pathway through the rye.

* * * * * *

Far away, through all the Autumn,
In a lonely, lonely glade,
In the dreary desolation
That the Battle-Storm has made.

With the rust upon his musket—
In the eve and in the morn—
In the rank gloom of the fern leaves
Lies her noble-browed first-born.

La Crosse, Wisconsin. MRS. F. A. MOORE.

SECESSION.

RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED TO GEN. BEAUREGARD.

The sun's hot rays were falling fast,
As through a Southern city passed
A man who bore, 'midst rowdies low,
A banner with the strange motto—
Secession !

His brow was sad ; his mouth beneath
Smelt strong of fire at every breath :
And like a furious madman sung
The accents of that unknown tongue—
Secession !

In happy homes he saw the light
Of household fires gleam warm and bright ;
Above, the spectral gallows shone,
And from his lips escaped a groan—
Secession !

"Try not that game !" Abe Lincoln said,
"Dark lower the thunders over head ;
The mighty North has been defied."
But still that drunken voice replied—
Secession !

"O ! pause !" the Quaker said, "and think
Before thee leaps from off the brink !"
Contempt was in his drunken leer ;
And still he answered, with a sneer—
Secession !

"Beware the pine-tree's bristling branch !
Beware the Northern avalanche !"
And that was Scott's restraining voice ;
But still this was the traitor's choice—
Secession !

At close of war, as toward their homes
Our troops as victors hurried on,
And turned to God a thankful prayer,
A voice whined through the startled air—
Secession !

A traitor by a soldier keen,
Suspended by the neck was seen,
Still grasping in his hand of ice
That banner, with this strange device—
Secession !

There, to the mournful gibbet strung,
Lifeless and horrible he hung ;
And from the sky there seemed to float
A voice, like angel's warning note—
Secession !

A MODEST CLAIM.

"All we ask is to be let alone."—JEFF. DAVIS.

A trifling boon for traitor hosts
To claim at loyal patriots' hands !
A meek demand, 'mid Southern boasts,
To come with grace from rebel hands !

"Let us alone !" was Arnold's cry,
When foiled in treason's lighter deed ;
"Let me in peace to England fly,
Without coercion in my speed."

"Let us alone !" was echoed wide
In Shay's rebellion, and in times
Of whiskey riots, that defied
The arm of law to reach their crimes.

"Let us alone !" was Burr's demand,
In dark conspiracy of yore ;
"Why interfere for foreign land,
And guard so strict an alien shore ?"

"Let us alone ! was Kidd's own prayer,
When coasting wide with pirate crew,
And dealing death—a slight affair—
To every prize that came in view.

"Let us alone ! why art thou come
Us to torment before the time ?"
The evil spirits—elsewhere dumb—
Could ask of Christ, despite their crime.

"Let us alone !" was sounded far
Through Heaven's vast conclave, in alarm,
By rebel angels, when at war
Against the power of God's right arm.

"Let us alone !" the South now claim—
When every flap of Freedom's flag
Points to that "deed without a name"
That dared in dust our banner drag.

"Let us alone ?" No ! NEVER ! NO !
While treason stalks o'er land and sea ;
And arms proclaim a rebel foe
Steep'd in such hellish treachery.

The Liberator.

THE WAR, AND COLORED AMERICAN AUXILIARIES.

The recent master-stroke of Gen. Butler, of converting slaves into contrabands, since mainly endorsed by the Secretary of War, is destined, under God, to materially weaken the rebel power, which is equivalent to that extent, at least, to abolishing slavery.

Among the various motives prompting to this military order, there is great satisfaction in the belief that one most potent element helping to such a conclusion has been furnished by the colored American himself, who, both as slave and nominally free, has in this early stage of the war exhibited that prowess, sagacity and patriotism, so conspicuous in the war of 1776, and which, in the war of 1812, elicited from Gen. Jackson, at the battle of New Orleans, the memorable tribute that "he found among them (his colored soldiers) a noble enthusiasm, which leads to the performance of great things."

The brilliant and daring feat of William Tillman, the colored steward, in which, including the taking the life of three men, he executed the plan of mastership and rescue of the brig J. S. Waring from Southern pirates, and restoring the vessel and her valuable cargo to her owners in New York, won from the *Tribune* the merited compliment that "to this colored man was the nation indebted for the first vindication of its honor on the sea." Another public journal spoke of that achievement alone as an offset to the defeat of the Federal arms at Bull Run. Unstinted praise from all parties, even those who are usually awkward in any other vernacular than derision of the colored man, has been awarded to this colored hero. At Barnum's Museum he was the centre of attractive gaze to daily increasing thousands. Pictorials have vied with each other in portraying his features, and in graphic delineations of the scene on board the brig; while in one of them Tillman has been sketched as an embodiment of black action on the sea in contrast with some delinquent Federal officer as white inaction on land.

This one signal act of colored American executiveness, thus exhibited in shop windows and elsewhere to the masses, outweighs any amount of argument or rhetoric—for here is a palpable fact, directly appealing to their sense of justice, and invested, let us hope, with a potent and magical influence towards conquering that offspring of slavery, prejudice against color. Then followed immediately after, the rescue of two other vessels, the "Enchantress" and the "Tropic Bird," both through the exertions of colored men.

The Philadelphia *Ledger* suggests that contrabands who know the localities should be selected to lead a few enterprising men safely into the swamps and inlets on the Southern coasts, to break up the piracy now harassing our Northern commerce.

The *Tribune's* account of the Great Bethel fight makes mention of a colored man who offered to show the Federal troops a road by which they might avoid the masked batteries, and take them in flank and rear; but he was not heeded, and the world now knows what a disaster resulted.

A colored man with Capt. Reynold's company, from Rhode Island, filled the place of a white gunner, who had been killed, and it is said he worked most bravely.

These are but a few of the many incidents of the war, daily suggesting to the nation the propriety, if not indeed the necessity, of the employment of colored soldiers in the Federal armies; for, remember, it was a matter of unfeigned surprise to Brigade Quartermaster Pryor, of the Mississippi forces at the Manassas battle, that the Northern regiments had no colored allies; and he boasted that the Southern army had them in large numbers; and the latest intelligence from Missouri is, that the best drilled military organization at New Madrid is a negro cavalry company. A plain lesson is thus to be learned from our enemies, inasmuch as it is now generally known that most of the formidable and effective war service of the rebel army, including the masked batteries, has been assigned to their colored men, the most of whom, instead of being reluctant auxiliaries in Slavery's army, could, if an honest attempt were made, be converted into eager and efficient soldiers in the Northern army of Freedom. And at the North, to-day, there are thousands of colored men ready to enlist for the war the moment they can do so on equal terms with other men.

We know one young colored man in Rhode Island, who, being urged by some young white men with whom he was a favorite, to accompany them to the war, replied that he too was an American, and claimed to be no less loyal than themselves; but though ready to share with them all dangers consequent upon putting down Southern rebellion, if he went with them, he must go as an equal, not as a subordinate. By this manly avowal, he struck a sympathetic chord, which, vibrating through their breasts, resulted in his being duly enlisted. He served his three months in the Federal army, and with his brave companions stands ready to reënlist for three years, or during the war; all which is but in keeping with the history of Rhode Island colored soldiery in colonial times; for Gov. Eustis, in his able speech against admitting slavery into Missouri, (1820,) speaking of colored men's services in the revolutionary war, says—"In Rhode Island, the blacks formed an entire regiment, and they discharged their duty with zeal and fidelity. The gallant defence of Red Bank is among the proofs of their valor"; and Dr. Harris, a revolutionary veteran, says, "*Three times in succession* were they attacked, with most desperate valor and fury, by well-disciplined and veteran troops, and *three times* did they successfully repel the assault, and thus preserve our army from capture."

One would naturally suppose, that at this signally auspicious moment for averting the evils impending over the land, by peaceably ridding the nation of slavery, and thus preserving the republic, there would be a mighty union of effort to abolish at the North all the remaining relics of slavery, and, by so doing, facilitate the entire destruction of the accursed thing, the prolific source of all the nation's trouble.

But how humiliating is the fact that, just in this crisis, there should be Northern politicians, who, nursing the hatred they bear towards the colored man, because they have injured him, seem determined to deny him every right to which, as a man and a citizen, he legitimately aspires! Witness the New Hampshire Legislature, at its recent session, doing homage to Jefferson Davis by voting, after an animated discussion, by yeas 221, nays 32, for inserting the word *white* in the Militia Bill, thereby excluding the colored man from equal participation with other citizens in military service, one member (Mr. Brigham of Littleton) quoting Gov. Banks's veto in the Massachusetts Legislature as a precedent.

How different this from the spirit manifested in the Republic's early days!—for then, as testified in the works of Dr. Jeremy Belknap, and as confirmed in vol. 7, chap. 39, of Bancroft's History, "the right of free negroes to bear arms in the public defence, in 1775, was as little disputed in New England as their other rights. They took their place not in a separate corps, but in the ranks with the white man, and their names may be read on the pension rolls of the country, side by side with those of other soldiers of the Revolution." One colored man, Peter Bartlett, was recorded as one of the quota from Kingstown, and was enrolled in Col. Reed's regiment, and another colored man, Wentworth Cheswell, was Justice of the Peace, Moderator, and one of the Selectmen for the town of Newmarket, from 1790 up to 1816; but with a marked and most lamentable degeneracy from those days, the New Hampshire legislature of 1861 adjudges the colored American but as a fractional man, and ruthlessly consigns him to the negro pew.

Look at the Connecticut Legislature, which last year voted by a large majority to amend the State Constitution so as to allow colored men to vote, reversing their decision this year, and shamefully rejecting the amendment, by a vote of 130 to 44! And yet Connecticut had a colored regiment in the revolutionary war, which was noted for its fidelity and efficiency. One of the regiment, Brister Baker, at the close of the war, was presented with a Badge of Merit, and a certificate for six years' faithful service, signed by George Washington. (The original is in my possession.)

At the storming of Fort Griswold, two colored men, Lambert Latham and Jordan Freeman, performed feats of bravery far surpassing any recorded of their white companions in arms. When Major Montgomery, one of the British officers, was lifted upon the walls of the fort by his soldiers, flourishing his sword, and calling on them to follow him, Freeman received him on the point of his pike, and pinned him to the earth; and Lambert being near Col. Ledyard when he was slain, retaliated upon the officer by thrusting his bayonet through his body. Lambert, in return, received from the enemy *thirty-three* bayonet wounds, and thus fell, nobly avenging the death of his commander. In that Fort (as writes one of their descendants) there was no negro pew, although there was some praying as well as fighting. But there they stood, side by side, shoulder to shoulder, and after a few rounds of firing, each man's visage was so blackened by the smoke of powder, that Lambert and Latham had little to boast of on the score of color. The Connecticut of 1861 has no recognition to offer the descendants of these noble and patriotic colored Americans but disfranchisement!

A colored man, a native of Virginia, but for many years resident in Massachusetts, was comparing notes a few days since with a friend on the signs of the times, when, in reply to the remark that, despite all the aid of Northern sympathizers, slavery had received its death-blow, he said, it was indeed true, but he did not know, however, but that the monster would be a long time dying.

Thousands of Northern young men in the Federal armies, having for the first time seen slavery as it is, and from their tablets furnishing copious details to newspapers and family circles of their experiences with the slaves, confessing their former skepticism when listening to the narratives of fugitive slaves who have escaped to the North, and that the half had not been told them—are thus doing an effective work in rousing the moral indignation of the people, who, concentrating as did the populace of Paris in 1789, against the Bastile, even to its overthrow, will not stop short of the utter annihilation of America's curse, her system of negro slavery. Indeed, the page of history is emphatic in its testimony, that civil wars have always resulted in liberating the slave. "The civil war of Marius and Sylla made free the slaves in Italy; and slavery in Mexico and the South American Republic was abolished by civil war. The States invaded by Bolivar offered freedom to all the slaves who would join the ranks to oppose him. Bolivar, on his part, proclaimed universal emancipation to recruit his ranks."

This summing up by F. P. Blair is arresting the attention of many minds, who cannot be made to believe that America will prove an exception, and the only one, to the logic of cause and effect. Let the faithful continue to labor, and await the hour of victory!

Boston, Aug. 18, 1861. W. C. N.

CHRISTIAN PEACE AND THE WAR.

The angels that heralded the birth of Christ sang, "Peace on earth, and good will to men"; and when that divinely commissioned and anointed One entered upon his public ministry, he preached peace to all—"to them that were near, and to them that were afar off." He appeared among men as "the Prince of Peace," and to establish a kingdom of Peace. The Apostle Paul represents his great object to be "to make peace through the blood of the Cross, and to reconcile all things to the Father." He repudiated the "eye for eye and tooth for tooth" doctrine of the Old Testament, and taught his disciples to love their enemies, to be forgiving, and to return good for evil; and this, that they might be the children of their Father in heaven, who is impartially good to all.

This was, too, according to the vision of the Messiah and his reign, which the Jewish Seers had been inspired with centuries before. They were worn and wearied with war, and nothing seemed so desirable to them as rest from the terrible scourge and calamity; and their hearts bounded with joy, even at the prospect of a distant peace for their land. According to Isaiah's prophecy of the coming One's reign, he was to "judge among the nations; and they were to beat their swords into plough-shares, and their spears into pruning-hooks, and nation no longer lift up sword against nation, nor learn the art of war any more."

Such, also, is the Christian Ideal of society, to which all have often responded with the most joyful anticipations; especially as it has been paraphrased by our best modern poets. All humane persons who comprehend what war is—how numerous its evils, both physical and moral, and how terrible and permanent—gladly join in spirit, if not with voice, in singing the hymn :—

"Years are coming—speed them onward !
When the sword shall gather rust,
And the helmet, lance and falchion,
Sleep in silent dust.

Earth has heard too long of battle,
Heard the trumpet's voice too long ;
But another age advances,
Seers foretold in song.

Years are coming when, forever,
War's dread banner shall be furled,
And the angel, Peace, be welcomed,
Regent of the world.

Hail with song that glorious era,
When the sword shall gather rust ;
And the helmet, lance and falchion,
Sleep in silent dust."

But there is danger, in the midst of the strife and din of war, of our losing that fair Christian Ideal—at least, of its becoming dim and shadowy to us—and that the aspiration will die out of us. Against this, it is needful that we continually guard, and not forget that we are Christians, even now. However much of an unavoidable necessity war may now, or ever, seem to be, none of us should think of it in any light and frivolous spirit. I cannot but think of it with horror.

"To me it talks of ravished plains,
And burning towns, and ruined swains,
And mangled limbs, and dying groans,
And widow's tears, and orphan's moans,
And all that misery's hand bestows,
To fill the catalogue of human woes."

A few years ago, it seemed as though the time had almost come in our community when the people would rise up in a regenerated Christian manhood, and forever put an end to war; and Peace Societies and Leagues of Universal Brotherhood sprung up all over the North, and greatly prospered. So was it likewise in parts of Europe. English, French, and American literature seemed to be newly inspired to repeat the song the angels sang at the Saviour's birth—"Peace on earth, and good will to men"—and great and enthusiastic meetings upon the subject were held in many places, and were addressed by some of the ablest and most influential men of the times.

It was at one of these meetings at which I was present in Providence, R. I., that Rev. Elnathan Davis, a liberal orthodox minister of Massachusetts, was inspired to write the following hymn :—

"Not with the flashing steel,
Nor with the cannon's peal,
Or stir of drum ;
But in the bonds of love,
Our white flag floats above ;
Her emblem is the dove—
'T is thus we come.

The laws of Christian light,
These are our weapons bright,
Our mighty shield ;
Christ is our leader high,
And the broad plains which lie
Beneath the blessed sky,
Our battle-field.

What is that great intent,
On which each heart is bent,
Our hosts among ?
It is that hate may die,
That war's red curse may fly,
And war's high praise for aye
No more be sung.

On, then, in God's great name !
Let each pure spirit's flame
Burn bright and clear ;
Stand firmly in your lot,
Cry ye aloud, doubt not,
Be every fear forgot—
Christ leads us here !

So shall earth's distant lands,
In happy holy bands
One brotherhood,
Together rise and sing,
Gifts to one altar bring,
And heaven's eternal King
Pronounce it good."

And my memory of that great gathering is as of a Pentecostal descent of the Holy Spirit; and earth and heaven seemed, for the time being, to touch each other. Elihu Burritt was also, at that time, scattering abroad his "Olive Leaves," like leaves of autumn, and the millenium seemed to be dawning. We shall have, we said, few more, if any, international wars; and all the difficulties that rise between the great Peoples of the earth will be settled by "arbitration." We were also thinking that slavery might be done away by "the sword of the Spirit," far sooner and more effectually than by the sword of steel; and the prospect of this civil war did not rise before us. O'Connell had said that "no revolution was worth a single drop of human blood," shed by the hand of violence, to secure it; and many were his disciples.

But this Peace Movement turned out to be premature, and it soon waned. There is now no efficient Peace Society in all the country, if in the world. The cry of to-day is that of the prophet Joel :—"Prepare for war; wake up the mighty men; let the men of war draw near; let them come up : beat your plough-shares into swords, and your pruning-hooks into spears; let the weak say, I am strong. . . . . Put ye in the sickle, for the harvest is ripe; their wickedness is great." And hundreds of thousands, moved as by one mighty impulse, have responded to the cry, and put on the panoply of war.

It is the Old Dispensation that we live under still, and not the New; at least, the Sun of Love and Peace has not yet risen to our meridian. If any have entered into the war from true Christian motives and in a true Christian spirit—ready to offer themselves up as sacrifices to universal Liberty and Humanity—the masses evidently have not. It is the best war, perhaps, on the part of the North, ever waged; but when we look at its immediate fruits, and then at the Cross, can it justly be called a *Christian* war ? Good Christians are engaged in it—unless we say that only non-resistants are Christians, not more than a hundred, perhaps, in all the world. But, whether the war is, or could be made, Christian or not, I here leave as an open question for others to settle. It needs a re-discussion; but now is not the time for it. Still, that Isaiah's prophecy, that, under the Messiah's reign, men will "beat their swords into plough-shares and their spears into pruning-hooks, and learn the art of war no more," must wait a long time yet for its fulfillment, is evident to all. Its fulfillment is certain, however, though distant.

But what is it that has so changed the spirit of our progressing North from peace to war—creating the seeming but terrible necessity of an armed soldiery ? It is SLAVERY—only SLAVERY; the rebels and the traitors of the South being the legitimate productions of that barbarous institution. No other institution in America could have produced such a class of men—naturally enough thinking that they were born to rule in the general government as on their own plantations.

No sooner was the Fugitive Slave Law passed, and flying bondmen were chased over our soil, than many of the disciples of peace began to say : "We can be peace men no longer. There is a point beyond which forbearance seems to be a virtue; and this is it." And some of those men who went to Kansas, and passed through its fiery trials with "Border-Ruffianism," wrote home : "We can carry out our sacred principles of peace among men, but not among wild beasts; and here we are in the midst of the latter, and must fight to defend our lives and our liberties." The South had all along, in the years before, made many and violent aggressions upon the rights of Northern men, tormenting and torturing many unto the most cruel and painful death; but the spirit of peace, nevertheless, continued to increase in the ranks of the Abolitionists. The Fugitive Slave Bill and Kansas barbarity triumphed over it. Then culminated the wide-spread reaction from the peace principle, under the lead of William Lloyd Garrison, (still a peace man,) into the war principle, for self-defence and liberty, under the lead of John Brown. And many Abolitionists now, if not most of them, are with the Government in its life-and-death struggle, believing that to break the power of slaveholders is to break the power of slavery itself. If it shall turn out, however, that slavery does not get destroyed, or at least greatly crippled, by this war, these once peace Abolitionists will probably return to the doctrine that "Wisdom is better than weapons of war." But, should slavery receive its death-blow from the war, will not that be proof that war sometimes helps the progress of the race ? So it would seem. But the answer is not yet; though when it comes, be it on which side it may, it will be important. If it only establishes a genuine Northern Republic, it will be proof that it is not wholly evil to the race.

I see in this war a necessity of the present character and condition of our country and countrymen—especially at the South—and do not see how it could have been avoided, without a miraculous interposition and prevention by Providence. I see, of course, that if North and South had all along been thoroughly civilized, humanized and christianized, they could have avoided it, and have secured permanent peace and prosperity; or if North and South had been blessed with leaders sufficiently wise and Christian. But such was not the case, and the war is upon us as the legitimate result of SLAVERY. On the part of the North, it is probably as purely defensive as a war can be; and it has been dragged into it by the South against its long and constant inclination and purpose. Jesus foresaw such conflicts when he said, "Offences must needs come, but woe unto him by whom the offence cometh !"

And who does not feel like hating slavery from foundation to top-stone, when he thinks what woes it has brought, and is still bringing, upon its victims, and upon the whole land! Every humane person must. But we should be careful not to let our hatred extend to slaveholders. We should remember Jesus rebuking Scribes and Pharisees, and yet weeping over Jerusalem; and endeavor always to mingle mercy with justice. War cannot nullify the Beatitude: "Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy."

When our country shall have passed through this war, begun with such fearfully ominous signs, we shall probably come out of it, even though triumphantly victorious, with even more horror of such bloody and destructive feuds, and a much higher appreciation of Peace, than we now have. God grant that this may be one of the good results of it; and that it may be the last great war that shall ever be carried on by the Government! May the nation learn wisdom by its bitter and sad experience, and henceforth "proclaim liberty, every one to his neighbor, and every man to his brother," so that the Lord will not have to proclaim liberty for us through the retributive laws of his often terrible Providence!

COLORED CHILDREN AND THE PROVIDENCE SCHOOLS.

PROVIDENCE, Aug. 26, 1861.

The only legal obstacle to an equality of school privileges in this city is the construction authoritatively put upon section second of the "Ordinance in relation to Public Schools," which reads thus :—"There shall be three Public Schools maintained exclusively for the instruction of colored children, the grades thereof to be determined, from time to time, by the School Committee." In this brief paragraph, and this alone, the School Committee and the City Council profess to find their authority for closing the doors of all the white schools in the city, the High School included, against all shades of colored pupils. Time and again, but thus far in vain, have the colored citizens and their friends petitioned the School Committee, the City Council, and the General Assembly, to give this ordinance a more equitable construction, or repeal it altogether. In vain before Committees, and Councils, and Legislatures, have the colored people demonstrated their absolute, constitutional, legal right to the use of any and all those schools which their money helps to maintain. A few days since, a petition, signed by white and colored citizens, reiterating the request, "so to amend the city ordinance relating to the public schools as to provide for the admission of all the children, irrespective of color, into the schools for which their qualifications fit them," was presented to the City Council. This petition was tabled by a vote of thirteen to six. Being one of the aforesaid petitioners, and, "what is more," a voter, and wishing to make a record somewhere of the character of the opposition, I forward a specimen or two from the speech of William Binney, Esq., Chairman of the Committee on Education, to which Committee it had been moved the petition be referred. Mr. Binney, who, by the way, is a Providence lawyer, with Philadelphia antecedents, made a speech in opposition to this motion, in which speech he embodied the general characteristics which mark all the arguments hitherto put forth by the enemies of equal educational rights. His speech is saturated with plantation odor, as you will perceive by the three brief extracts which I herewith transmit, with a few short comments :—

"I hope," said he, "that the Council will not receive the petition; I am opposed to it, right or wrong." This is as frank as it is atrocious. It is, perhaps, lucky for Mr. Binney, that no Providence paper will lay before his constituents his own avowal that, in deciding on public measures, their inherent right or wrong is, with him, a matter of no consequence. If the college-hill voters should, by chance, get hold of this, I conjecture they would say that he was the wrong man in the wrong place, and would be less mischievously located in some collection of Egyptian mummies or fossilized curiosities. The least they could do would be the presentation of a volume of first and easy lessons in Civil Ethics, with a suitable instructor to teach him the rudiments.

I quote again :—"I have yet to learn whether any person has a constitutional right to education in this State, whether white or black." If Mr. Binney has a sharp appetite for information on this point, I refer him to any of the pupils, bright or stupid, in any of our intermediate schools. *They* have learned, if *he* has not, that their right to education is founded on the Constitution, and the laws made in accordance therewith. There is not a school-boy in Providence, ten years old, white or black, who is not familiar with the constitutional argument on the equal right of all the children in the Commonwealth to education. Some of the truant ones have had a little painful experimental knowledge added to their *a priori* reasonings. Try your hand with them, Mr. Binney, and you may rapidly learn what you say you are ignorant of. I venture to say that the white children in your ward will earnestly protest against your destroying the rights of negro boys by assaulting theirs.

The last specimen which I select from this Chairman's argument reads as follows :—"I believe that the colored children are better separate from the white. In my judgment, it shows the ignorance of the petitioners in supposing they are not." In previous discussions, some of the opposition have frankly admitted the cogency and conclusiveness of the abstract argument on the side of educating the white and colored children in the same schools, while maintaining, at the same time, its impracticability. While conceding that it would be abstractly right, they have forcibly dwelt upon its mischiefs in practice. But Mr. Binney does not belong to this class of opponents. He does not stoop to the discussion of principles. Indeed, his notions on the intrinsic right or wrong involved in a proposed public measure preclude him from all such debate. Hence he deals in bald assertions, and assumes his facts. It would occupy too much of your space to analyze the word better in the above extract, and show in detail that Mr. Binney is as much in error in his belief, as he is deficient, according to his own admission, in Rhode Island constitutional knowledge. Unsophisticated people will deem it better for all classes to act rightly, constitutionally and legally, in all practical cases which these three may conjointly sanction. Any measure thus conditioned must, of necessity, be beneficial. And these ignorant petitioners have, with surprising success, collected an overwhelming mass of facts, confirmatory of the safety and wisdom of adhering to well-settled principles. Allow me to say that Mr. Binney is not so very ignorant nor so skeptical as he professes to be. He owes most of his knowledge on this question, and much of his faith, to the light with which the colored men have illuminated his understanding. It is to them he is indebted for the undeniable fact, that wherever the experiment of educating the blacks and whites together has been fairly tried, success has crowned the effort. He knows, as well as we do, that, in the Bridgham-Street School, this very summer, the experiment tried there on a small scale, on the sole responsibility of a humane teacher, worked so well that the Committee peremptorily put a stop to it, and turned the two colored children into the street. He knows, as well as we do, that only fifteen minutes' walk from that same school, over in Elmwood, just outside the jurisdiction of Mr. Binney's Committee, there are in one school eighteen or twenty colored children in constant attendance, and no trouble. He knows,—for the evidence has been placed in his hands by these ignorant petitioners,—that, in every school in this State, as well as in other States where the same policy is pursued, there is none of that terrible tumult between white and colored pupils which Mr. Binney and his friends are so often asserting, and so exultingly predicting.

I have outrun my limits, and will leave Mr. Binney with his constituents and the readers of the *Liberator*.

D. B. H.

THE COURAGE OF THE AMERICANS.

[Translated from the *Pionier* for the *Liberator*.]

A reader of the *Pionier*, in the State of New York, finds in the flight of the Union army from Manassas to Washington, and in the simultaneous retirement of the rebels to Richmond, a proof that Americans lack courage. He means, that this flight was so entirely without reason, the loss being only a thousand killed and wounded, that it can only be explained by a lack of courage, and dwells especially upon the circumstance that, at that time, the Irish, who had participated in the battle, were for the most part worn out, while the Germans stood in reserve at Centreville. According to this, the Americans, when reduced to themselves, fled from each other; the one to Washington, the other to Richmond.

We cannot agree with this definition. First, the physical courage, in rank and file, is always the last which we doubt in a people, because it is altogether too common and cheap a virtue. Then, all reports agree that, before the occurrence of the panic, the troops in general bore themselves bravely in the battle, although the boastful accounts of the local press, which give a place of honor in the telegraphic dispatches to every wounded horse, necessitate a considerable reduction in the estimate of the deeds accomplished. But the principal thing is that, except in large cities and other nurseries of effeminacy, Americans, through their natural disposition and whole training, are not made for cowards. Where they are or appear to be so, their nature, as a rule, has been for the moment misled or repressed by pernicious influences; for instance, by the spirit of haggling, or legal narrowness. But, in general, we believe that nowhere can better "fighting material" be found than among Americans; and this will certainly be proved true, when they become accustomed to military discipline, acquire greater self-reliance through practice of arms, and, what is the principal thing, are led everywhere by able officers, and set in motion by right motives.

Subjects, who are driven by a despot to battle, only need for enthusiasm the order or hope of favor from their master. Men, who belong to themselves, need, to expose their life to bullets, an idea which warms and fills them, in opposition to another which excites their hatred. They must not only, on their side, have a cause which has their love, but also an enemy opposed to them, whom they hate fiercely with his cause. This is, indeed, the only thing which converts the barbarians of the South into soldiers : they hate the men of the North. They feel themselves in entire, unadulterated opposition to everything that represents the North, as the robber feels himself in entire opposition to moral society; and, therefore, their military action takes that character of decision and regardlessness, which alone can make them formidable. They are never taught that they are fighting against friends, but only against worthy objects of their muskets and bowie-knives. They are enemies, and act as enemies, whose aim is the destruction of their opponents.

But is it so on the side of the North ? This question, the eunuchs and old women may answer, who, until now, have conducted the war and inspired the soldiers. Have they not said every third word, that the war was carried on only against "brothers" ? Cannon, cartridges, bullets, against "brothers" ! Slave-dealers, assassins, barbarians, pirates, brutes, your "brothers" ? If you really fight against "brothers," ye Christian souls, take prayer-books instead of guns into your hands, and let psalms be heard instead of the roar of cannon ! Is not the official nonsense about "brotherhood" the best means to pervert all military spirit in the beginning, and to paralyze all power of attack ? Must not the hand on the barrel and the finger on the trigger lose their firmness when, behind the backs of the soldiers, is heard eternally the official cry, "You are fighting and shooting brothers !" when the representatives of the nation should thunder, instead, in their ears, "You are fighting and shooting criminals, knaves, barbarians, the outcasts of humanity !" Fill the soldiers with the right hatred, and they will have the right courage. Bad enough is it if a shameful defeat, instead of moral repulsion, must be the school of this hatred; but better, even, is the spirit of revenge, than the spirit of reconciliation towards the representatives of shame and barbarism.

But then, what is the idea that urges the Northern soldier to battle ? What is he to think of the mad cry for "the Union," which can only appear to his eyes as a rude battle-field of eternal confusion and barbarism, if the opposition of slavery to freedom continues ? And what is he to think of a war for the Constitution, which he left unmolested at home, and which was as little esteemed at the South before as it is during the conflict ?

All the watchwords and mottoes which have been hitherto used to inspire the Northern army do not touch its very heart, and do not give it the right understanding of the opposition towards its enemy. The only men who have comprehended, realized the nature of this opposition have been the Germans, and, therefore, they have, when opportunity has been given them, been effective enemies against the rebels.

See to it that the troops of the North represent a whole, like those of the South, and they will also become whole soldiers. Let FREEDOM, ENTIRE FREEDOM, comprising Union, Constitution, Civilization, and all else, be written on their banner; then will they know that they represent the opposition to slavery and barbarism; for which the Southerners make war; then will they say to themselves that they must never rest until they have destroyed what they oppose.

Physical courage Americans do not lack, but higher *moral* courage, that courage which does not hesitate to speak the true word, and to stand up openly and frankly for the truth. Over the whole battle of the North has been displayed, till now, as the war motto, A GREAT LIE—the lie that this is no war against slavery. And that this is a lie is better, indeed, than if it were truth. The whole North has been branded, hitherto, with the stamp of moral cowardice, which, in the midst of the war, does not dare to call the real point of conflict by its true name, and to attack it directly. So long as this cowardice rules, and gives the war its character, so long will it communicate itself to the soldiers, and enervate them morally; and so long will they be unable to go into battle with undivided heart and real enthusiasm. There is something like a bad conscience that haunts the whole Northern conduct of this war; and, so long as this bad conscience shall not be banished by open, true, entire standing forth for the whole cause, the panic remains in all the forests of the South, and awaits a new occasion.

Freedom, entire freedom, destruction of slavery and all barbarism, radical purification of the Republic from all the filth and decay which defile and threaten it—make this your battle-cry, then, in spite of masked batteries, and in spite of the despair of an enemy struggling for his life, and the spirit of the North will stand so firmly, and will penetrate so indomitably, that no paroxysm of panic can again disturb its assurance of victory, or stop its march.

The later history of this Republic shows you a man who, standing alone, opposed to the whole South thirsting for revenge, though sure of death, could nevertheless by no panic be made untrue to himself. But this was a man who did not hide his designs behind a false opposition; he had the courage to be and to wish for something complete; moreover, he called his enemies by the right name, as "robbers and murderers," nor did he degrade his reason and manhood by a "brotherly" obtrusion upon those whom he hated and despised. How high does this man stand above those who are now carrying on a war for the so-called banner on which they dare not write the word, FREEDOM ! So long as you dare not plant the banner of John Brown, and act in his spirit, so long do you lack true courage and heroism. Had you erected a monument of honor to that hero at Charlestown, you would not have left behind you at Manassas a monument of shame.

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IMPORTANT TESTIMONY.

Report of the Judges of the last Fair of the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association.

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☞ The following gentlemen constitute the Financial Committee, but are not responsible for any debts of the paper, viz:—FRANCIS JACKSON, EDMUND QUINCY, EDMUND JACKSON, and WENDELL PHILLIPS.

The United States Constitution is "a covenant with death, and an agreement with hell."

☞ "What order of men under the most absolute of monarchies, or the most aristocratic of republics, was ever invested with such an odious and unjust privilege as that of the separate and exclusive representation of less than half a million owners of slaves, in the Hall of this House, in the chair of the Senate, and in the Presidential mansion? This investment of power in the owners of one species of property concentrated in the highest authorities of the nation, and disseminated through thirteen of the twenty-six States of the Union, constitutes a privileged order of men in the community, more adverse to the rights of all, and more pernicious to the interests of the whole, than any order of nobility ever known. To call government thus constituted a Democracy is to insult the understanding of mankind. . . . It is doubly tainted with the infection of riches and of slavery. There is no name in the language of national jurisprudence that can define it—no model in the records of ancient history, or in the political theories of Aristotle, with which it can be likened. It was introduced into the Constitution of the United States by an equivocation—a representation of property under the name of persons. Little did the members of the Convention from the Free States imagine or foresee what a sacrifice to Moloch was hidden under the mask of this concession."—JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.

Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind.

J. B. YERRINTON & SON, Printers.

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Refuge of Oppression.

THE ADMINISTRATION AND THE FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW.

Some time since, Marshal McDowell (United States Marshal for Kansas,) addressed a letter to the United States Attorney General, stating that he did not deem it his duty to return fugitives to Missouri, until she became more loyal, and asking for advice on that subject. The following was the reply:—

ATTORNEY GENERAL'S OFFICE, July 23, 1861.

J. L. McDowell, U. S. Marshal, Kansas:

SIR,—Your letter of the 11th of July, received 19th, (under frank of Senator Lane, Kansas,) asks advice whether or no you should give your official services in the execution of the *Fugitive Slave Law.*

It is the President's constitutional duty to "take care that the *laws* be faithfully executed." That means *all* the laws. He has no right to discriminate, no right to execute the laws he likes, and leave unexecuted those he dislikes. And, of course, you and I, his subordinates, can have no wider latitude of discretion than he has. Missouri is a State *in the Union.* The insurrectionary disorders in Missouri are but individual crimes, and do not change the legal *status* of the State, nor change its obligations as a member of the Union.

A refusal, by a ministerial officer, to execute *any* law which properly belongs to his office, is official misdemeanor, of which I do not doubt the President would take notice. Very respectfully,

EDWARD BATES.

It is gratifying to see from the above that the Administration mean to give no countenance to the views and machinations of what used to be familiarly called "the Abolition wing of the Republican party," or to Wendell Phillips, Giddings, Garrison, and the like.

It is a little late in the day for subordinates to be construing the Constitution and limiting their duties to suit their prejudices or convenience. Hence Marshal McDowell must not be astonished to find himself rebuked for assuming that Missouri is not in the Union. It was somewhat approaching the height of impudence for any Marshal to decide the question for Missouri, as Marshal McDowell decided it, in view of the action of our Convention.

The President, as will be perceived by Mr. Bates's letter, is determined that the laws of Congress shall be executed, and constitutional obligations faithfully complied with. He has assumed that where no law exists, and the Constitution is in imminent danger, he may proceed to seize hold of the most obvious means for its defence. But this is only in tremendous exigencies, when the life of the nation is supposed to be threatened, and the question of whether or not a republican government can be maintained in strength and dignity is in danger of being instantly decided in the negative. At such times, the President assumes that, in the implied contemplation of the Constitution, he has a right to spring to its defence in the attitude of the Roman Dictator, lest the Republic be ruined before it can be *regularly* saved. But such action supposes a crisis which will not probably be the experience of a well-regulated nation once in a century. But because a President—the Chief Magistrate—may disregard the directions of a statute at such a time, it by no means follows that his subordinates may do it at any time, when in the plenitude of their private judgment they choose to act both absurdly and disobediently.

The letter of Mr. Bates, as evincing both the willingness and determination of the Administration to give all parts of the Union the benefits of the guarantees secured by the Constitution, so that the rights, interests and property of all good and true citizens shall be protected alike, is one which will be read with great pleasure by at least four-fifths, if not five-sixths, of all the people of the United States.—*St. Louis Republican.*

SEDITIOUS RADICALISM. The United States have been brought into the present straits in part by the seditious radicalism of such journals as the *Liberator* and the *Tribune.* All men now see the evil, and in their anxiety to abate it are overstepping the limits of reason and justice, and sometimes not unnaturally making mistakes in their objects. Speaking for ourselves as journalists, we do not hesitate to say that, in our opinion, *a law of the press* is one of the imperative exigencies of public order in the United States. To overawe, or to crush it by any violent or arbitrary means, is, to say the least, unfriendly to public and private liberty. But to put on trial for deliberate examination and conviction, if guilty, those who stir up sedition and disunion in the Union, would be not only salutary and in conformity with the law of self-defence, but, we believe, has become a necessity. We might for a time have a good many trials of this sort. But the excitement would be a healthy one. The careful investigation and elucidation of principles essential to free institutions would be extremely useful. The public taste and the standing of public morals, as well as judgment, would be animated and elevated by it.—*Boston Courier.*

☞ Wendell Phillips and other Abolitionists urge incessantly upon the Administration a proclamation of emancipation to the slaves. They can see nothing worth gaining in a war to uphold the best of governments, the freest of constitutions, the hitherto unimpeded authority of law, and the good order of society, unless their wretched crotchets can also get furtherance in its conflicts.

The Secession organs come to the same conclusion by a different road. They hope the government will commit itself to the impolicy of wholesale emancipation, because in that event they know that we should have a united South to fight, no loyal Union men there to work with us, a divided North, an interrupted, crippled, and ineffectual war, and thus should entail upon the nation inevitably the very disruption to prevent which the North has risen to arms. This is not the first time Secessionists and Abolitionists have fought the same enemy.—*New York World.*

OUR SOLDIERS IN THE HANDS OF THE ENEMY.—A writer in the Savannah (Georgia) *Republican* asks the question: "How shall we dispose of the prisoners?"—and answers it as follows:—

"Let the Quartermaster-General of the Confederate States issue his proclamation, stating that the prisoners will be hired out to the highest bidder for some specified time, and in such number as the hirer may desire. I know of a gentleman of this city, a rice planter, who would gladly take two hundred of the Yankees on his plantation to build up and mend the dams of his fields. He is more desirous of doing this, he says, as the Northern gazettes have long asserted that we can do without negro labor, and he is anxious of testing the question. One good black driver to every forty Yankees would insure good order and lively work among them."

Selections.

THE SOURCE OF OUR TROUBLES.

We have received a handsomely printed pamphlet, just published by Ticknor & Fields, Boston, entitled "THE SOCIAL SIGNIFICANCE OF OUR INSTITUTIONS: An Oration delivered by request of the Citizens at Newport, R. I., July 4th, 1861, by HENRY JAMES." We give below its instructive and telling conclusion.

It is idle to talk,—as silly people, however, will talk, as all people will talk whose gross, grovelling hearts go back *to the flesh-pots of Egypt, when they eat bread to the full,*—it is idle to talk of our political troubles as springing up out of the ground, as having no graver origin than party fanaticism or folly. These troubles, on the contrary, are the inevitable fruit of our very best growth, the sure harbingers, I am persuaded, of that rising Sun of Righteousness whose beams shall never again know eclipse. They are merely an evidence, on a larger scale and in a public sphere, of the discord which every righteous man perceives at some time or other to exist between his essential human spirit and his perishable animal flesh. For every nation is in human form, is in fact but an aggregate or composite form of manhood, greatly grander and more complex than the simple forms of which it is made up, but having precisely the same intense unity within itself, and claiming, like each of them, a quickening, controlling spirit, and an obedient servile body. This animating, controlling spirit of our national polity, like that of our own private souls, is Divine, comes from God exclusively, and is only revealed, never exhausted, only embodied or empowered, never belittled or enfeebled, by the literal symbols in which human wisdom contrives to house it. That part of the letter of our Constitution which best reveals the majestic human spirit that animates our polity is of course its preamble. But the real divinity of the nation, its vital, imperishable holiness, resides not in any dead parchment, but only in the righteous, unselfish lives of those who see in any constitution but the luminous letter of their inward spiritual faith, but the visible altar of their invisible worship, and rally around it, therefore, with the joyous, unshrinking devotion not of slaves but of men.

Now, such being the undoubted spirit of our polity, what taint was there in its material constitution, in our literal maternal inheritance, to affront this righteous paternal spirit and balk its rich promise, by turning us its children from an erect, sincere, hopeful and loving brotherhood of men intent upon universal aims, into a herd of greedy, luxurious swine, into a band of unscrupulous political adventurers and sharpers, the stink of whose corruption pervades the blue spaces of ocean, penetrates Europe, and sickens every struggling nascent human hope with despair?

The answer leaps at the ears; it is Slavery, and Slavery only. This is the poison which lurked almost harmless at first in our body politic, and to which its righteous soul is an utter stranger; this is the curse we inherited from the maternal English Eve, out of whose somewhat loose, lascivious lap we sprung. But of late years the poison has grown so rank and pervasive, making its citadel, indeed, the very heart of the commonwealth, or those judicial and legislative chambers whence all the tides of its activity proceed, that each successive political administration of the country proves more recreant to humanity than its predecessor, until at last we find shameless, God-forsaken men, holding high place in the government, become so rabid with its virus as to mistake its slimy, purulent ooze for the ruddy tide of life, and commend its foul and fetid miasm to us as the fragrant breath of assured health. It is easy enough to falsify the divinity which is shaping our constitutional action, wherever a will exists to do so. Men whose most cherished treasure can be buttoned up in their breeches pocket, and whose heart, of course, is with their treasure, are doubtless panting to convince the country that we have already done enough for honor, and the sooner a sham peace is hurried up, the better. It only needs a wily wolf of this sort to endue himself here and there in sheep's clothing, and bleat forth a cunning, pathetic lament over the causeless misfortunes which have befallen our bread-and-butter interests, to see dozens of stupid sheep taking up in their turn the sneaking, hypocritical bleat, and preparing their innocent fleece for his dishonest, remorseless shears. The friends of Mammon are numerous in every community; but, blessed be God, they nowhere rule in the long run. They are numerous enough to give an odious flavor to the broth; but they never constitute its body. It is impossible that we should err in this great crisis of our destiny, a crisis to which that of our national birth or independence yields in dignity and importance, as much as body yields to soul, flesh to spirit, childhood to manhood. For this is the exact crisis we are in; the transition from youth to manhood, from appearance to reality, from passing shadow to deathless substance. Every man and every nation of men encounters somewhere in its progress a critical hour, big with all its future fate; and woe be to the man, woe be to the nation, who believes that this sacred responsibility can be trifled with! To every man and to every nation it means eternal life or eternal death; eternal liberty or eternal law; the heaven of free, spontaneous order, or the hell of enforced prudential obedience. There is no man who hears me who does not know something of this bitter sweat and agony; whose petty, trivial cares have not been dignified and exalted by some glimpse of this hidden inward fight; who has not at times heard the still small voice of truth on the one hand counselling him to do the right thing, though ruin yawn upon his hopes,—counselling him *to force himself* to do the honest thing, though it cost him tears of blood, —and the earthquake voice of hell on the other, or the fiery breath of passion infuriated by long starvation, doing its best to drown and devour it. Our national life, believe me, is at that exact pass in this awful moment, and nowhere else. It is the hour of our endless rise into all beautiful human proportions, into all celestial vigor and beatitude, or of our endless decline into all infernality and uncleanness, and into the inevitable torments which alone discipline such uncleanness. And we must not hesitate for a moment to fight it manfully out to its smiling, blissful end, feeling that it is not our own battle alone, that we are not fighting for our own country only, for our own altars and firesides as men have fought hitherto, but for the altars and firesides of universal man, for the ineradicable rights of human nature itself. Let bloated European aristocracies rejoice in our calamities; let the mutton-headed hereditary legislators of England raise a shout of insult and exultation over our anticipated downfall; the honest, unsophisticated masses everywhere will do us justice, for they will soon see, spite of all efforts to blind them, that we occupy in this supreme moment no petty Thermopylæ guarding some paltry Greece, but the broad majestic pass that commands the deathless wealth and worth of human nature itself, the Thermopylæ of the human mind; they will soon see, in fact, that our flags are waving, our trumpets sounding, our cannon showering their deathful hail, not merely to avenge man's outraged political faith and honor, but to vindicate the inviolable sanctity of the human form itself, which for the first time in history is Divinely bound up with that faith and honor.

This is the exact truth of the case. The political tumble-down we have met with is no accident, as unprincipled politicians would represent it. It is the fruit of an inevitable expansion of the human mind itself, of an advancing social consciousness in the race, an ever-widening sense of human unity, which will no longer be content with the old channels of thought, the old used-up clothes of the mind, but irresistibly demands larger fields of speculation, freer bonds of intercourse and fellowship. We have only frankly to acknowledge this great truth, in order to find the perturbation and anxiety which now invade our unbelieving bosoms dispelled; in order to hear henceforth, in every tone of the swelling turbulence that fills our borders, no longer forebodings of disease, despair, and death, but prophecies of the highest health, of kindling hope, of exuberant righteousness, and endless felicity for every man of woman born. "I was once," says an old writer, "I was once in a numerous crowd of spirits, in which everything appeared at sixes and sevens: they complained, saying that now a total destruction was at hand, for in that crowd nothing appeared in consociation, but everything loose and confused, and this made them fear destruction, which they supposed also would be total. But in the midst of their confusion and disquiet, I perceived a soft sound, angelically sweet, in which was nothing but what was orderly. The angelic choirs thus present were within or at the centre, and the crowd of persons to whom appertained what was disorderly were without or at the circumference. This flowing angelic melody continued a long time, and it was told me that hereby was signified how the Lord rules confused and disorderly things which are upon the surface, namely, *by virtue of a pacific principle in the depths or at the centre; whereby the disorderly things upon the surface are reduced to order, each being restored from the error of its nature.*" The pacific and restorative principle which in the same way underlies all our political confusion and disorder, and which will irresistibly shape our national life to its own righteous and orderly issues, is the rising sentiment of human society or fellowship, the grand, invincible faith of man's essential unity and brotherhood. The social conscience, the conscience of what is due to every man as man, having the same divine origin and the same divine destiny with all other men, is becoming preternaturally quickened in our bosoms; and woe betide the church, woe betide the state, that ventures to say to that conscience, Thus far shalt thou go, and no further!

Slavery has this incredible audacity. Slavery, which is the only institution of our European inheritance we have left unmodified, confronts and spits upon this rising tide of God's righteousness in the soul of man. Slavery boldly denies what all our specific culture affirms, namely, the inviolable sanctity of human affection in every form, the inviolable freedom of human thought in every direction. The cultivated intelligence of the race abhors the claim of any human being to possess an *absolute* property in any other being, that is, a property unvivified by the other's unforced, spontaneous gift. Slavery affirms this diabolic pretension,—affirms the *unqualified* title of the master to outrage, if need be, the sacredest instincts of natural affection in the slave, and to stifle at need his feeblest intellectual expansion. Accordingly, the heart of man, inspired by God and undepraved by Mammon, pronounces slavery with no misgiving an unmitigated infamy; and the intelligence of man, thence enlightened, declares that its empire shall not be extended. We have no right to say that evil shall not exist where it already does exist without our privity; but we have not only all manner of right, both human and divine, to say that its existence shall not be promoted by our active connivance; it is our paramount wisdom as men, and our paramount obligation as citizens, to say so. Such, at all events, is our exact social attitude with respect to slavery. Every unsophisticated soul of man feels it to be what it actually is, namely, the ultimate or most general form, and hence the king of all the evil pent up in human nature; so that when *it* once disappears by the clear indignant refusal of the human mind any longer actively to coöperate with it, all those interior and subtler shapes of evil which now infest us, and are held together by it as the viscera of the body are held together by the skin, will be dissipated along with it. We know not when the hour of this great salvation shall strike. We only know that as God is just and sovereign, it must strike ere long, and that when it does strike, the morning stars of a richer creation than has yet been seen on earth will sing together, and all the sons of God in every subtlest, ineffable realm of his dominion shout for joy. Our government itself is waking up from its long trance; is beginning to perceive that there is something sacreder than commerce on earth,—that the interests of this very commerce, in fact, will best be promoted by first of all recognizing that there are depths in the human soul, demands of immaculate righteousness and assured peace, which all the pecuniary prosperity of the world can never satisfy. In short, the government is fast coming, let us hope, to a consciousness of its distinctively social or human function, by practically confessing that its supreme responsibility is due only to man, and no longer to persons, or infuriated sectional exactions. Of course, in pursuing this career, it will become gradually converted from the mere tool it has hitherto been for adroit political knaves to do what they please with, into a grandly social force, reflecting every honest human want, fulfilling every human aspiration. What matters it, then, if we forfeit the empty political prestige we have hitherto enjoyed with European *statesmen?* Let us only go on overtly to inaugurate that promised perfect society on earth, all whose officers shall be *peace,* and its sole exactors *righteousness,* by practically acknowledging on all occasions the infinite Divine Good enshrined in man's heart, the infinite Divine Truth enthroned in his understanding, and we shall fast attain to a social standing in the eyes of European *peoples* which shall grandly compensate our mere political disasters, and do more to modify the practice of European statesmen themselves than anything else we could possibly do.

In this state of things, how jealously should we watch the Congress to-day assembling at Washington! How clear should be the watchword we telegraph to guide their deliberations! Have *we* indeed no higher monition for our legislature than old heathen Rome supplied to hers, namely, *to see that the Republic suffer no damage?* The body is much, but it is not the soul. The Republic is much, but it is not all. It is much as a means, but nothing as an end. It is much as a means to human advancement, but nothing as its consummation. It is much as an onward march of the race, it is nothing whatever as its final victory and rest. Let us be sure that, so far as we are concerned, our legislators understand this. Let them know that we value the Republic so much, only because we value man more; that we value peace, prosperity, and wealth, not as ends, but as means to an end, which is justice, truth, and mercy, in which alone man's real peace, his true prosperity, and his abiding wealth reside, and which will be ours only so long as we are faithful to the gospel of human freedom and equality. For my part, if I thought that our rulers were going to betray in this agonizing hour the deathless interest confided to them,—if I thought that Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Seward were going at last to palter with the sublime instincts of peace and righteousness that elevated them to power, and give them all their personal prestige, by making the least conceivable further concession to the obscene demon of Slavery,—then I could joyfully see Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Seward scourged from the sacred eminence they defile, yea more, could joyfully see our boasted political house itself laid low in the dust forever, because in that case its stainless stars and stripes would have sunk from a banner of freemen into a dishonored badge of the most contemptible people on earth; a people that bartered away the fairest spiritual birthright any people ever yet were born to, for the foulest mess of material pottage ever concocted of shameless lust and triumphant fraud.

WHAT SHALL WE DO WITH OUR SOUTH?

BY CHARLES GODFREY LELAND.

Of all humbugs, there are none greater than so-called unanswerable arguments. Whenever you hear a man allude to such logical fortresses, reader, as being under his command, depend upon it that they have never been attacked by a vigorous foe, and that they have been occupied by a very vain and vapory garrison. No old campaigner in the wars of Truth believes in the existence of unanswerable arguments.

Our Southern foes have always been celebrated for unanswerable arguments, and we have, like good-natured ninnies, generally conceded all and everything to them. For instance, we say, "Yes, oh! certainly," when told that slavery *must* always exist "down South," because only the negro can work there. "Only the negro can endure the climate, you know." Now treat this specimen of the unanswerable with a vigorous denial, and see how it comes out. The experience of the whole world shows it to be a flat lie. You cannot point me out anything within the whole range of human efforts which a negro can do, but that a white man can do it better. Cotton can be better cultivated by white men than slaves; if a black only lives till thirty on a rice plantation, a white can labor there till thirty-five; or if Indo-Germanic lives be too expensive, the Cooley, who *is* a white man, may serve at a pinch. But this everlasting pestilential rice-field business has really nothing to do with the question. It is not rice but cotton, for which Cuffy is kept; and cotton is just as susceptible of small farm culture as any other plant; witness the German cotton-farm of Texas. As for the intolerable heat, it is briefly an intolerable humbug. There are very few points in the South where there is as much suffering during the summer months from heat as in Philadelphia, or where the nights are not cooler from being relieved either by sea or mountain-breezes. Yet, there is probably more hard work done in Philadelphia and the vicinity, during the summer, than in any other city of the same population, at the same time, in the world. So much for an unanswerable argument. Perhaps there are facts modifying my own rebutter. Yes, "and perhaps again." But the argument is not unanswerable.

Another of these precious impregnable positions is the one so often advanced by my secession friends in a modified form of What will he do with it? "*Sir,*" exclaims a secessionist, (it is remarkable, by the way, that secessionists, like all Southerners, are given to what poor Winthrop happily described as wearing black clothes and saying *Sir,*) "what do you propose to do with the South, even granting that you *can* conquer her? Do you expect, sir, to hold her as a conquered province? And if not—what then, sir?" Just at present, this particular unanswerable is in high favor with the doughfaces, compromisers, and all other varieties of that moral mulatto animal who flits, bat-like, between the contending armies of the birds and beasts. Suppose we conquer it, what shall we do with our South?

Before attacking this fresh unanswerable, let us turn it well over. The fact is, that the war, in all its relations, is as yet far from being understood. It takes longer to learn a war than to learn a language. Nay, to fully comprehend one, it is perhaps necessary to be born in a war and grown up to it. A war does not seriously paralyze manufactures, disorganize exchanges and reverse all the conditions of business, when people are familiar with and *comprehend* it. The great wealthy towns of Europe, which flourished along the old line of Oriental trade—Augsburg, Nuremberg, Bruges, Ghent and the rest, grew up in war. The weaver sat sword-girt at his loom, and the Fugger drew his little bill on London as he did his cross-bow on the enemy. They comprehended war.

Let us, then, to understand this war of ours, begin by observing that no people can be said to *realize* it, who intuitively avoid all consideration of extreme measures of hostility. To win, one must be prepared to go as far, at least, as the adversary. Moderately if we can, fiercely if we must, is the rule popularly formulized by the exhortation to some dallier of ancient days by the expression, "Shoot, Luke, or give up the gun!" Here the South have an advantage over us; they know their guilt, and knowing, *dare* more than we do. They have, consequently, had no scruple in adopting extremely severe measures from the beginning. They have struck twelve to begin with. The C. S. A. had scarcely entered on their bastard life, ere Jefferson Davis promptly proclaimed the adoption of privateering. Privateering is, in reality, very nearly an anagram for a synonym. Call it pirateering, and you have what it amounts to, in reality, since there was never yet a prize privateered in which some injury was not inflicted in some way on *neutral* parties. We, however, do not endure the sending of vessels to "skin" the Southern coast and plunder the sea-side plantations. We have not got so far yet as to retaliate. Full retaliation is as yet only a future possibility. Stick a pin there, reader, and remember that from the refusing to abide by the election in which they had taken chances, down to date, the Southrons have, in every instance, *led* in aggression, in impropriety, in dishonorable and irritating outrage.

Since long time, Northern men have been frequently hung, robbed, tarred and feathered, or forcibly enlisted in the South. In a few perfectly authentic instances, women—ladies—have been imprisoned and most inhumanly treated, both by Southern mobs and Southern magistrates, the offence, in some cases, being that of expressing Union sentiments, but more frequently the mere accident of Northern birth. Here, with us, secessionists flaunt about in society, act openly as spies, nay, as in Breckinridge's case, utter their insolent treason in Congress, and are paid by us for so doing, without the slightest danger. Here, also, we have not got so far as the genial and fiery Southrons. They are, again, in this decidedly ahead. Observe, reader, I find no fault with the North. I simply say that we have all these things as yet off our consciences. We have not swindled the South—millions of Southern dollars now lie in New York banks—we might "nip" the foe in a thousand ways, were we as nippingly inclined as he.

Again, how proper has been our conduct as regards the negro? On this subject the Southern alarm-clock long since struck twelve in its loudest and most portentous tones. I have enjoyed the inestimable advantage of perusing in editorial sanctums a fair share of such Southern journals as have of late reached the North, and can testify that on this subject they have done their utmost to goad their readers to madness. The main object of the whole campaign, they say, is to excite black revolt, and urge them to make the South another San Domingo! Our white troops have, they assert, been stimulated by official assurances of unlimited ravishing and plunder, among the first families, but the negro is to be the great agent in all this hell-work. "Lying," according to Napoleon I., "is a power," and it must be conceded that, from this point of view, our Southern cotemporaries are wonderfully powerful men. They have carried this tremendous and dangerous power to the extreme of extravagance. Now, how is it here in the North? The United States Government—very properly, of course—is nervously anxious not to offend anybody concerned, by indorsing in any way negro emancipation. Gen. Butler is even very generally and popularly praised, because he, with jurisprudent shrewdness, solves the difficulty by pronouncing the negro a contraband. As a contraband, cuffy is allowed, in very limited numbers, to sweep up the camp, and is "returned" to any negro thief from over the border, who chooses to swear a custom-house oath as to the property. Great pains are taken to prevent the contraband from escaping North with Yankee regiments; everything is done, in fact, to establish a delicate regard for pro-slavery feeling. "Nothing is allowed in this exhibition to offend the feelings of the most fastidious!" So that it is not to be much wondered at, that John Bull, who has heard so much of the d—d Abolitionists, is amazed that since we have the name so thoroughly and completely, we have not the pluck to secure a little of the game. John don't understand us, of course! Meanwhile, our Christian forbearance is richly rewarded by the most stupendous, overwhelming, crushing and tearing slander and lies conceivable. That is what we get for it.

So far so good. But the war is a terrible and stupendous *truth,* which must come to a head. Sooner or later, it will get to extremes. It is a great pity, a very great pity, but extremes is the word. I am sorry to say it, but no man who has had his eyes open here among us since the war began, can doubt that the fever of Abolitionism has advanced with tremendous strides since the South has plunged into the headlong career of falsehood, oppression and fury, which characterized her conduct in the war. Our leaders and diplomatists and parlor politicians may proceed as gingerly as they please, but the multitude are taking a short-cut at the difficulty. We may regret it, but there is no fooling with facts. The crevasse is cracking, deny it or not, just as you please; but *unless the South yields, the days of slavery are numbered.* And not a very long number either.

Now we are coming to the preliminary question: "What shall we do with our South?" If it refuses to conform to the Constitution, if it will *not* live amicably with us under the mild and easy bond which is essential to our very existence, why, the war must go on. On, on, on, as far as you please. The most terrible defeat shall not daunt us, and we can *bear* far more than our fiery foe. There is no Waterloo for a Yankee. But every step, as we go on, sees all the delicate scruples of which I have spoken vanish; while at the end of all rises the terrible spectre of complete, unanimous abolition.

You men of the South, who have yelled, gasped and howled "abolition" for so many years, at every fluttering Northern rag, do you know *what* that wolf will look like when he really comes? You have cried, "Wolf! wolf!" and the doughfaces, aye, and true Northern shepherds, too, have run time and again to help you, and found that it was all naught. God help you when he comes, for you will see him like the wolf Fenris of Northern fable, whose hell-flaming jaws are to swallow a world. Keep quiet, there has been no abolitionism as yet. I do not think that even in the *Tribune* office there is a thorough, out-and-out *abolitionist;* that is to say, one of those intermediate links between a Red Jacobin and the Devil, who would literally San Domingo your whole country with blood and fire. But *gare le loup!* beware the wolf! Put fire to gun-powder, and it *will* explode, though all the holy ones of earth were worshipping about it. And the gun-powder is all here.

An abolitionized North would be a belt of ruin to a slaveholding South, though the latter had ten times its present power. As I said of the war, nobody has as yet learned it in all its fulness. When a man becomes an out-and-out abolitionist, he thinks that to free a negro, and if need be kill his master, is to do God service. He becomes a fanatic of the most terrible type. Keep on with your pirate privateering, your intolerable lies, robberies and murders, and you will see these fanatics springing up by millions. You have heard of the late great military rising in the North, of the men who pour in to be enlisted, of the millions subscribed. Let real abolitionism go on at the present rate, and, as the Lord liveth, there will be a rising, compared to which this excitement will be as a lucifer match to a powder-mill explosion. For then your last active, fearfully active foe will be the last living man of the North.

The not very scrupulous multitude will, in time, weary of indecisive strife, and begin to look about for means to effectually smash the South. Beware of a man who has a revolver in his hand, while his brain is seeking an argument to let drive at you, for there is great danger that he will speedily find one. When the abolition revolver begins to spin, look out. There will be little dread *then* of what we shall do with you if conquered. A South without negro slaves cannot be imagined as existing. You can be reduced to territories, or whatever we please. There is nothing but the negro in you; he forms your whole character!

When the North *officially* recognizes the freedom of the black, the jig will be up. How long will it take for the multitude to be ready for anything? There are not many widows and orphans and brotherless brothers and fathers without sons, as yet. Only here and there I hear a sad wail. But wait till they are plenty; wait till Southern falsehood and cruelty and treason have hung crape on ten thousand doors! God avert that day. But it is not what *I* wish or what *you* wish, but the inevitable *must* with which we have here to deal.

When the bereaved multitude clamor for the recognition of general emancipation, there will be very little trouble as to what we shall do with our South!—*Knickerbocker.*

WE MUST FIGHT [illegible], OR FREE THEM.

As this rebellion ripens, and the fierce, vindictive hatred of armed traitors toward the men who love the Union and towards the institutions of freedom takes shape and becomes concrete, the feeling, all over the free States, is becoming fixed and crystalized into conviction, that the time is drawing nigh when we must "fight them, or free them." Let us look this alternative in the face for a moment. There is nothing in it unnatural; indeed, is it not a fact that there is logic in the alternative, which will vindicate itself? The Southern rebel has educated his slave into the belief that the people opposed to him and his treason are the bitterest foes that the slave can have. We have farther to believe that, in every State, there are, on plantations and in cities, many men who are in bonds, but who know a good deal about the causes which underlie secession, and which have developed into rebellion and rank treason; but the great body of slaves may, for aught we know, so far trust their master as to fear and dread what they call the "Abolitionist." If that be so, then we must anticipate armed opposition from the slave, unless he shall be undeceived, as to the end attainable by this war. Why should he not oppose us? He sees no good to himself in our march through the South. Indeed, he has understood that it was the office and vocation of the "Abolitionist" to worry and capture the black race, and, of course, he is prepared to fight against us. There is no doubt that we shall have armed slaves against us. Our people are conservative—rightfully so. Law and loyalty are necessarily conservative, and it is said we must be careful of the Constitution and of all guarantied rights. All that is well enough. But we need not stultify ourselves. If slaves are made to oppose us or to help their masters oppose us! If these millions of men are compelled to work to our injury! Then, what? Why, then the alternative presents itself! We must fight them, or free them!

We must not fight them! Such warfare we cannot engage in. We are men for their masters! Then the alternative is left, and we must free them! And so surely as these blind rebels shall strengthen themselves by slave labor, using their "chattels" to our destruction, so surely we shall vitalize their property, and convert it into men and women! Why not? Why shall we not convert the slave whom his master compels to be hostile into the freeman who is ready to be friendly? It is wholly absurd to suppose that this rebellion can continue, and that slave labor can be turned against us, without a proclamation from our headquarters of deliverance and freedom to those who are enslav[illegible]

And we say, in God's name, be it so! [illegible] is to be thus turned against freedom, slavery had better be turned into freedom quickly! If the owners of men and women, under the name of chattels, shall madly use their property as *instruments of war,* and turn it to our destruction, then we prefer that those men and women shall belong to themselves, and give us the benefit of their skill and their experience and their strength and their new freedom.

There are other and higher views to be taken of this whole question. But this will answer for now. And when the time comes that must compel us to fight them or free them, we say—Let them go free! —*New Bedford Mercury.*

REV. GILBERT HAVEN ON "THE TIMES."

Rev. Gilbert Haven, late Chaplain of the Eighth Regiment, M. V. M., preached an able sermon in the Hanover Street Church, from the text, "Can ye not discern the signs of the times?" Matt. xvi. 3. He said that he was somewhat embarrassed in speaking upon the subject at the present time, for he felt that the theme had passed beyond talking, and that his place and that of almost every young man in the congregation was not here to-day.

The signs of the times, the speaker said, were two-fold. The first was the peril of free government, and the second the emancipation of four millions of our fellow-men in chains. These two great duties stand out amid all the clouds of war that have gathered around us, and if they are discharged, God will honor us. But if we do not seek to carry them out, we are dishonored and destroyed as a nation. War is a terrible thing, but there are things vastly more terrible—the destruction of civil government and civil bondage. The destruction of our Constitution, if found unequal to the emergency, may not be a bad thing, and it is not this alone which should make us contend earnestly. It is not so much the peculiar form as the peculiar fact of civil liberty, resting upon the rights of every man, that is in extreme peril to-day in America. As Lord John Russell said recently, so the despots and aristocrats of Europe believe—"The bubble of democracy is broken." They rejoice, not particularly at the triumph of the Slave Power, but because of our degradation—because the nation which has been such a mortification and peril to them is about to cease. The government of the United States has startled the masses of Europe from their forced quiet, and it is not so much from pride as from a certain idea of personal safety that their monarchs rejoice at our downfall. And we are contending to-day, in the North, not only for our own liberties, but for the liberties of the whole world, who will be inspired by our example.

The war, then, in which we are engaged, is a war for liberty throughout the earth, and for our national independence, for our people cannot exist upon this continent except as a united nation. Men have fancied that we could separate, and form two great nations upon this continent with different purposes and principles. It is utterly impossible. The petty jealousies of States and minor differences are often the causes of war between neighboring nations; and how much greater is the chance of war under the circumstances we have supposed! It is necessary, therefore, that there should be but one government and one nation within our boundaries, and the struggle between the North and South has gone so far that if we now make terms of peace with them, we should become their serfs; and the boast of their Vice-President would prove true, that he could drive the North with a lady's riding whip! Not merely our pecuniary and commercial character will be affected, but our minds will be confined by the same yoke. The reputation we have achieved in the walks of science, literature and art, and the blessing of our Christian religion, have only been preserved to us by our independent position as a nation. When that is gone, and we bow at the feet of the Slave Power, our social fabric will fall also. And just so sure as this question is settled with any consideration for the Slave Power, the Church will be silenced in the North. They will not allow their institutions to be put in peril by the teachings of Northern ministers, and over these pulpits and preachers the slave-whip will crack.

There are four millions of persons to-day in the South who are somewhat happy while we are miserable. And it is well to have the tables turned, for God loves them as well as he does us. We have

neglected them; and when we dared to pray for them or mention their cause in our sermons, we have been told that we have gone beyond the rights of the pulpit. We talk of the tyrannies of Europe, but there is no government but our own which makes its own subjects chattels to be bought and sold.

We have all heard of these things a great many times, but now God has brought us face to face with this terrible iniquity. Human bondage is worse than human war, and our sons must fall in this contest because we neglected to guard against it. I do not wish for a slave insurrection; but I would not object to see it, for if a man cannot obtain his liberty except by force, he has a right to use that. That deliverance must come, for this continent cannot be cursed forever by human slavery. It is the desire of nearly every Union man in the border States, as I know from observation, that Congress should declare all the slaves free, and while loyal citizens might be recompensed for their loss, the disunionists should be left to suffer the consequences. If we will do this, all Europe will rise up and cry, "God bless you!" If we see and recognize this truth, we shall gain the approval of the world, and victory will at once be ours, and an enfeebled and worthless population will be replaced by a vigorous and valuable one.

The services were closed by singing the national anthem "America."—*Boston Journal.*

LETTER TO THE PRESIDENT, FROM GERRIT SMITH.

PETERBORO', August 31, 1861.

PRESIDENT LINCOLN:

Sir,—The much speaking and writing of Abolitionists on the war should not be set down to their conceit and folly. Were it a war about maritime rights, or tariffs, or diplomatic civilities, or anything else on which they are not specially informed, others would be at least as competent as themselves to discuss it. But as it is a Slavery-begotten war, they have a peculiar claim to be heard upon it, who have given up their lives to the study of Slavery. The conceit and folly are not on the part of the Abolitionists, who, at such a time as this, offer advice, but on the part of those who turn contemptuously away from it. Prosperous and happy, beyond all other nations, would ours now be, had she consented to profit by the foresight of the Garrisons and Goodells, Phillipses and Cheevers. But she contemned it; and the penalty of her contempt she is suffering to-day amidst the horrors of civil war. Not more obviously was the entire destruction of the Jewish nation the consequence of her disregard of the warnings of her Prophets, than is the already far-advanced destruction of our nation the consequence of refusing to listen to our Prophets.

I said that the war is Slavery-begotten. I do not forget that there are persons who look (wholly in vain, I think) for other causes of it. But even they must admit that, if the extension and perpetuation of Slavery were not its sole object, nevertheless, nothing short of the maddening power of the Pro-Slavery spirit could have sufficed to impel the South to begin a war, which to all sane minds was so full of peril, if not indeed of certain destruction, to her most cherished interests. This much is certain—that, whatever her objects, the South would never have made the war, had not Slavery first made her mad.

The war should, by this time, have been near or quite to its end. Pardon me for saying that it is owing to the errors of yourself and your advisers that it is not. I say so, not because I doubt your or their patriotism—for I do not. I say so, not because you or they are not intent on bringing the war to the speediest close—for I believe both are. I say so, not because I believe you or they would encourage the rebels to protract it by offering them bribes to end it—for I believe that neither you nor they would be guilty of such folly. I am not of those who find pleasure in defaming the Cabinet. If there was ever a Cabinet which should be judged, not only justly but generously, it is the one to whose hands was committed a country already betrayed—a country, moreover, large portions of whose people were already in open war against her, and large portions of the remainder in craven and corrupt sympathy with them. It is true, that I wish there were a couple of Democrats in the Cabinet—such, for instance, as Dickinson and Holt. But I say so, not because of any fault in any of its members, but solely because I would have it enjoy a more undivided public confidence than it possibly can whilst [illegible] are all of the same political complexion. [illegible] these errors to which I refer? They are but two. If there are others, they are included in them, because growing out of them. One of these errors is—*Overrating the importance of constitutional action in time of war.* The other—*Overrating the importance of conciliating loyal slaveholders.*

The importance of adhering to the Constitution in time of peace can hardly be overrated—in time of war, hardly be underrated. The popular reverence for the instrument will insure far more than all necessary adherence to it in time of war. Indeed, at such a time, this reverence is amongst our greatest perils. The Constitution was made far more for peace than for war; or, in other words, it was made to serve the nation rather than its enemies. I add, that it is far better for us to have no constitutional scruples at all, than to have them at such a time and to such an extent as shall enable our enemies to take advantage of them. Suspicious strangers enter a dwelling. The excited sons do not govern their speech. Their aged father is right in reminding them that the family rules require civility to strangers. But he is a fool if, after the strangers have drawn weapons, he keeps on talking of "the family rules." So is it folly to trammel the freedom of the national family in time of war with the punctilious observance of rules which were made to be used by it chiefly in time of peace.

I complain not that, whilst the Rebellion has as yet not grown upon your view into the dimensions and character of war, you thought it your office to hold up the Constitution before its violators. I complain not of your doing so at that stage of our troubles, which seemed to you but little, if any, more than a riot or temporary obstruction of the laws. But I do complain that, after the flames of war had burst out, you still continued to busy yourself in a way which, when that appalling time had come, was so infinitely below the demands that your imperilled and distressed country had upon you. Nay, I must insist, that it had then become too late to care greatly for the Constitution—too late, I had almost said, even to make mention of it. My speeches, writings, life, prove my regard for it. But, since the bombarding of Sumter, intense concern for the country has shut out from my heart all concern for the Constitution. It will be time enough for me to renew my interest in the Constitution when it shall be settled that I have a country left for it to govern. When my dwelling is on fire, I have something else to think of than its eating and sleeping arrangements. Will you bear with me in saying that your stress on observing the Constitution, whilst in a war with traitors who defy it, spit upon it, and trample it under foot, is not only very untimely, but very farcical?

I complain that you have made a false and petty issue when you should have accepted and proclaimed the true and grand one. When you saw the nation falling to pieces under the blows of traitors, you should, instead of contracting your soul and the public soul to the narrow purpose of saving a paper, have expanded both into the sublime purpose of saving the nation, at whatever cost to the paper. All the way have you been hampered by this mistaken policy. Your summons to the people to save their nation—to save it, whatever else might be lost in saving it—was the one thing needed to electrify them. Alas! that this object, so spirit-stirring and soul-absorbing, had it been left uncombined with any other, should have been degraded to an identity with the scrupulous observance of a paper! You thus hampered and the people thus hampered, how could it be expected that all would be done which could be done to save the nation? Your demand upon your countrymen should have been to save their country—to save it absolutely; and to that their bounding blood would have responded gloriously. You should never have come down to crave them to save it conditionally—to save it, if they could, *constitutionally*.

An immense advantage has this mistaken policy given our enemies. Since you led the way in this untimely inculcation of regard for every line and letter of the Constitution, it is not strange that our enemies followed. And as they followed dishonestly and artfully, where you led honestly and artlessly, it is not strange that they do so with deeply injurious effects to our cause. Under cover of the paramount importance which you were according to that paper, Senator Breckinridge and his sort could labor to divert Congress from the perishing nation to the war-suspended Constitution. Our enemies know that idolatry of the Constitution is not only your weakness and that of Congress, but that of the nation also. Very cunningly, therefore, do they seize upon this weakness, and make it the line of their most effective tactics against us. They well know that, so long as they can keep us caring more for the Constitution than for the country, or, in other words, keep us confounding the Constitution with the country, and making conformity to its requirements the supreme purpose in the camp and on the battle-field, as well as elsewhere, so long they will have but little to fear from us. They feel sure that, however skillful the generals, and vast the armies, and boundless the resources on which the North relies, nevertheless, the free, dashing, reckless enthusiasm of the South will easily prevail against all these, so long as all these are under the constraining and taming power of this constitutional straight-jacket. That the traitors are all aware of this national weakness of blind reverence for the Constitution, and know how to turn it to their account, is manifest, not only from the criticisms which the matchlessly impudent hypocrites of the South make upon the constitutionality of your measures, but from the similar criticisms in the secession prints of the North, and in the writings and speeches of such misguided men as are endeavoring (I trust in vain) to rally the Democratic party against the government and the country. Your unseasonable and excessive emphasis on the Constitution has gone far to help these traitors and hypocrites get the ear of the people. Whereas, had you called the people to the country, and nothing but the country, you would have so awakened their patriotism, and so fired them with high purposes, as to shut their ear to this cant about the Constitution.

Even in time of peace, we sometimes see an excessive devotion to the Constitution. Such devotion was Daniel Webster's, when all he would have recorded on his tomb was, that he had rendered some service to the Constitution. By such devotion was Daniel S. Dickinson's democracy trammelled. Heaven be praised that it is now free! and that, in this sad and gloomy day of his country, he proves himself capable of sinking the politician and partisan in the patriot. He still loves that Constitution; and is intent on going for it as far as he can. But infinitely more intent is he to go for the country, be it at whatever expense to the Constitution. So would it be with Daniel Webster, were he now alive—for he, too, was a patriot. He, too, like Mr. Dickinson, would be found forgetting the Constitution in his deeper concern for the country.

I know that you magnify the Constitution, not to turn men from saving the nation, but to quicken their zeal to save it. Nevertheless, to magnify it at this time is to favor their cry of the Constitution, whose object in the cry is to counteract the claims of the country, and to accomplish its ruin by busying its friends with something else than its salvation. Happy would it be for the country if, until the last rebel against it had laid down his arms, your pen should no more write, and your lips no more speak the word *Constitution.*

I close, under this head, with the remark, that even if the Constitution were so plain as to compel the reading of it in but one way, nevertheless, inasmuch as the nation can be saved only by making its salvation the absorbing idea of the nation, the less the public attention is called to the Constitution the better. But the Constitution, like most other books, is capable of being read several ways, not only by ingenuity but by honesty. How very unwise, then, at such a time as this, to multiply divisions among the people by directing them from the country to the Constitution! In a word, as the enemies of the nation care for nothing but to destroy it, so let its friends care for nothing but to save it.

Now to the other error,—*Overrating the importance of conciliating loyal slaveholders.* Had all the slave States seceded and all the slaveholders sanctioned the secession, the war would have been over, ere this time. Immediately on its breaking out, you would have given to the Rebellion its death-blow by your Proclamation inviting to our standard *all* the people of those States. Not only would it have been in your heart to do so, but it would have been in every true Northern heart to have you do so. Not to have done so, would have shown you to be utterly unworthy of your place. But the secession was only partial; and as all the slaveholders were not drawn into it, sympathy with such of them as were loyal, desire to please them and preserve their loyalty, operated effectually to hold you back from giving such an invitation to the people of any of the slave States. I do not forget that many will argue that a proclamation so bold would have disaffected the North. Their philosophy is unsound. It would have lifted up and rejoiced the North. It would have left scarce patronage enough for one secession newspaper. Boldness for the right is mighty to convert men to the right.

That all the slave States did not secede is what makes the war so expensive, so perilous, and perhaps, in the end, so ruinous to us. But for this, none would have felt the need of summoning half a million, nor even a quarter of a million of white men to arms. But for this, none would have felt the need of draining the people of four hundred, nor half of four hundred millions of money. But for this, the flagrantly unconstitutional assumption by military men, of the right to decide who are slaves, would never have been. But for this, such men would have had no occasion to insult humanity and defy God by thrusting some persons into Slavery, and by threatening to prevent others from getting out of it. But for this, black regiments from the Northern States would have been accepted, and the crime of denying men the right to participate in the defence of their country have been avoided. [By the way, have you ever dwelt upon the enormity of this crime? Is it not more criminal to restrain a man from defending his country than to restrain him from defending his wife and children? For, not only is country more than family, but the fate of family is involved in the fate of country—and, hence, he is denied the defending of his family also, who is denied the defending of his country.] But that only a part of the slave States seceded, and that your call for the help of bond as well as free, black as well as white, was thereby kept back, the white men of each slave State would have had quite enough to do within their own State; and none could have gone from the Southern slave States to help their fellow-secessionists in the Northern slave States. Among the black men who would have sprung forward in response to your call, hundreds would have exhibited as high heroism as William Tillman—the black sailor who, as yet, stands at the head of all the heroes of the present war. In response to that call, many a black man would have shown himself as eager to be early in this war, as was Crispus Attucks to be early in the Revolutionary War. For it was in one of the very first skirmishes in the dawn of the Revolution, that this noble black man led a party in Boston, and sealed his patriotism with his blood. In response to your call, many a black regiment would have come forth, and distinguished itself for valor and power as highly as did the famous Rhode Island black regiment of the Revolution. Tristam Burgess says of this regiment: "No braver men met the enemy in battle." How sublime an instance of devotion to a leader was the defending by his guard of the mortally wounded colonel of this regiment! Not one of them would consent to leave him. Every one was slain. God alone knows how far our success in the Revolution was owing to the black patriots; and He alone can fathom the deep ingratitude of persecuting and oppressing their descendants. In response to your call, there would have been black troops, whom their commanders would have eulogized as highly as General Jackson did the black troops who rendered him so essential service in saving New Orleans. That great General, who was not so dainty as to decline the help of black muscles, said to his black troops: "I expected much from you: you have done more than I expected."

We have seen that, had all the slaveholders rebelled, you would have been in no doubt of your duty, and you would have saved the country quickly and cheaply—with no wrong to God nor man—with no defiance to the One nor insult to the other. But the case, which would then have been so plain, became, in your esteem, greatly complicated by the continued fidelity and allegiance of a very small part of the slaveholders. Here was your error. The salvation of your country demanded your call for the help of bond and free, black and white, no less than if all the slaveholders had turned traitors. As a war measure—as a military necessity—it is justified as clearly in the one case as in the other. For there was not one in ten of the slaveholders who was even professedly loyal; and why should you accommodate your policy to the gratification of so small a share of the slaveholders?—to the gratification of so exceedingly small a fraction of the American people? Again, among those who are determined slaveholders, and who insist, as all such do, on the maintenance of slavery, at whatever hazard to other interests, there is not one who is loyal. The truly loyal man goes for his country, at whatever hazard to slavery or aught else. The government offered a command to that wise and brave, as well as rich man, James S. Wadsworth. Did he, ere accepting it, stipulate for the safety from the hands of government of his hundreds of oxen and thousands of sheep? Had he done so, he would have shown his want of loyalty, and would not have been commissioned. But the General is a patriot; and therefore does he hold his sheep and oxen, and all his great estate, subject to the needs of his country. So, too, does the slaveholder, who is a patriot and who is deserving of his country's favor, recognize the like paramount claim to his possessions, his slaves not excepted. No slaveholder has a particle of loyalty who, when traitors are striking at the life of his country, and his slaves are needed to save it, is not willing, nay, is not glad, to surrender them to a service infinitely more sacred, important and commanding, than his own. This is the one test of the loyalty of slaveholders; and hence you may be sure that all those slaveholders, whose loyalty is to be secured by securing slavery, are traitors. As Gen. Wadsworth would rejoice to see the government take his flocks and herds, and even his "sacred home," when the necessities of his beloved country call for them, so will the truly loyal slaveholder, however highly he may prize Slavery, rejoice to see it blotted out, if the salvation of his country shall require the sacrifice. Is it said that the government will pay General Wadsworth? I answer, that the slaveholder, as well as General Wadsworth, should trust the justice and generosity of the government.

But this whole matter is in the compass of a nutshell. Are the slaves property? Then, like all other property, they are to be regarded as bought and sold, and held subject to the superior claims of the government, and to such uses as the government may choose to put them to. Are they not property, but men? Then, when government calls for them, neither must they refuse to come, nor must others hold them nor hide them.

Why is it that our government may not have the help of black men as well as white, when it is in need of both? Or why is it that, in the exercise of its war power, it may take this man's grain and that man's horses, these men's railroads and those men's vessels, and all simply because it needs them, and whether they belong to friends or foes, and whether, too, it does or does not pay for them—and yet may not take the property of slaveholders? Is their property so sacred and so privileged as to be exempt from the liabilities common to the property of all others? We are educated into a deep delusion at this point.

I add that nothing so much as this insane respect for slave property has contributed to overshadow the claims of the country with the claims of the Constitution. Constitutional as well as other pleas for the absolute and unending preservation of slavery in the Border States were put in, and the Government was unwise enough to listen to them, and to make the question one of Constitution rather than of country—of the construction of a paper rather than of the rights of a nation struggling for life.

We find then that there has not been the least occasion, in point of fact, for all the fastidiousness and all the fear of giving offence which have marked the course of the Administration on the slave question. To no degree whatever should it have been embarrassed by this question. It should have acted just as freely as if there had been no loyal slaveholders in its way—for there really was none, and there really can be none, since a truly loyal man cannot put himself in the way of his country. Those slaveholders, who annoy the Government, draw it from the line of its duties, and damage its reputation at home and abroad by their impudent and absurd claims upon it for persons they allege to be fugitive slaves, and by the expression of their fears that the slaves will rise against their masters, do of course find it expedient to put on the guise of loyalty. However, were it not for the presence of Federal troops, and the fear of eventual Federal success, they would not trouble themselves to profess loyalty.

It is all for nothing then, that the Administration has forborne to bring the nearly five millions of blacks, counting bond and free, to the side of our distressed and deeply endangered country: all for nothing that it has insulted them, and let its armies insult, threaten and outrage such of them as were trying to get their own freedom, and were eager to help the country secure hers: all for nothing that it is driving these five millions to hate the North, and make the best terms they can with the South: all for nothing that it suffers tens of thousands of black men to work upon Southern fortifications, instead of their building ours, and thus saving the strength of our troops for the battle-field, as the enemy does hers: all for nothing that it suffers the traitors to compel black men to produce the immense quantities of grain, tobacco, cotton and sugar which the traitors are putting into the hands of their government for the sole purpose of enabling it to make the rebellion successful: all for nothing that it is draining the country of men and money, and drenching it in tears and blood, instead of letting black men become its chief and inexpensive saviors: all for nothing that it is protracting the war until the impatience and interests of other nations, combined with their contempt of a nation too foolish and fastidious to use whatever means for its salvation, shall impel them to throw their weight in the scale against us: all for nothing that it prefers years of civil war, when by a word from your lips it could suddenly block every war-wheel in the South, assure the land of a speedy peace, and of a united, prosperous and happy people.

It is true that I am an Abolitionist—and that as such, I may be fairly supposed to have some knowledge of some of the ways for meeting a pro-slavery war. Nevertheless, though in writing you I have used the knowledge of an Abolitionist, it is not as an Abolitionist that I have written you. To tell you the truth, I have, as a mere Abolitionist, felt no anxieties since the news of the bombardment of Sumter reached me. I believed it to be the bombardment of slavery as well as of Sumter; and that a little time would show it to be as effectual in the one case as it was in the other. Slavery will be as completely broken up by the convulsions of this war as was ever a city by the convulsions of an earthquake. As Southern cotton has now become quite too precarious a dependence for the manufacturers, they will supply themselves elsewhere, and thus leave but little motive for continuing slave labor in the South. Moreover, after the present repulsive exhibition of slavery, civilization will recoil further than ever from it. Religion always abhorred it. An advancing civilization will not spare it.

I said it is not as an Abolitionist that I have addressed you. Had I done so, I should have dwelt upon your duty to know no law for slavery, and to declare that no piracy, much less that superlative piracy, is, ever was, ever will be, or ever can be embodied in LAW. Had I, as an Abolitionist, written to you, I should have asked you to "proclaim liberty throughout all the land unto all the inhabitants thereof." I should have said that no Proclamation for Prayer can save the nation;—that whilst Prayer with Justice is the mightiest of all combinations, Prayer without Justice is but mockery and emptiness. But I knew that you were not prepared for such words; and, therefore, I took lower ground, and spoke to you as even a pro-slavery politician might speak to you—as I might speak to you were I an anti-Abolitionist. Perhaps the country may be saved, even on this lower ground. Perhaps it may be saved, if you will but consent to use the War Power as faithfully as you can, without using it in the spirit of an Abolitionist. I have not asked you to abolish slavery. I have gone no farther than to ask you not to lose the country for the sake of saving slavery.

In one of my unpublished letters from that far-seeing statesman, John Quincy Adams, he says of a pro-slavery war which he predicts will, in a certain event, take place between the North and the South: "It would be more terrible than the thirty years' war which followed the Wittemberg Theses of Martin Luther, and I shrink from it with horror." This letter was written as far back as the year 1839. I had myself, with even my little foresight, been predicting for more than twenty years a war in this country on slavery, and that it would be the bloodiest chapter in all the Book of Time. But I confess that, when I saw the shape which the present war was taking, and that there was not one redeeming nor in the least degree mitigating feature in the entirely unprovoked outrage of the South upon the North, I did suppose that there could be no considerable division at the North, and that the Administration would soon be willing to bring the war to a speedy end by calling to its help the black race. I believed that the close of the war would come before the close of the year. But Mr. Adams was as wise as I was ignorant. He probably judged that an American War on Slavery would be a very protracted one, because he foresaw that a people so cowed and corrupted by slavery as we Northerners are, would not have the courage to face it, so far as to ask its victims to help us. Slavery has made the whole North servile. I doubt whether even a single Abolitionist has entirely recovered from the servility to slavery in which we were all educated. Alas! that there should be this slavery-sparing, slavery-honoring, and therefore war-prolonging policy of the Administration, to be added to the many proofs that Mr. Adams was a Prophet!

In the same letter, Mr. Adams says: "That the slaveholders of the South should flatter themselves that, by seceding from this Union, they could establish their peculiar institutions in perpetuity, is, in my judgment, one of those absurd self-delusions which would be surprising, if they did not compose the first chapter in the history of human nature. THE SLAVEHOLDERS DO SO FLATTER THEMSELVES, AND WILL ACT ACCORDINGLY." How wonderfully prophetic is this language! Never, until a few months before actual Secession began, could I believe it would ever begin. But I had never studied, as Mr. Adams had, the infatuating power of slavery upon its worshippers. His confidence that Secession will not avail to perpetuate slavery cannot exceed my own. Secession is its death. They, who have appointed themselves to *save* slavery, will find that God has appointed them to *destroy* it. "A man's heart deviseth his way, but the Lord directeth his steps." "He made a pit and digged it, and is fallen into the ditch which he made." "His mischief shall return upon his own head, and his violent dealing shall come down upon his own pate."

I had written thus far, when the news of General Fremont's Proclamation of immediate and unconditional freedom to the slaves of Missouri reached me. "ARE HEREBY DECLARED FREE," it says: I need write no farther. I lay down my pen to rejoice:—not to rejoice in this indication that the whole system of American slavery is soon to pass way—for that it is to do so was my conviction and my joy, as long ago as when I heard of the bombardment of Sumter. But I lay it down to rejoice in the now greatly brightened prospect of the speedy suppression of the rebellion. I assume that the General has acted at last upon a settled policy of the Administration—the policy of weakening and confounding the enemy whenever, wherever, however we can. All the same, though, will be my rejoicing, whether it shall turn out that the General acted simply upon his own responsibility, (as in every such case the commander has the clear right to do,) or whether he acted upon the advice of the Administration. For the Administration will be with *him*, if he was not with *it*. The North too, although lacking the courage to propose the measure, will, nevertheless, sanction it. Oftentimes, the veriest cowardice is glad to follow where true courage leads. The North will perceive that Fremont has done the right thing, and will demand that it be done elsewhere. The Slave Power will, of course, cry out against it—only faintly, however; for by this noble deed of a noble man, a breach has been made in it, which can never be healed: its ranks are fatally broken: its prestige clean gone forever. Remonstrate against this measure, it doubtless will. Nevertheless, the tones of its remonstrance, always excepting those of mere bluster, will be reduced from their former boldness and defiance to but whining and deprecation.

This step of General Fremont is the first unqualifiedly and purely right one, in regard to our colored population, which has taken place during the war. The like step will soon be taken in the other slave States. Then the second step regarding that population will be to accept the help of these freed slaves as guides, spies, builders, soldiers, sailors. It is not enough that we take them from the service of our foe. We must go farther, and take them into our own. And the third and last step will be to proclaim the right and obligation of the slaves of the loyal also, to afford us such help. Thanks to Fremont, and I trust to the Administration also, a common sense way (I do not say the very best way) of carrying on this war is at last fairly entered upon. Perseverance in it for only a few months, or if with rapid steps for only a few weeks, will bring us to victory. May "the wisdom that is from above" be vouchsafed to you and your Cabinet, and to all who are working with you and them for the salvation of our beloved country!

Respectfully yours,
GERRIT SMITH.

The Liberator.

No Union with Slaveholders!

BOSTON, FRIDAY, SEPT. 13, 1861.

"BREAK EVERY YOKE."

In another column we give a very eloquent and freedom-breathing speech made by Gov. Andrew, of Massachusetts, last week, in the city of New York. Its tone is hopeful and strengthening; but, unless this war terminate the existence of slavery before reconciliation is effected, it cannot truthfully be said, "This is a war for humanity"—for, in that case, the last state of things will be incomparably worse than the first. We trust the Governor is right in his opinion, that, henceforth, "when any man comes to the standard, and desires to defend the flag, they will not find it important to light a candle, and see what his complexion is." Certainly he is right in the declaration, that "a perfect, assured peace shall come, if established upon the foundations of eternal right, *upon which alone can any victory be secured.*" The enthusiastic manner in which these and other noble sentiments, uttered by him, were received by the company is highly significant of the increasing public perception of the necessity, as well as rightfulness, duty and glory, on the part of the government, under the war power, of giving the death-blow to that terrible system, to which all our national troubles and divisions are directly traceable. Then, indeed, there will be "no East, no West, no North, no South," in any hostile sense—no conflict of antagonistical interests—no sectional jealousies and rivalries—but all hearts and all aspirations shall be as one, from the shores of the Atlantic to those of the Pacific; for liberty (once more to quote the felicitous words of Gov. A.) "is bounded by no land, native of no clime, the inheritance of no particular people, no nation, clime, country, kindred or color under heaven."

In a speech made by Judge Thomas, at the Grand Union War Meeting held at Faneuil Hall on Monday evening last, (as reported in the *Journal*,) he said—

"While I would secure to every loyal citizen of the United States every and the utmost legal right under the Constitution, I would use its utmost power against treason in the rebellious States, or at home. If necessary to secure the existence of the Government, I would emancipate the slave of every traitor between this Hall and the Gulf, and hold every inch of territory under martial law, that would not otherwise be held. Of the power of the National Government in a civil war to do both of these things, I entertain no doubt; and we are in a civil war, and the sooner we fully recognize the fact the better."

Excellent as far it goes, concerning the Southern traitors, but it leaves slavery still alive, to be guarded and protected by the U. S. Constitution, so far as relates to the "loyal" slaveholders; whereas, it must be exterminated, root and branch, making such discrimination between the two classes as may be deemed warranted by the circumstances. Slavery is at all times high treason against freedom and free institutions, and there can be no real "loyalty" about it.

"———— And were't not madness then,
To make the fox surveyor of the fold?
Who, being accus'd a crafty murderer,
His guilt should be but idly posted over,
Because his purpose is not executed.
No; let him die, in that he is a fox,
By nature prov'd an enemy to the flock,
Before his chaps be stain'd with human blood.
And do not stand on quillets how to slay him:
Be it by gins, by snares, by subtilty,
Sleeping or waking, 'tis no matter how,
So he be dead."

All the more culpable will the government be for delaying to strike the decisive blow, seeing that it will not be one of vengeance, or even retribution, but only and truly an act that will save the republic, preserve the liberties of all classes, and confer upon the South the greatest boon that can be given to any people. Hail, Liberty and Peace! Hail, the Jubilee!

SHAM DEMOCRACY.

The following editorial paragraph in the Boston *Post* illustrates the democratic cant and shallowness constantly exhibited in the columns of that flippant, heartless, totally unprincipled journal:—

"The authoress of 'Uncle Tom's Cabin,' Mrs. Stowe, is urging upon the Government, in the columns of *The Independent*, the emancipation of the slaves as the only way to terminate the war. It is to Mrs. Stowe and her class of fanatics that the nation is chiefly indebted for this war. Petticoat government is entirely too costly, at this rate, and a little too bloody."

If the *Post* had one particle of genuine democracy in its composition, it would heartily second the motion of Mrs. Stowe, not only as indicating the true method "to terminate the war," and thus save a fearful expenditure of blood and treasure, but as demanded by the sacred claims of human nature and the divinely bestowed rights of man. Democracy and slavery are utterly incongruous terms, and eternally antagonistical elements. He who professes to be a democrat, and yet sneers at those who desire to break the galling fetters of slavery, and to save fathers and mothers, husbands and wives, parents and children from the auction-block, is a brazen-faced hypocrite, to be spurned by every decent man. The state of society which tolerates his presence and recognizes him as a gentleman, is thoroughly demoralized. It is as if one claimed to be a devout Christian, and at the same time made those who endeavored to abolish heathenism the target of his raillery. The *Post*, conscious of the necessity imposed upon it by the present state of public sentiment in regard to the rebellion, is constrained to stand by the government; but it would much more readily sustain Jeff. Davis and his traitorous crew, could they gain the ascendency, as all its antecedents prove. See where it ridiculously and impudently places the responsibility for the war: "It is to *Mrs. Stowe* and her *class of fanatics* that the nation is chiefly indebted for this war"! Not to those Southern desperadoes, Davis, Stephens, Toombs, Mason, Hunter, Wise, Yancey, Keitt, and their associate conspirators, who avow their inflexible hostility to all free institutions, and their determination to extend and eternize their hellish slave system, come what may, but to those who desire to see the will of God done in "proclaiming liberty throughout all the land to all the inhabitants thereof"! The guilty parties are not those who scourge their slaves to unrequited toil, traffic in human beings as in swine, and shed innocent blood without measure to maintain their unhallowed dominion, and lift the heel of rebellion against the government for its overthrow,—O no!—but those who would bring such crimes to an end, and such criminals to justice! This war is not the product of two centuries of unsurpassed despotism, exercised upon a race "peeled, meted out, and trodden under foot"—the retributive judgment of Heaven has nothing to do with it—but "it is to Mrs. Stowe and her class of fanatics that the nation is chiefly indebted for it"! Truly, "there is but one step from the sublime to the ridiculous." The patrons of the *Post* must be smitten with idiocy to swallow such a statement. Its editor is not a fool, and therefore when he charges so philanthropic and gifted a woman as Mrs. Stowe, whose genius has electrified the civilized world, and won for herself imperishable fame, with being a fanatic for espousing the cause of the most oppressed of suffering mankind, he knows that he is a despicable slanderer; but he has his axe to grind, and must grind it. Let him quote, if he can, from any of the writings of "Mrs. Stowe and her class of fanatics," on the subject of slavery, a single sentence or word that is in opposition to genuine democracy. *He* a democrat! Then was Judas a saint, and Benedict Arnold a patriot! "Petticoat government," he says, with characteristic contempt for woman, "is entirely too costly, at this rate, and a little too bloody." Out upon such mingled folly and knavery! A "slaveholders' rebellion" is costing the government a million of dollars a day, imperilling its existence, and making hecatombs of the slain—at this hour rendering it doubtful whether even the Capital can be successfully defended. Is not that "entirely too costly, at this rate, and a little too bloody"? How will emancipation, as a measure of self-preservation under the war power, necessarily cost anything? Even the *Post* applauds the proclamation of Col. Fremont, setting free unconditionally all the slaves belonging to the rebels in Missouri; and why should not the same rule hold throughout the South? In that case, how many slaves would be left unredeemed? And why should not some amicable arrangement be made for their liberation, so that the entire slave system might be extirpated, and the bitter root of disunion and civil war forever extracted? Does the democratic *Post* really think that universal freedom would prove "a little too bloody"? Is that the way it reads history? Everywhere the cry must be, "FREEDOM FOR ALL!" If we would stop the effusion of blood, save thousands of lives and hundreds of millions of dollars, restore trade and commerce upon a reliable basis, and make the union of all the States possible without jealousy or heat, there must be "FREEDOM FOR ALL." Anything short of this is infatuation, failure, defeat; is still to defy God, and provide for a new and more terrible visitation. The secession spirit is incapable of listening to any overtures of justice and humanity: infernalism is its all-pervading element. This is what the *Post* says of it, in the same number which contains the fling at "Mrs. Stowe and her class of fanatics":—

"THE CRISIS IN KENTUCKY. Secession, the mad ambition for empire, which has made a bonfire of Hampton, which has made Eastern Virginia a place of desolation, which has *made a hell of more than half of Missouri*, has now presented its ultimatum, sword in hand, to the land of Henry Clay. As it stands about the Capital, *with its hand at the throat of the national life, and feeling for the vital carotid artery*, and as it advances from Tennessee upon Kentucky, and occupies Hickman, and would on to Frankfort, all that it asks of the people of this State is to be let alone! Its cool request of them is for peace, for quiet, for a condition of neutrality; and only asks their old government, their jointure in the Union of the Fathers, their part and lot in the glory of the National flag, their grand inheritance of country. That is all it asks!"

But Southern Secession and Slavery are convertible terms; yet the *Post* can find nothing but sneers and defamation for those who would abolish the one, in order that the other may be rendered impossible! It still believes in the expediency and advantage of having a truce effected between God and Mammon, Christ and Belial. It ventures the idiotic opinion, that, had it not been for "Mrs. Stowe and her class of fanatics," there would have been no trouble in the land! If they had not remembered those in bonds as bound with them, exposed the iniquity of robbing the poor and needy, called for the breaking of every yoke, and warned the nation of judgments to come, peace and harmony would now universally prevail! They ought not to have impeached the conduct, nor thwarted the wishes of the Southern slave-mongers; because it inevitably excited sectional hostility, and made reconciliation impracticable! It is not "the multitude who do evil," who deserve censure, but those who will not go with the multitude for any such purpose! If the ancient prophets had minded their own business, and not accused their countrymen of smiting with the fist of wickedness, making haste to shed innocent blood, selling the poor and needy, and being religious hypocrites, they would have acted the part of sensible men and true patriots, and saved themselves from an ignominious fate! If Jesus had let the chief priests, scribes and pharisees alone, and properly observed the Sabbath day, and said nothing about blind guides and whited sepulchres, and called none of the godly of his day serpents and vipers, and menaced nobody with the damnation of hell, he would have found no cross, and the Jewish nation no overthrow! If his apostles had not been thoroughly fanatical, they would not have gone about, "turning the world upside down," and exciting tumult wherever they showed themselves! And so of Wickliffe and Luther, Fox and Wesley, down to the "fanatical" Abolitionists! The way to have peace is to cherish corruption. National stability is to be found in trampling upon justice and right. Nevertheless, "God standeth in the congregation of the mighty: he judgeth among the gods. How long will ye judge unjustly, and accept the persons of the wicked? Defend the poor and fatherless: do justice to the afflicted and needy: rid them out of the hand of the wicked. They know not, neither will they understand: they walk on in darkness: all the foundations of the earth are out of course. Shall I not visit for these things? saith the Lord. Shall not my soul be avenged on such a nation as this?"

SCRIPTURAL PERVERSION.

The New York *Observer*, that notorious organ of evangelical phariseeism, and pro-slavery to the core, at the close of a characteristic article, entitled "No Sabbath Yet,"—reflecting upon President Lincoln for reviewing the troops at Bladensburg on Sunday,—says,

"We assure the government that obedience is better than sacrifice; that He whose favor we are to seek has given us the express conditions on which 'Thou shalt be called the REPAIRER OF THE BREACH, the RESTORER OF PATHS to dwell in.' The conditions are these:—'If thou turn away thy foot from the Sabbath, from doing thy pleasure on my holy day,' " &c.

Now let the reader turn to the 58th chapter of Isaiah, and he will see that the *Observer* has detached the promise, in regard to the repairing of the breach and restoring of the paths to dwell in, from its connection with *the abolition of slavery*, as expressly given in that chapter, and applied it to *the observance of the Sabbath!* The *Observer*, and all other enemies of the anti-slavery movement, will do well to read and inwardly digest the chapter referred to from the 1st to the 12th verse, inclusive.

Aside from this perversion of certain passages, is it not exceedingly cool, on the part of the *Observer*, to give a homily upon Sabbath desecration to the President, based upon a passage in Isaiah which relates to the seventh day of the week—a day which the *Observer* habitually desecrates, and for which it has substituted another, even the first day, as the true Sabbath, without any command or warrant from God, or Christ, or his Apostles?

While on this subject, we may as well refer to an order recently given by Major General McClellan to the soldiers under his command. It will be recollected that he has sufficiently indicated the quality of his piety by promising to put down slave insurrections "with an iron hand." He now "requests that, in future, there may be a more perfect respect for the Sabbath on the part of his command"; and, "unless in the case of an attack by the enemy, or some other extreme military necessity," (query, whether all the other commandments may be set aside in a pressing emergency?) "it is commended to commanding officers that all work shall be suspended on the Sabbath." As society is now organized, it is certainly true, as the order suggests, that "one day's rest is necessary for man and beast"; but it is an unauthorized assumption on the part of the iron-handed General to add—"More than this, the observance of the holy day of the God of mercy and of battles is our sacred duty." Where does he find his authority for this? And what right has he to assume for those under his command, that the first day of the week is "*the* holy day," any more than to decide for them what shall be their theological belief? Suppose he were a Jew or a Seventh-Day Baptist, and ordered his troops to sabbatize on Saturday—what then?

A NATIONAL FAST, AND HOW TO OBSERVE IT.

The President of the United States has appointed Thursday, September 26, to be observed as a day of national fasting, humiliation and prayer. His Proclamation may be found below. As there is not a word in it indicating why the nation is in such an evil condition, nor any recommendation to observe such a fast as will be acceptable to God, we have put the needed instruction and admonition in a parallel column, that the people may see what is required at their hands.

NATIONAL FAST—A PROCLAMATION.

By the President of the United States of America.

Whereas, A Joint Committee of both Houses of Congress has waited on the President of the United States, and requested him to recommend a day of Public Humiliation, Prayer, and Fasting, to be observed by the People of the United States with religious solemnities, and the offering of fervent supplications to Almighty God for the safety and welfare of these States, His blessings on their arms, and a speedy restoration of peace;

And whereas, It is fit and becoming in all people at all times to acknowledge and revere the Supreme Government of God, to bow in humble submission to His chastisements, to confess and deplore their sins and transgressions, in the full conviction that the fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom, and to pray with all fervency and contrition for the pardon of their past offences, and for a blessing upon their present and prospective action;

And whereas, when our beloved country, once, by the blessing of God, united, prosperous and happy, is now afflicted with faction and civil war, it is peculiarly fit for us to recognize the hand of God in this visitation, and in sorrowful remembrance of our own faults and crimes as a nation and as individuals, to humble ourselves before Him, and to pray for His mercy—to pray that we may be spared further punishment, though justly deserved; that our arms may be blessed and made effectual for the re-establishment of law, order and peace throughout our country, and that the inestimable boon of civil and religious liberty, earned, under His guidance and blessing, by the labors and sufferings of our fathers, may be restored in all its original excellence;—Therefore, I, ABRAHAM LINCOLN, President of the United States, do appoint the last Thursday in September next as a day of Humiliation, Prayer and Fasting for all the people of the Nation; and I do earnestly recommend to all the people, and especially to all Ministers and teachers of religion of all denominations, and to all heads of families—to observe and keep that day according to their several creeds and modes of worship in all humility, and with all religious solemnity, to the end that the united prayer of the Nation may ascend to the Throne of Grace, and bring down plentiful blessings upon our own country.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand, and caused the great seal of the United States to be affixed, this 12th day of August, A. D., 1861, and of the Independence of the United States of America the eighty-sixth.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

By the President:
WILLIAM H. SEWARD,
Secretary of State.

Is not this the fast that I have chosen? to loose the bands of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens, and to let the oppressed go free, and that ye break every yoke? Then shall thy light break forth as the morning, and thine health shall spring forth speedily; and thy righteousness shall go before thee: the glory of the Lord shall be thy rereward. And the Lord shall guide thee continually, and satisfy thy soul in drought, and make fat thy bones: and thou shalt be like a watered garden, and like a spring of water whose waters fail not. And they that shall be of thee shall build the old waste places; thou shalt raise up the foundations of many generations; and thou shalt be called, The repairer of the breach, The restorer of paths to dwell in.—ISAIAH 58: 6, 8, 11, 12.

Speak unto the people of the land, and to the priests, saying, When ye fasted and mourned in the fifth and seventh month, even those seventy years, did ye at all fast unto me, even to me? Execute true judgment, and show mercy and compassion every man to his brother: and oppress not the widow, nor the fatherless, the stranger, nor the poor: and let none of you imagine evil against his brother in your heart. But they refused to hearken, and pulled away the shoulder, and stopped their ears, that they should not hear. Yea, they made their hearts as an adamant-stone, lest they should hear the law, and the words which the Lord of hosts hath sent in his spirit by the former prophets: *therefore came a great wrath from the Lord of hosts.*—ZECHARIAH 7: 5, 9, 10, 11, 12.

Thus saith the Lord: Ye have not hearkened unto me, in proclaiming liberty, every one to his brother, and every man to his neighbor: behold, I proclaim a liberty for you, saith the Lord, to the sword, to the pestilence, and to the famine.—JEREMIAH 34: 17.

Thus saith the Lord: Execute judgment in the morning, and deliver him that is spoiled out of the hand of the oppressor, lest my fury go out like fire, and burn that none can quench it, because of the evil of your doings.—JEREMIAH 21: 12.

Jerusalem is ruined, and Judah is fallen; because their tongue and their doings are against the Lord, to provoke the eyes of his glory. The shew of their countenance doth witness against them, and they declare their sin as Sodom, they hide it not. Woe unto their soul! for they have rewarded evil unto themselves . . . The Lord standeth up to plead, and to judge the people. The spoil of the poor is in your houses. What mean ye that ye beat my people, and grind the faces of the poor? saith the Lord God of hosts.—ISAIAH 3: 8, 9, 13, 14, 15.

At the time I visit them, they shall be cast down, saith the Lord.—JEREMIAH 6: 15.

☞ We accidentally omitted to state that the article in our last number, on the fourth page, entitled "Christian Peace and the War," was kindly communicated by our faithful and esteemed friend, WILLIAM H. FISH, of Cortland, N. Y., as extracted from a discourse recently preached by him to his people.

THE FANEUIL HALL MEETING.

On Monday evening of this week was held the gathering in Faneuil Hall which had been extensively advertised as the Great Union War Meeting. This double epithet no doubt was needed, in the advertisement, to distinguish its purpose from the purpose of those traitorous gatherings, now held in various parts of the country, which call themselves Peace Meetings, and which make a great show of loyalty to the Union, while they propose concession to the rebels who are now making war against it. No doubt there are many people in Boston who wish for a meeting of this latter sort; but not one of them gave expression to such a wish on this occasion. The sentiment of the meeting was heartily and energetically unanimous for a maintenance of Union throughout the whole country, under the present Government and the present Constitution, and for the upholding of it by war as long as even a remnant of armed rebellion continues to oppose it. It was, unmistakably, a Union War Meeting.

The gathering was immensely large. For a long time after the hall was densely filled, a steady stream of new comers pressed through the doors, often with violent crowdings, most uncomfortably compressing those who had first gained admittance, and provoking retaliatory crowding on their part. Thus, for ten minutes before the time for opening the meeting, there was a constant alternate surging to and fro, among the densely packed audience on the floor of the hall. The confused murmur of voices which accompanied this movement, instead of ceasing when the hour arrived and the meeting was called to order, increased, and for two hours, those who attempted to speak were heard only imperfectly and at intervals; except that Mr. Frothingham of the *Post*, and Mr. Dennis W. O'Brien, were heard quietly during the quarter of an hour occupied by their speeches.

This disorder, however, was manifestly not occasioned by any party hostile to the meeting, nor by any opposition of feelings or interests among the people composing it. The frequent applauses were unanimous, there was almost no hissing, and the nearly continuous clamor was bestowed impartially upon speakers of every class, party, religion and nation. There were speakers from each of the political parties, and they all counselled disregard of party while an enemy in arms rendered it necessary to combine in defence of the Union; an Union which they all loved with equal ardor, and would defend with equal earnestness. The audience showed their agreement in this sentiment by cheering with equal heartiness the expressions of patriotism uttered by each, and by pursuing their own noisy merriment with nearly equal disregard of the attempts of each speaker to gain their quiet attention, at least for the first two hours of the meeting; the addresses of the third hour were heard more quietly, partly because the shouters were tired, and partly because speakers were addressing two additional audiences outside the hall, thus appeasing the noisy outskirts of the meeting.

Two persons were absent, whose promised addresses had evidently been looked to as the chief attractions of the evening, namely, General Butler and Thos. Francis Meagher. A notice in the *Transcript* had already informed many people of General Butler's departure for Washington that morning, in obedience to a telegram from the Commander-in-chief; but the news of Mr. Meagher's absence seemed entirely unexpected, and occasioned the only marked expression of dissatisfaction that occurred during the evening. When, later, a telegram from him arrived, the news that he was occupied in labors indispensable to the welfare of the Irish Brigade in New York was received with tumultuous cheers.

Though the audience entirely disregarded the call to order made at 7 o'clock by Assistant District Attorney A. O. Brewster, his stentorian voice made itself partially heard in a few preliminary remarks, and in the reading of the commencement of the list nominated for officers of the meeting. But the noise was such that no vote was taken, and the nominated President, Hon. B. F. Thomas of West Roxbury, on coming forward, found it impossible to make himself heard beyond the platform, and, after a few repetitions of the attempt, took his seat.

Senator Wilson, Patrick Donohoe, Esq., editor of the *Pilot*, and Judge Otis P. Lord, then successively came to the platform, making ineffectual efforts to be heard. A lull occurred while Mr. Frothingham and Mr. Dennis O'Brien spoke. Then Judge Lord resumed, and succeeded in finishing his speech. Then Rev. C. W. Dennison, Chaplain with the Hatteras expedition, contrived to amuse the audience into comparative quietness by the display of a fragment of a secession flag, a rebel officer's sash, and other trophies of that victory. Hon. Chas. Hale, editor of the *Daily Advertiser*, was less successful in keeping down the tumult, though he amused the audience greatly by the grave acknowledgment (after an allusion to General Jackson)—"I am not another Jackson!" Mr. Williamson then read four resolutions, insisting on Union and strongly repudiating compromise, which were passed by acclamation; and the remaining speakers, Hon. Erastus Hopkins of Northampton, Judge Russell of Boston, and Hon. Henry Wilson, were heard with more quietness and attention.

The substance of all these speeches (which appeared in full, and as if delivered without interruption, in the next morning's papers,) was the imperative necessity of maintaining the Union, of vigorously pressing the war in its support, and of rejecting all idea of concession to those who are in arms against it. There appeared a genuine desire, among all the speakers, to postpone party considerations, and all other considerations, until victory shall have crowned the efforts of the United States Government.

No allusion whatever was made to slavery, (either as the chief cause of the rebellion or in any manner whatever,) by any of the speakers from the platform. The only reference to that subject which I heard in the whole evening was an exclamation from one of the audience. When Judge Lord asked—"Are you prepared to swear that there shall be, between the St. Lawrence and the Gulf, but one country"—some one cried out—"No slaves in it." This drew forth no marked expression of feeling from the audience, either one way or the other. Speakers and hearers seemed to unite in ignoring the *cause* of the rebellion they were met to oppose. How long must such blindness prevail?

Many thousands outside the hall were addressed by other speakers. Tuesday morning's papers contained an extended report of all these proceedings, and letters from General Butler and others who were absent.

Boston speaks with one voice for the war. The friends of secession will look in vain for demonstrations in their favor in this quarter.—C. K. W.

☞ The Boston *Herald*, which ostensibly goes for the Union, but which does all that it dares to make mischief and division by feeding party hate and assailing the administration of Gov. Andrew, says of the Faneuil Hall meeting, "it did no good, if it did not do harm," and further indicates its secession proclivity by making a wanton and gratuitous thrust, (seeing that the meeting was called, organized and conducted without any reference to party lines, for the sole purpose of sustaining the government in its efforts to put down the rebellion,) as follows:—"The whole North is united in sustaining the integrity of the government, BUT—the people are not a unit in sustaining Abolitionism, by any means"! What had Abolitionism to do with that meeting? Nothing. Who but a traitor at heart would think of raising such an issue in connection with such a meeting? Fitly and scathingly did Judge Thomas say, in the course of his speech—"He who goes about, crying for partisan issues now, must have one of those narrow souls you could put into a nut-shell, and which would then creep out at a maggot-hole." But the *Herald* is a low, dirty sheet, and we notice it only because it has a wide circulation, especially among a class whose prejudices and passions are easily wrought upon. Nevertheless, its editor assumes to be a gentleman and a patriot!

THE WAR FOR THE UNION OF LIBERTY WITH SLAVERY.

To the Editor of the Liberator:

SIR—If the North be successful in this war, so as to achieve its object of compelling a reunion of the seceded Slave States with the Free States, the former must come back into the Union on a footing of perfect equality with the Free States, under the provisions of the Constitution. The slaveholders will, in that event, resume the control of the affairs of the Union, and will proceed, as usual, to propagate slavery in adjoining countries. Cuba will be annexed, Mexico subjugated, and slavery planted there, and all the available Territories of the United States will be cursed with that villanous system. And yet anti-slavery Englishmen are called upon by the people of the North to sympathize with this movement! If, happily, the seceded States shall be allowed to establish a separate Government, there will be no more slavery propagandism, for the simple reason that the Southern States will not have the necessary strength for the purpose. Slavery has been heretofore extended by Northern blood and Northern treasure. The Southern Confederacy will have enough to do to attend to its domestic affairs, and will have no power to subjugate Mexico or Cuba. Moreover, the Southern States will, under the influence of a tariff upon Northern manufactures, be enabled to establish many manufactories of their own, and, their industry being thus diversified, the influence of the planters will be broken, and the Southern people will return to the faith of their Fathers, that emancipation is their true policy. Military reasons, too, will be discovered for abating the hostility to the colored population: the laws affecting them will, consequently, be deprived of much of their severity, and the amelioration of their condition will be the sure precursor of their emancipation. But, so long as the North shall remain in political connection with the South; the *status* of the slave will remain just as it is now; for the overwhelming power of the North enables the slave-owners to bid defiance to the sentiments of the friends of liberty all over the world.

The fact is, that slavery has been sustained by the union of the free with the slave States. The men of the North have been the slave-keepers, slave-drivers, and slave-extensionists. The whole power of the general government has been devoted exclusively to the establishment and extension of slavery, and will be so again, if the Union with slavery be restored.

In that event, the liberties of all the nations of the earth will be subverted; whereas, if the free States be relieved from the incubus which has hitherto weighed them down, the power and influence of American Republicanism will be felt all over Europe, and despotism there will soon be extinguished.

Hitherto, the government of the United States has been potent in repressing the friends of liberty in Europe; the name of freedom has been hateful to the representatives of the slavocracy in the different Courts of Europe; and their influence has been freely exercised in favor of despotism everywhere.

It will be impossible for the United States ever to intervene in favor of the oppressed nationalities of Europe, if the Southern States be brought back again into the Union. How can slave-owners be expected to favor the cause of liberty in Europe, when, by so doing, they will be aiding a party ready and willing to undertake the emancipation of the slaves at the first convenient opportunity?

In a military point of view, the connection of the slave States with the free States makes the latter very weak. All the blood and treasure which the North could pour out would be insufficient to defend the South against a liberating army. Under these circumstances, the reunited free and slave States must sympathize with despotism in Europe, and be ready to join in any assaults upon the constitutional governments where the spirit of liberty is in any way recognized.

In a word, *the fate of liberty all over the world depends upon the separation of the free from the slave States.* It is simply impossible to prevent the slave oligarchy from ruling under the Constitution of the United States, as each State has two votes in the Senate, and that body is the fountain of federal honors and emoluments. In fact, the Senate is the government, and the slavocracy will always act as a unit, and control the dispensation of the offices, and thereby seduce and corrupt the Northern office-seekers.

The bitterest enemies of England are the American slave-owners, and they have always incited the American people against that great anti-slavery power. Instead of aiding England in any struggle that may come on between liberty and despotism, the United States will, doubtless, if the Union with slavery be restored, be found among England's enemies.

A separation of the free from the slave States would be greatly to the advantage of all the Parliamentary governments of Europe, because it would secure to them an active and invincible ally in America—an ally controlling the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, and able and willing to sustain the cause of liberty wherever it might be assailed.

It is true that this separation may cost England her North American Colonies, and the principal part of her trade with the free States, seeing that the British Colonies, may annex themselves to the great Northern Republic and vast manufactories may be established here under productive tariffs; but all this is nothing, in comparison with England's gain by the conversion of the great power of the free States from the ranks of the enemies of liberty in Europe. Instead of desiring to see the reunion of freedom with slavery in these States, the lovers of freedom should rejoice at the separation, and seek to make it a peaceful one. That separation will save the poor whites of the South from destruction, secure the emancipation of the slaves, and relieve the neck of the free States from a millstone which was dragging them down to perdition.

The pro-slavery democracy of the North are anxious to resume the business of slavery-extension; hence they would restore the Union with the slave States, even by force. We are assured by the New York *Herald* that, when the war is over, all the Abolitionists will be hanged, to prevent their causing another civil war! We have seen the commander, even of a Massachusetts regiment, which was called to save Washington from an invasion by the forces of the Southern Confederacy, express his willingness to turn aside, in order to join in a slave hunt. We are told by the New York *Times*, and other Republican newspapers, that slavery is not to be interfered with, but that this is simply a war to bring the slave States back into the Union; and those same papers make a boast of the fact, that slavery cannot be kept up without the protection and influence of the North!

The London *Times*, then, is right in asserting that there is no great principle involved in this war. The pretence, that some of the free States might leave the Union if this war were not prosecuted, is a manifest piece of sophistry; for there can be no doubt that, in the Convention to form a new Constitution for the free States, the vote would be unanimous against the right of secession.

A new Constitution will be necessary, in the event of a formal and final separation of the free from the slave States; and the occasion should be improved so as to get rid of many features of the existing Constitution, which experience has demonstrated to be objectionable.

The war for the restoration of the union with the slave States is popular in the North, because the majority of the people are indifferent about slavery, and ignorant of its dangerous character and its incompatibility with republican institutions. With many, the war is popular, because they believe that it is a great and glorious thing to be a citizen of a vast empire. This is just as if an Englishman should desire a political connection of England with Russia, with the seat of government at St. Petersburg, merely because he could then gloat over the map, and boast of the great extent of his country. Such a union as that would not be half as bad as the union between the free and slave States, with the seat of government at Washington.

There is neither honor, nor profit, nor safety in the connexion, and there ought to have been a separation as soon as the Southern States resolved to abandon the faith of the founders of the Constitution, and to establish and extend slavery, instead of restricting and abolishing it.

If the Southern Confederacy be recognized, the North will at once become prosperous—new enterprises of vast magnitude will be entered upon—new markets will be opened with countries which will then cease to regard the United States as an enemy. There will be no war between the North and the South, for the simple reason that the North, when thoroughly prepared, will be so great an over-match for the South, that the latter will never indulge a bellicose disposition. As well might Holland or Switzerland declare war against France.

Besides, a foreign war—a war between the North and the South—would not be very injurious to the North in any event; it would not paralyze the industry of the nation as this domestic strife has done.

The inconvenience of having a line of custom-houses along the Southern borders is more imaginary than real: witness the same thing along the borders of New Brunswick and Canada. The loss of trade with the South will be more than made up by the establishment of new manufactures under a protective tariff, which the South has heretofore refused to allow.

In fact, the two sections have thwarted each other's policy, and the misalliance has been productive of a great balance of evil. The mission of Republicanism has been baffled—the improvement of the condition of the people has given place to schemes for territorial aggrandizement, with a view to the extension of slavery, and the establishment of the political power of the slave-owners.

It is supposed, by some ardent friends of liberty, that upon the subjugation of the slave States, their power will be so broken that, on their re-admission into the Union, they will not be able, as heretofore, to control the appointments to federal offices. This is, in my opinion, a fatal error. Besides, how can the slave States be subjugated, seeing that the North has no standing armies? The main reliance is upon the blockade of the Southern ports, and the stoppage of all trade with neutral nations: not merely trade in those articles which, as between foreign nations at war with each other, are deemed contraband of war, but all articles whatsoever.

But will neutral nations tolerate the blockade, by the United States, of its own ports, for the purpose of preventing the export of cotton and tobacco, and the importation of food, clothing, &c., for the use of the people at large?

The right of blockade, exercised by nations at war with each other, is not applicable to such a case, and there is no tendency in these modern times to stretch the exercise of that obnoxious right, in all its hideous deformity, to new cases. Rather should the right of neutral nations to supply, by land, to the belligerents, articles not contraband of war, be held applicable to this emergency.

The vast majority of the people of the Free States would not hesitate to sustain a reconstruction of the Union with the slave States, upon the condition of recognizing the right of establishing slavery in all the States and territories of the Union. Plenty of sophists could be found to contend that it would make no practicable difference.

In fact, so great is the corruption of the public mind, from the long connexion with the slave-owners and the submission to their sway, that the only true path of safety now is the final separation of the two sections. There is now a glorious opportunity to obtain this consummation, so devoutly to be wished. Should the people of the free States fail to avail themselves of it, they will have to repent their folly in tears of blood.

Now or never is the Republic to be saved—now or never is the cause of liberty, all over the world, to be secured. A RADICAL REPUBLICAN.

STRANGE "PROTECTION OF PROPERTY."

NEWBURYPORT, Sept. 4, 1861.

FRIEND GARRISON,—It is well known to most of your readers, that the schooner Enchantress of this port, on a voyage from Boston to St. Jago, was captured in July by the privateer Jeff. Davis. Some three weeks after, she was recaptured by the U. S. gun-boat Albatross, Capt. Prentice, and taken into Philadelphia. A gentleman of this city, who owned the largest interest in her, went to Philadelphia to take his property which had been stolen from him by his "Southern brethren." The Captain of the gun-boat said to him, "Take her—I have only done my duty; I, myself or officers, do not claim anything for our services; we are happy to restore your property to you and your associates." But the gentleman finds the U. S. Marshal has the vessel in his hands, who says he cannot give her up without an order from the Judge of the U. S. District Court at Philadelphia. The claimant cannot approach the Judge, except through counsel. Able counsel is obtained, (Morton P. Henry, Esq.) when, after devoting some two weeks to the case, and having some three adjournments of the Court, his Honor Judge Cadwalader decrees that salvage is due Uncle Samuel's gun-boat, as follows:—Five hundred dollars on the vessel, and one thousand on the cargo—fifteen hundred dollars to be paid into the Treasury of the U. S. Government, for protecting the property of its citizens, who pay for the U. S. vessels, pay all the expenses of sailing them, and *then* have to pay for the protection of their property! Truly, this is being bung, and paying forty shillings!

Can you tell me how much salvage the Government claimed from the owners of Anthony Burns for recapturing him? It paid some thirty-five thousand dollars to catch him! Thomas Simms was also recaptured by Government, at a very great outlay, but I have never ascertained the amount of salvage claimed! Will you be kind enough to inform me? I have thought the Judge made a great mistake; for, now, the property of Union men who own human flesh and bones is returned to them *without any cost to those who say they own them*; but other property has to be assessed to pay for its "protection"! Such a proceeding in a country like ours is shameful; but I trust that the leaven of truth, now at work in the Government, will induce it to return this amount claimed and paid for protecting this vessel and cargo, with interest, and that slave-catching in the free States has seen its best days.

As events transpire from day to day, I feel encouraged, and am watching for the proclamation throughout the land of liberty to the captive. This nation will then be as a garden of the Lord: we shall be a free and happy people, whose God is the Lord; and a light to all that are in darkness.

"Fly swifter round, ye wheels of time,
And bring the welcome day!"

Yours, truly, R. PLUMER.

THE WAR—ITS CAUSE AND CURE. Our friends in Vermont will be glad to know that A. T. Foss is to make a lecturing tour of six weeks in that State, commencing at West Randolph, September 22d. His marked ability, long-continued, self-sacrificing, and unwearied devotion to the cause of impartial freedom, entitle his word to thoughtful attention in a crisis like the present. Let his meetings everywhere be crowded, that the people may learn THE CAUSE of this accursed "Slaveholders' Rebellion," and how it may be brought to a speedy, final, and glorious termination.

GERRIT SMITH TO PRESIDENT LINCOLN. We have already published excellent, pungent, and most timely Letters from Gerrit Smith to Hon Owen Lovejoy, Hon. John C. Breckinridge, and the New York State Democratic Committee, on the war and its connection with slavery, and we have now the pleasure of publishing another, from the same able and philanthropic writer, addressed to President Lincoln. We are sure it will be perused with deep interest and satisfaction by our readers. All these Letters give sure and gratifying proofs of Mr. Smith's complete restoration to sound mental vigor and bodily health.

ELOQUENT SPEECH OF GOV. ANDREW.

The 20th Regiment of Massachusetts—*en route* for Washington—numbering 900 men, and uniformed like the regular army, were hospitably entertained in New York at the Park Barracks, last week. Gov. Andrew, of this State, happening to be in that city on that occasion, attended the breakfast by invitation of "the Sons of Massachusetts," at the conclusion of which,—after a spirited speech by David Dudley Field, Esq.,—Mr. Howe called for three cheers to His Excellency Governor Andrew, and the guests responded with a will. Governor Andrew then rose, amid continued cheering, and said:—

MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN,—This occasion, in no sense and by no right, is mine. No part of its honors pertain to me. Here present, in the city of New-York, called by engagements that pertain to my duty, I had the happiness of finding myself in a position to be enabled to unite with you in doing honor to the 20th Regiment of Massachusetts volunteers. (Applause.) To my old friend, Col. Lee (three cheers for Col. Lee), who, with generous devotion and patriotic alacrity, without a moment's delay or hesitation, drew his sword, at my invitation, to lead a regiment of Massachusetts soldier citizens; and to his accomplished officers and brave men, be all these honors due. Upon the heads of such as they, Providence will pour its benignest benedictions, and upon their memories the most fragrant gratitude of our posterity shall rest. (Loud applause.) Whatever fortunes may befall them in the field, whether they shall return with their shields or borne upon them, forever and forever be those brave men remembered as among the earliest, among the best, among the truest, firmest, and most patriotic, who have drawn or will hereafter draw the sword for American liberty and constitutional law. (Applause.)

And now, sirs, I cannot at this moment forget that our sister New England State of Connecticut is at this very hour resigning to the dust all that was mortal of one New England man whose name and memory shall be as immortal as the stars—Lyon, (applause,) the great, the heroic, the accomplished soldier, the true-hearted and unflinching patriot, who at the head of his column fell, beyond the distant waters of the Mississippi; New England, Connecticut, reclaimed his ashes and mingles them with her dust. But his spirit, hovering over this busy, this distracted but yet hopeful scene of care, and toil, and aspiration, is with us now and always. To him, and to such as he, all that grateful hearts can pay, of solemn and yet joyful memories, belongs. He sleeps well in his soldier's grave. Others, too, have accompanied him to the silent land, marching through the Jordan of death beneath the American flag for American rights. (Applause.) And they know how happy, how sweet it is to die for such a cause. (Cheers.) To such as he and his, what can we say, what better than in the words of the great poet of British liberty:—

Flung to the heedless winds, or on the waters cast,
Their ashes shall be watched, and gathered at the last;
And from their scattered dust, around us and abroad,
Shall spring a precious seed of witnesses for God.

For, sirs, this is not a war for ourselves alone, for country alone; it is a war for humanity, and for God. To us was intrusted this ark of political salvation—Democratic Republican Liberty, conserved under constitutional forms. By our fathers to us was it transmitted. Into our present charge has it been placed, to be saved and transmitted to our posterity. Democratic Republican Liberty is the political gospel of our time. (Cheers.) To us, of the United States of America, the people of this Constitutional Federal Union, was committed this precious charge. Not for us alone, but *for all humanity*, that beneath the shadow of our tree of liberty the children's children may come, not only of the remotest generations of our own posterity, but of *the wayworn wanderers of all lands and climes.* (Cheers.) And as the infinite Father of all men and all spirits carries in the bosom of his embracing love nations and peoples, looking down through the vista of eternal years, and prophesying and preparing good for us all, so did He commit to us, as the priests of this political gospel, its preservation and transmission, not only for ourselves, but for *all nations and peoples of the earth.*

This, then, is *a war for humanity*. Challenged by rebellion, insulted by traitors, stabbed by the political assassins of liberty, the men of Massachusetts—whom you have so generously commended—marching shoulder to shoulder with the men of New York and of all other loyal States, have waked up to the trumpet-call of their country's woe, and their country's hope, to re-establish upon immutable foundations the rights thus challenged, and to confirm the national life, thus assailed by men whom History will only remember to call them accursed. This war, sirs, is in no just sense a sectional one. It is a war of ideas, I grant you; but ideas are universal, and not sectional. (Applause.) It is even American only in the sense that our liberty is American, embracing within the ample folds of its care, of its promises and its hope, all those who, residing with us, and denizened among us, are faithful to our cause. (Cheers.)

Nor could I fail to call to your recollection, that in the recent brilliant exploit of our naval and our military arms off the coast of North Carolina, a citizen of New York, the venerable and gallant Commodore Stringham (cheers), united his well-earned laurels with those that garlanded the younger brow of a Massachusetts General—Butler. (Three cheers for B. F. Butler.) When would it be possible for me to forget that among the heroes of that day, there was none more deserving of their country's honor, or of proud mention on the brightest page of her history, than the Colonel and men of the New York Twentieth Regiment of volunteers, under the command of an adopted citizen, from the German Fatherland, Colonel Max Weber? (Three cheers for Max Weber.) I cannot describe the emotion which all of you must have felt, and in sympathy with which all true hearts must have beat, as they read the record of the exploits of that gallant German regiment from New York, who, upon the edge of the darkness of night, amid the rolling surf upon that, to them, untried shore, launched their frail and tossing boats, and trusted themselves to the guidance of God, beneath the stars and the sky, cut off during all that long night of exposure and peril from all human sympathy and aid. (Enthusiastic applause.)

If Massachusetts deserves to be remembered to-day, so, too, do the countrymen of Col. Weber, two companies of whom compose a portion of the gallant command of Col. Lee, now marching as volunteers from Massachusetts. (Applause.) Neither sectional in any sense, nor national in any narrow sense of exclusiveness, but universal as American statesmanship, broad, comprehensive as the idea of liberty, which is *bounded by no land, native of no clime, the inheritance of no particular people, no nation, clime, country, kindred or color under Heaven*, (tremendous applause,) this cause is the cause of constitutional liberty and *the rights of universal humanity*. (Cheers.) I am no prophet, and no prophet's son. I dare not attempt to cast a horoscope of the future, but I believe in the guiding providence of Almighty God. I know, if aught resting in human belief or even human consciousness can be spoken of as knowledge, that He who guided Columbus over the seas; He who led our fathers to the New England shore; He who preserved them from the dangers of the seas, and the dangers of the wilderness, and the dangers of savage tribes; He who planted the seed of the great tree of liberty on the inhospitable shore of Plymouth, and has watered it, and blessed it, and has led us up till now through the storms of battle, through all the trials that beset a nation's childhood and youth, will never desert the faithful, the true, in the graver and severer, but not less needful, trials of manhood. (Cheers.) And whatever others may think, or dream, or fear, over this poor vision of mine, neither by day nor by night, since the first triumphant shout rang from one sea to the other, after the 17th of April, 1861, is there cast a shadow of a cloud.

The American People, inspired by confidence in their cause and doctrine, trusting in God, have taken up the arms which had so long lain unused by their sides, and almost unbidden have gone out to battle. From the hillsides, the valleys, the workshops, from the railroads, from the seaside, from the fishing smacks of our own dear old Commonwealth they have come, from every calling, from every profession, from every sect, whether of religion or politics, whether of belief or unbelief, they all have come, under the movement of a new inspiration (applause)—and whatever misfortune, if misfortune should come, may befall our flag or our arms, either at Washington, or Baltimore, or Philadelphia, or New York, the men of New England will rally behind our Berkshire Hills, and make the Switzerland of Massachusetts the rampart of our liberties. (Enthusiastic and repeated cheers.) But neither in New York, nor Philadelphia, nor Washington, will our arms suffer defeat. (Applause.) We went down to Bull Run, as I had the honor to remark in conversation this morning to some gentlemen around me, an aggregation of town meetings. (Laughter.) Wheresoever we march again, we march—an army, (cheers—"that's so!") disciplined, drilled, thoroughly equipped and ably commanded, the men knowing who their commanders are. (Cheers.)

And we will not be content much longer with defending Washington under the walls of the Capitol, nor on the banks of the Potomac (cheers); but Washington shall be defended at Charleston, South Carolina (applause); at Savannah, Georgia; at the city of New Orleans, and all the way up the Mississippi. The Union men of the South shall be liberated by the arms of the men of the North and the West, and all men, capable of bearing arms, capable of allegiance, will yet be summoned, unless the blight and blast shall smite the head of every statesman and general in America—shall he summoned to the standard wherever that flag advances. (Loud applause.) It is not my opinion that our generals, when any man comes to the standard and desires to defend the flag, will find it important to light a candle, *and see what his complexion is*, or to consult the family Bible to ascertain whether his grandfather came from the banks of the Thames or *the banks of the Senegal.* (Enthusiastic applause.) And if they who have attempted to overthrow the National Constitution, which was *their ægis* as well as ours, to destroy their American liberty as well as ours, to overthrow the hopes of their posterity as well as ours, to destroy civil society, social life, in their own midst, shall find that *their peculiar patriarchal institution, staggering, shall fall beneath their own parricidal blows*, (cheers,) whether they count it a misfortune or not, it will be their own chickens coming home to their own roost,—their own fault.

If it shall follow, in the good providence of God, that *other men beside those of my own peculiar complexion and blood shall taste the sweets of liberty, then God be praised.* (Three cheers for Gov. Andrew.) I am glad that this is not heresy in the commercial metropolis. (Repeated cheers.) I suppose that, although we ought not, if peace had been preserved, either to invade, or counsel, or promote the invasion of any constitutional right reserved to any State; yet, when a State and people trample the Constitution itself beneath their feet, endeavoring to crush us and our children with it, we may at least have the power and the privilege of praying for the happiness of them all, *bond as well as free.* (Cheers.)

I look, Mr. Chairman, with the assurance of confident faith for an early restoration of entire peace. I have no idea, not the slightest, that the next 4th of July will find this people in arms. But if it must be that we shall continue to pour out our money and our blood, to spend our lives in waging by any form of contest this unhappy war, let it come, let it abide, let it stay with us, let the sword be the constant emblem glittering before our eyes, let the flag advance, and armed men tread beneath its folds, until in Heaven's own time a perfect, assured peace shall come, *established upon the foundations of eternal right*—upon which alone can any victory be secured. (Loud applause.)

And now, Mr. President, I have to thank, from the bottom of my heart, the sons of New England resident in New York for the kindness of this reception to our 20th regiment, and for the flattering manner in which my name has been mentioned in connection with it; as also for the generous hospitality and fraternal love which have been exhibited by you and all of you from the moment the Massachusetts 6th displayed the ensign of our Commonwealth in the streets of New York, when marching as the first regiment bound for the defence of the capital. (Applause.) From that time until now we have continued, by a stream of military organizations, almost to tire your hospitality and your patience. (Voices—"No, sir, never!") If you were not both generous as well as faithful and patriotic, we should almost begin to think it our duty to take some other path to Philadelphia. (Voice—"Through New York, not round it"); but so long, Mr. President and friends, as our soldiers of Massachusetts continue to receive such friendly, fraternal, cordial greetings, such kind sympathetic aid, as they have from the first received at your hands, *through* New York they will always come. (Cheers.) And now, Sir, you will permit me, thanking you also for the kindness with which you have listened to these discursive remarks, to resume my seat, giving as a sentiment:—

"The Sons of Massachusetts residing in New York, bone of our bone, flesh of our flesh, and heart of our heart."

(Loud and repeated cheers.)

DIABOLICAL OUTRAGE IN MISSOURI.

HUDSON, Mo., Sept. 6, 1861.

The following account of a terrible disaster on the Hannibal and St. Joseph Railroad is furnished to the St. Louis *Republican*:—

The catastrophe occurred at Little Platte River bridge, nine miles east of St. Joseph. The bridge was a substantial work of one hundred feet span, and about thirty-five feet above the river. The timbers of the bridge had been burned underneath the track until they would sustain but little more than their own weight, and the fire was then extinguished, leaving the bridge a mere shell. The train, bringing from 85 to 100 passengers, including women and children, reached the river at 11 o'clock at night, and, the bridge looking secure, passed in; but no sooner had the locomotive measured its length upon the bridge, than some forty or fifty yards of the structure gave way, precipitating the entire train into the abyss below. All the seats in the passenger cars were torn and shoved in front, carrying men, women and children in a promiscuous heap down the declivity, and burying them beneath the crushed timber, or throwing them out of the cars through the broken sides. Some were mangled by the machinery tearing through the timbers, several were caught between planks, pressing together like a vice. Others were struck by parts of the roof as it came down with mighty force, and still others were cut with pieces of glass. In the midst of this confusion the two last cars of the train went down, pitching the passengers into the wreck, or throwing them into the water, which at this point is about a foot and a half in depth. Only three persons—J. W. Parker, Superintendent of the United States Express, Mr. Mars, Mail Agent, and Mr. Hager—were able to afford assistance to the suffering—the remainder of those who were not killed outright being so disabled as to be helpless. After doing all that was possible for those requiring immediate attention, Mr. Hager at midnight left the wreck to go to St. Joseph for medical and other assistance. He walked five miles of the way, when he found a hand-car, upon which he proceeded the remainder of the journey. Two hundred yards west of the bridge, he discovered a heavy oak railroad tie strongly strapped across the track, and two miles further on, he found the trestle work over a small stream on fire, which, however, had not as yet been so badly burned that trains could not pass over or could not be easily extinguished.

Arriving at St. Joseph, the alarm was soon spread throughout the city, and, although it was one o'clock at night, 75 men, including all the physicians in the neighborhood, volunteered their services, and, at 3½ o'clock, a train fully equipped, supplied with medical stores and other necessaries, was at the scene of the disaster.

The wounded had emerged from the wreck, and were lying on the banks and upon a sand bar in the river. Seventeen dead bodies were recovered, and it is believed that this number embraced all who were killed up to that time. Two are so badly mangled that it was not expected they would survive till morning, while many others were dangerously wounded, and would have to be well taken care of to recover. Many who will escape with their lives, will be maimed and crippled.

Mr. Hager, our informant, did not remain to finish the embarkation of the wounded for St. Joseph, but was dispatched to Brookfield, which is east of the bridge, for another train to go to the wreck. When he left, the names of the wounded were being taken down, and also such of the dead as had papers or other articles about them by which they could be identified.

Fifteen miles east of the Platte River, Mr. Hager found another bridge over Smith's Branch almost entirely burned, having been fired after the train passed west, thus preventing assistance being sent from the east.

Lieut. Shaw of the 8th Kansas regiment, killed, and Mr. Lounsberry and Sidney Clark, wounded, are the only additional names we have at present.

☞ Some secession miscreants recently attempted a crime on the Louisville and Nashville Railroad similar to that perpetrated by their brethren in Missouri on the Hannibal and St. Joseph road. It being reported that a lot of Union arms and soldiers were coming down on an evening train, a party went up to a point between Hadensville and Allensville, where there is a small bridge, took up the rails, bored the sleepers full of holes, and then carefully replaced the rails, intending to precipitate the train through, and kill all on board. The scoundrels were fortunately seen by some good Unionists, who gave the alarm to the down train, which contained five passenger cars filled with women and children, and thus an awful disaster was prevented.

☞ The North Carolinians are proverbial for ignorance, but one of the company muster rolls captured at Fort Hatteras presents an extent of ignorance inconceivable in an enlightened country. The muster roll of the Tar River Rangers contains the names of sixty-four men, only five of whom were able to write their names; the rest all made their marks.

☞ A steamboat in course of construction at Pittsburg, Penn., for Hon. John Bell of Tenn., has been seized by the United States authorities under the Confiscation act. Mr. Bell has paid about five thousand dollars on the contract.

☞ At the regular monthly meeting of the New York Chamber of Commerce, held on Thursday, resolutions were passed renewing its pledge to the Government of earnest sympathy and support.

☞ A letter to the Baltimore *American* from a citizen of Leesburg says that a whole Mississippi regiment stationed there revolted on Saturday, broke their muskets to pieces, and started for home.

☞ The Emperor of Russia has addressed our Government on the existing state of affairs here, manifesting the most friendly interest in the welfare of this Government, and hoping for a restoration of its unity. Secretary Seward has appropriately and gracefully responded.

☞ The New York Post's Washington dispatch says that three slaves, while attempting to escape from Munson's Hill, were shot.

☞ Relief Committees, composed of former residents of New York, New England and Michigan, have been organized in San Francisco to receive subscriptions in aid of families of volunteers for their different States.

☞ Cheny Bartlett, a colored woman, aged one hundred years, died in St. Louis last week.

NEGROES BURNED. Five negroes, at the instigation of two white men, murdered Mr. Gibson, an overseer in Munroe County, Alabama, on the 24th ult. They were tried before Judge Lynch, who rendered a verdict of burning at the stake, which was put into execution. What diabolism!

☞ Numerous arrests have been made in Franklin county, Missouri, under Gen. Fremont's proclamation, of citizens found with arms in their hands, arrayed against the United States Government, and twenty of them will be brought to St. Louis to-morrow, to be tried by the Military Commission now in session. Notice has also been given, in cases of suspected disloyalty, that their property will be confiscated.

☞ A stampede of families took place from Fernandina, Florida, on the 4th, from apprehension of a bombardment of the town by the Federal fleet, which now holds strict blockade of that point.

The Savannah *News* of the 5th states that the whole coast of Florida is blockaded.

☞ Gen. Lyon's sword and chapeau have been presented to the State of Connecticut. They will be deposited in the rooms of the Historical Society to await the action of the General Assembly.

☞ A. T. FOSS, an Agent of the American A. S. Society, will speak on "The War," at

West Randolph, Vt.,		Sunday, Sept. 22.
Randolph Centre,	"	Tuesday, " 24.
Braintree,	"	Thursday, " 26.
West Brookfield,	"	Sunday, " 29.
Northfield,	"	Tuesday, Oct. 1.
Barre,	"	Wednesday P. M. and eve'g, Oct. 2.

☞ STEPHEN S. FOSTER, of Worcester, will lecture in Freedom Hall in Feltonville, next Sunday, at half-past 1, and 5 o'clock, P. M., on The present Rebellion, its Cause and Remedy.

☞ MIDDLESEX A. S. SOCIETY.—A meeting of the Middlesex County A. S. Society will be held in Lyceum Hall, at Reading, Sunday, Sept. 15. Andrew T. Foss, E. H. Heywood, and others will speak. The public are cordially invited.

There will be a re-election of officers for the ensuing year.

SAMUEL BARRETT, *President.*
ANDREW WELLINGTON, *Secretary.*

☞ MERCY B. JACKSON, M. D., having had fifteen years' experience in the Homœopathic treatment of diseases, offers her professional services to the Ladies and Children of Boston and vicinity.

References.—David Thayer, M. D.; Luther Clark, M. D.; John M. Tarball, M. D., Boston. Eliphalet Clark, M. D., Portland, Me.

Rooms No. 20 Bulfinch street. Office hours from 2 to 4 P. M.

☞ BESSIE S. LOCKWOOD, M. D., *No. 34 Auburn Street, Boston.* Particular attention paid to the Diagnosis and Treatment of Chronic Diseases.

OFFICE HOURS from 11, A. M., till 2, P. M. Nov. 23.

WEST NEWTON
English and Classical School.

THE next term will begin Wednesday, Sept. 1, 1861. Both sexes are received as family or day pupils. For particulars, address NATHANIEL T. ALLEN.

West Newton, Aug. 15.

HOPEDALE
HOME SCHOOL.

THE next Term of this Reformatory and Progressive Institution will commence on *Wednesday, Sept. 4*, and continue Fifteen weeks. For full particulars, please address WM. S. HAYWOOD, *Principal.*

Milford, Mass., Aug. 6, 1861.

TRANSIENT BOARDERS.

THE subscriber has just opened house No. 77 Myrtle st., for the accommodation of transient Boarders. The location is a pleasant one, within a few minutes' walk of the most central portions of the city. Every exertion will be made for the comfort of those who may favor the house with a call. Rooms furnished with or without board. Terms moderate.

Boston, Jan. 7. S. NEWELL.

JUST PUBLISHED,
And for sale at the Anti-Slavery Office, 221 Washington Street,

AN elaborate Work, entitled "Relation of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions to Slavery. By Charles K. Whipple,"—a volume of nearly 250 pages. In cloth, 37 cents—in paper covers, 25 cents.

Aug. 30. tf

$40 PARKER $40
Sewing Machines,
PRICE FORTY DOLLARS.

THIS is a new style, first class, double thread, Family Machine, made and licensed under the patents of Howe, Wheeler & Wilson, and Grover & Baker, and its construction is the best combination of the various patents owned and used by these parties, and the patents of the Parker Sewing Company. They were awarded a *Silver Medal* at the last Fair of the Mechanics' Charitable Association, and are the best finished and most substantially made Family Machines now in the market.

☞ *Sales Room*, 188 Washington street.

GEO. E. LEONARD, *Agent.*

Agents wanted everywhere.

All kinds of Sewing Machine work done at short notice.

Boston, Jan. 18, 1861. 3m.

IMPORTANT TESTIMONY.

Report of the Judges of the last Fair of the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association.

"FOUR PARKER'S SEWING MACHINES. This Machine is so constructed that it embraces the combinations of the various patents owned and used by Elias Howe, Jr., Wheeler & Wilson, and Grover & Baker, for which these parties pay tribute. These, together with Parker's improvements, make it a beautiful Machine. They are sold from $40 to $120 each. They are very perfect in their mechanism, being adjusted before leaving the manufactory, in such a manner that they cannot get deranged. The feed, which is a very essential point in a good Machine, is simple, positive and complete. The apparatus for guaging the length of stitch is very simple and effective. The tension, as well as other parts, is well arranged. There is another feature which strikes your committee favorably, viz: there is no wheel below the table between the standards, to come in contact with the dress of the operator, and therefore no danger from oil or dirt. This machine makes the double lock-stitch, but is so arranged that it lays the ridge upon the back quite flat and smooth, doing away, in a great measure, with the objection sometimes urged on that account."

IMPROVEMENT IN
Champooing and Hair Dyeing,
"WITHOUT SMUTTING."

MADAME CARTEAUX BANNISTER

WOULD inform the public that she has removed from 223 Washington Street, to

No. 31 WINTER STREET,

where she will attend to all diseases of the Hair.

She is sure to cure in nine cases out of ten, as she has for many years made the hair her study, and is sure there are none to excel her in producing a new growth of hair.

Her Restorative differs from that of any one else, being made from the roots and herbs of the forest.

She Champoos with a bark which does not grow in this country, and which is highly beneficial to the hair before using the Restorative, and will prevent the hair from turning grey.

She also has another for restoring grey hair to its natural color in nearly all cases. She is not afraid to speak of her Restoratives in any part of the world, as they are used in every city in the country. They are also packed for her customers to take to Europe with them, enough to last two or three years, as they often say they can get nothing abroad like them.

Call and see some of the best references in the country. No charge for information.

MADAME CARTEAUX BANNISTER,
No. 31 Winter Street, Boston.

June 14. tf

NOW READY,

SERMONS AND SPEECHES BY GERRIT SMITH; containing his Six Sermons on the Religion of Reason, and three of his recent Speeches—one of them delivered lately, on the War. Price 50 cents.

For sale by ROSS & TOUSEY,
July 19.—4t No. 121 Nassau street, N. Y.

Poetry.

From the Knickerbocker for September.

TO THE EVIL OF ALL TIME.

BY CHARLES G. LELAND.

"*Rustica gens, optima flens, pessima ridens.*"—Mediæval Proverb.

God is not dead yet, ye liars of the South!
I will hold no measured words with men who so blaspheme
As to swear that sacred freedom is condemned by His own mouth,
And the martyr side of history was all a bloody dream.
But the last sun has not set,
And man has not toiled for ages
To be fooled out of his wages
Because "the South" has said it. God is not dead yet!

Ye never-dying vampires, still in old Etrurian graves
Rest the vases with the ashes of the forms which once ye wore,
When ye strove to crush the people back into dirt as slaves,
And said: "We are patricians—be ye sold for evermore!"
But howe'er ye spread the net,
There were thoughts which would break through it,
And they live to make ye rue it
Through the brightening path of ages. God is not dead yet!

How ye howled in indignation when a Gospel for the low
Was preached to poor and simple men—untempled and unpriced!
But ye dug your darkest pitfall, and shaped your weariest woe,
When ye crucified the people in the form of Jesus Christ:
And you thought Truth's sun had set,
But it dawned upon a morrow
Which brought you endless sorrow,
And sounded your *væ victis*. God is not dead yet!

How through the Middle Ages your accursed banners flaunted,
And with biting pride ye vaunted the wild-beast crests you wore!
"The serf is vile when laughing; good when weeping, crushed and daunted,"
Was the precious *Christian* doctrine of your feudal Latin lore;
While with blood your racks were wet.
So ye ever used your power,
While fortune was in flower;
But now comes the avenging hour. God is not dead yet!

Then came the Reformation, like a dagger in your side,
With its Luthers and Von Hittons, striking error to its grave;
And their war-shouts, once in heaven, turned to holy hymns, which cried
For the sacred rights of labor, and freedom to the slave:
And we forced from you the debt;
But something is still owing,
There is compound interest growing,
And now we'll *make* you pay it! God is not dead yet!

Ye have bid, and are outbidden. Every roaring revolution
Was a heavy contribution from the endless wealth of time:
France and England sent their monarchs to the block of execution,
Italia gave her sufferings, and all a faith sublime;
While ye held the bayonet,
Defying and decrying
Every truth with your foul lying:
Woe to your wilful blindness! God is not dead yet!

Ye are fighting your last battle; in your rattlesnake alliance
Of love for negro labor, and hatred of the white;
Ye stand amid your marshes, bidding all the world defiance,
Cursing History and Scripture, and each holy human right.
In vain the curse and threat,
For your evil days are numbered,
And the sacred power which slumbered
Now wakes to final vengeance. God is not dead yet!

Our brothers' blood is flowing, but a storm of wrath is blowing,
And vengeance is hot glowing in the hearts of sires and wives;
And the seeds which ye are sowing will never cease from growing,
Till the scythe of Death stops mowing lives to pay for Northern lives;
When he pauses, 'tis to whet
The blade of vengeance brighter,
And his blade will not fall lighter
While the smallest debt is owing. God is not dead yet!

From the New York Independent.

LET US HEAR NO MORE OF SENDING BACK THE SLAVE.

Stand up in the Capitol, and proclaim
To wondering nations the fearful game
Which the soldiers play for us, North and South,
At the bayonet's point and the cannon's mouth—
Count up the stakes, and reckon the chances;
Say, as each bristling column advances,—
"So we contend against slavery,
Lying and cheating and knavery"—
And then send back the slave.

North, East and West have poured out their treasures,
Doubled their tithes, and heaped up their measures—
Called to strong men, "Now arm for the fight,
Crush the proud traitor, and strike for the Right!"
Into the ranks slip young men and bold men—
Into the ranks step wise men and old men—
And the mothers kiss and caress them,
And the maidens cheer them and bless them,
And you send back the slave.

"Forward!" they march at the President's call
Through Baltimore's streets to the Capital.
"Forward!" where foes are entrenched in their might,
(Now God be with them, and favor the Right!)
And they see the hard battle before them,
And they think of the mothers who bore them,
And the maidens' cheers and flatteries—
March up to the murderous batteries—
While you send back the slave.

Weary and thirsty, they strike for the Right—
New men, but true men, they gallantly fight;
Bravely resisting, they stand by their flags
Till their gay colors are torn into rags.
They are falling, the young men and bold men,
They are falling, the wise men and old men—
And the cannon-ball leaps and whistles,
And cuts down the shamrocks and thistles—
And you send back the slave.

Ay, weep for the soldiers who lie there dead,
And weep for the soldiers who turned and fled!
Send to the Northland, and gather a host,
Fill up the places of those you have lost.
Cry to the nations, "Come now and aid us
Crush out the wrong for which you upbraid us."
Then call upon God for assistance,
For strength in your holy resistance—
And then send back the slave.

My countrymen, can you not understand
'Tis a "holy war," which the Lord hath planned;
That Justice and Vengeance shall make you strong
When you throw in the scales the pond'rous WRONG?
They have hated you, scorned you, scouted you,
And now from the field they have routed you,
While you with clinging humility
Kiss their soft hands in servility—
And you send back the slave.

OUR BROTHER!

Call him not "Brother," whose unhallowed hand
Hacks down the roof-tree of our common home!
Call him not "Brother," who, with sword and brand,
Lays waste the heritage of our fatherland!
Call him not "Brother," who, 'mid cannon boom,
Beats down old land-marks, shrouds in endless gloom
The hapless ones his greed hath barr'd and bann'd!
He is a Cain! Cain-like must be his doom.
The Prodigal, repentant, may return;
Repentant? Yes! Recusant—never! No!
The renegado from freedom all men spurn.
Who strikes for slavery makes the world his foe:
Who draws the sword shall by the sword be slain:
And whoso "raises *cane*" must reap the hurricane.

The Liberator.

COMMENCEMENT EXERCISES AT THE Normal Institute for Physical Education.

The first Commencement exercises of Dr. Lewis's Normal Institute for Physical Education, which was incorporated last spring, took place at the Hall of the Institute, 20 Essex street, Boston, on Thursday evening, Sept. 5th. The exercises were novel, and exceedingly interesting. The members of the graduating class, comprising eight ladies and five gentlemen, presented the most gratifying evidence of the fidelity and thoroughness with which they had been trained, and of unremitting attention, on their part, to the arduous duties which such a course of instruction involves.

The Institute Hall is one admirably adapted to its uses,—well lighted and ventilated, and sufficiently spacious, if not to accommodate all those who would desire to witness such an exhibition as that of which we write, at least, for all the ordinary purposes for which it is designed. On the present occasion, there were some one hundred and fifty invited guests present, who took the liveliest interest in the proceedings.

The chair was taken at 7 o'clock by the President, C. C. Felton, LL. D., (President of Harvard College,) and the exercises commenced with a prayer by Rev. Dr. Kirk. Dr. Dio Lewis, Professor of Gymnastics, then addressed the assembly as follows:—

Mr. President,—Members of the Graduating Class,—Ladies and Gentlemen:

The circumstances call for a brief statement of the history and aims of this Institution.

Educated to the profession of medicine, and mingling for many years principally with those classes who suffer most from non-observance of the laws of health, I came, many years ago, to think somewhat seriously of that ounce of prevention which is worth tons of cure. Want of muscular exercise was one of the most obvious defects in our physical life. It was not less obvious that the very structure of town and city society rendered the correction of the evil impracticable, except in the Gymnasium.

I examined the German Gymnasium, the one so much in vogue throughout the United States, with great care. Entering one of these institutions, as a pupil, I studied the anatomical and physiological bearings of its many exercises. I found that they were not well adapted to children, women, fat men or old men, and about eight years ago, I began the attempt to devise something better. During this time, I have invented more than five hundred different exercises, of which a large experience has fully endorsed nearly three hundred. Some of these, of the more simple kinds, we shall have the pleasure to show you to-night.

A word of our purposes: In this hall and the story below, we have a gymnasium for children, ladies and gentlemen. In addition, the Institution has been incorporated as a Normal Institute for Physical Education. Twice each year, a class of ladies and gentlemen will gather here, as this class has done, from all parts of the country, to prepare themselves to act as guides in Physical Culture. In carrying forward this important work, I have asked the aid of gentlemen of the medical profession residing in this city. Dr. Thomas H. Hoskins has delivered a most instructive course of lectures upon Anatomy. Dr. Josiah Curtis was elected to the chair of Physiology by the Trustees of the Institute, but being called to Washington, Dr. Hoskins delivered, most acceptably to the class, the lectures belonging to this department. Dr. Walter Channing, known to all the world, has given us a series of conversational lectures upon Hygeine, which we esteem as invaluable. He has given us the results of his long and varied experience.

The class now about to graduate, composed of eight ladies and five gentlemen, is one of which we feel truly proud. The members of this class have been with us during the prescribed term, and such faithful pupils I never saw. Six, seven, eight, nine and ten hours a day they have been occupied in this Institution, and with a zeal I never saw equalled; and we who have had to do with teaching them, think them prepared to teach gymnastics, and to act as guides in all such matters as ventilation, dietetics, dress, bathing, etc.

The graduating class then went through a series of exercises with the "clubs," exhibiting a wonderful degree of dexterity, strength and skill. Exercises with "wands" and "dumb-bells" followed, which excited great interest in the audience, and were witnessed with much satisfaction and pleasure.

Mr. Sylvester Scott, one of the graduating class, then read an essay on "The Importance of Physiological Culture in a True Education," treating the subject in an able and comprehensive manner, and presenting, in a clear and succinct form, the advantages to be derived from the system of physical culture taught in the Institute.

The essay was followed by exercises with "rings," which afforded a fine opportunity for the display of ease and agility of motion, and gracefulness of posture. These exercises were most admirable—the very "poetry of motion."

The concluding exercises, of a physical character, were some very amusing as well as exciting feats with the "bean-bags," and with clubs placed at equal distances on the floor.

These exercises were agreeably interspersed with patriotic songs by Mr. Whitney.

At the conclusion of the physical exercises, President Felton presented the diplomas, and, in doing so, spoke as follows:

Friends—I have very cheerfully acceded to the request of Dr. Lewis, to act as Chairman on this occasion, and to be the organ of the presentation of the diplomas to which you are entitled on completing your course in this Institution.

It is hardly necessary to say much, on such an occasion. But I will remark that, for many years, this subject of physical education has occupied not only my thoughts, but my practical labor, to a certain extent. I see in this assembly a respected friend, a classmate of mine. I think he will remember that we, early in our college life, were members of the first gymnastic class, I think, that was ever formed in this country,—Dr. Follen being at the head of it; a very excellent teacher, and a very learned gentleman, from Germany. I remember, to this day, with pleasure, and with some degree of amusement, the extraordinary performances we went through. I think my classmate Quincy rather beat me; but about this I hardly remember. The class succeeded so well, that great crowds, together with large numbers of gentlemen and ladies, were accustomed to drive out of Boston, and station themselves around the college delta, which was covered with various machines,—some of them looking marvellously like the gallows,—with which we performed the gymnastic exercises of those times. You will hardly believe, I suppose, that *I* ever climbed the pole, (laughter,) or performed any of those airy flights which we were trained to take in those times, (laughter,) and yet I assure you that both Mr. Quincy and I have done those things; though some of us belong to those classes of society which Dr. Lewis enumerated in speaking of other systems of gymnastics as not being properly suited to their present condition. (Renewed merriment.) And I confess that I should be reluctant, myself, at the present day, to attempt some of those exploits, and I fear it would be a spectacle more amusing than profitable.

But, from that day to this, I have gained substantial benefits from a system of gymnastic exercises, carefully devised by scientific persons familiar with the human frame, as medical men, and as anatomists. That I consider quite necessary; for many exercises, if entered upon with the zeal of youth, and without the knowledge of superior age to direct them, are dangerous, and sometimes even fatal. We have all of us, probably, known instances of the fatal effects even of the common exercise of the dumb-bells, unless that is practised with great discretion.

This present system of Dr. Lewis has appeared to me to avoid most of the objections of some other systems, inasmuch as the machinery is slight and light, easily managed, evidently,—I think even I could manage most of it,—and may be continued, I should think, for long periods, without any danger to the health—and great benefit, in most cases, if not in all. I have not seen so much of it as some others; there are others present who are familiar with it in all its details; yet I have witnessed the effects of this system in some of the schools in which Dr. Lewis has introduced it, and it seems to me they are all good, without exception.

"Actions speak louder than words." The exhibition of this evening, I think, must recommend it more than anything that I can say; but, as the time allotted to the exercises of the evening has now nearly expired, I will not add anything further, but simply hand the diplomas,—expressing the gratification I feel in seeing this system introduced into our schools.

I am well assured, teachers, that you will carry into your schools the result of your experience here, and that it will be for the benefit of your pupils.

Let me add one thing more, however, and that is, that the health and vigor acquired by a thorough course of exercises such as you have had here, cannot be preserved if hereafter you entirely neglect them. One objection to former systems of gymnastics, which I have heard pressed by gentlemen who took part in those primitive times, is that their health broke down when they gave up the exercise. The reason was, that they gave up the exercises altogether, after having been in the habit of practising them six or eight or ten hours a day. I may speak on this subject with some degree of experience, inasmuch as for more than thirty years I have daily used dumb-bells, connected with the bath; and for some time I have used, every morning, in addition, clubs considerably heavier than any that I have seen here to-night,—but for a very short time; and I am convinced, by my own experience, and what I have seen in the experience of others, that after the constitution has been thoroughly developed, and the health and vigor thoroughly established by a course like that which you have now gone through, you may retain all the advantages of it—the great result, "*mens sana in corpore sano*," the motto which is on your diploma,—by giving a very small portion of each day to some one or the other of all the exercises to which you have been accustomed here.

I find, ladies and gentlemen, on the card, that remarks are expected "by several well-known gentlemen." It is the duty of the Chairman, on all such occasions, to exercise a perfectly arbitrary power in this matter. If Dr. Lewis thinks the audience would stand a few minutes speaking, and that the words upon the card express an understood invitation, I intend to call upon four or five gentlemen to say a few words each; and first, the Rev. Dr. Kirk.

Rev. Dr. Kirk said: Mr. President, I do not know that we need any more speaking, we have had so much acting to-night; but I willingly add my testimony. I have long been, as President Felton has expressed himself to be, convinced of the importance of physical education; and to me it is surprising that it is not incorporated now into every system of education in the land.

And after having looked on this evening, I am more convinced than ever before of the supreme importance of judicious training and supervision in gymnastic exercise. I know that I once overstrained my muscles by too violent exercise in the gymnasium, and suffered an actual sickness in consequence. I am now satisfied that Dr. Lewis has found the true scientific process for physical development. It was my privilege to welcome Dr. Lewis at his very first arrival here, and everything, since then, has only confirmed my confidence in his ability to superintend this system.

Edmund Quincy, Esq., being called upon by the President, spoke as follows:—

Mr. President,—I suppose, after the gratification we have received from the physical exercise we have witnessed this evening, that we can do nothing less than perform our share of vocal exercise. I will add to your recollections of our gymnastic education. I remember precisely who were injured. One of our class, I recollect, who is now a Bishop of the Church, broke his arm. But I think there was no person who went through those exercises who would not, to this day, say that he has derived advantage from the first principles of physical training which we received from the mouth and the example of Dr. Follen,—how to walk, how to breathe. I learned to breathe through the nose from Dr. Follen, which I have practised ever since. (Laughter.) And I read in the paper, the other day, that this is considered a specific against infection; that people can go into the most malarious districts, and escape harmless, comparatively, if they can only breathe through the nostrils. Mr. Catlin published a book on the subject of *breathing through the nose*; he considered that all the calamities of the human race arose from breathing through the mouth; that if people would always breathe through their nostrils, they would live forever, without disease. That is extravagant, of course; but I have no question there is a great deal of philosophy in it.

I have myself used exercises, for about fifteen years, of my own invention. I used to be a great walker; but finding that took a great deal of time, I got tired of it, and substituted these exercises, and think they have answered the purpose far better—that fifteen minutes' well-chosen gymnastic exercise, in the morning, is equivalent to two hours' walk. I can also give a signal example of the benefit of this species of treatment upon the human frame. My father, who, I suppose, most of you know, is one of the oldest inhabitants of this Commonwealth, and by far the oldest graduate of the College over which my friend presides now so worthily as his successor, has for a space of forty or fifty years adopted the system of using these exercises in his dressing room, mornings, in connection with his bath, about fifteen minutes a day, and continues it to this day; and he considers that he owes his extraordinary longevity, and the still more remarkable degree of health which has blessed his long life, to that fact, in connection with his temperance, the systematic control of his passions, and the regularity of his habits. The last time I saw him, I spoke to him on this subject, and he told me he had been taking this exercise, and was perfectly satisfied that he owed all these blessings of health and long life to that practice. (Applause.)

President Felton. I consider this testimony of the gentleman very valuable, derived from his own experience and the example of his illustrious father, who is now, in his ninetieth year, possessing extraordinary vigor of body for a man of that age, and vigor of mind for a man of any age. At the last Commencement in Cambridge, Mr. Quincy made a speech that exhibited a vigor of mind, and a play of imagination and wit, quite equal—I won't say to his best days, because I think his best days are now—but to his strongest physical days. And there cannot be a more striking example to be found of physical exercise conducted at so late a period of life. Indeed, all the virtues adorn the character of that great man, and I wish that his example might be set forth, in all its details, to the young men of this city and this nation, now and hereafter.

My friend Mr. Hagar is present, and, by authority, I call upon him to say a word or two.

Mr. D. B. Hagar. Mr. Chairman, I submit to the authority. Yesterday, sir, I had the pleasure of taking a ride in the country with an esteemed friend of mine, who I suspect must be a distant relation of Mrs. Partington. As we passed an elegant estate, said he to me, "Bishop So-and-so has purchased this estate." "Ah!" said I, "for what purpose?" "O, he is going to establish a school here, or some sort of cemetery." (Laughter.)

The words have been running through my mind ever since. As I went home, and passed my school-house, I said to myself, "A school, or some sort of cemetery!" And as I got up this morning, and went to my school-room, and saw the seventy or eighty boys around me, I said to myself, again, "A school, or some sort of cemetery!" To-night, as I left my house, in order to come to this place to witness the exercises which have so delighted us, I was met by a gentleman whose daughter entered my school as a pupil three or four days ago,—and during that time has learned and recited, I believe, only one lesson. Said this gentleman to me, with tears in his eyes, "Mr. Hagar, my daughter is a very nervous girl; she came home, to-day, and began to cry about her lessons." "Why," I replied, "she has not begun to recite, yet." Said he, "Yes, but she is afraid she won't recite well, and is crying about it." I said to myself, "Then I must look out, or my school will be 'some sort of cemetery' to that girl."

As I came up the stairway to-night, I took out my card, and read, "Normal Institute for Physical Education." "Ah!" said I, "a school, or some sort of cemetery here;" and then, as I looked along down, and saw the names of four M. D.'s, said I, "It is a cemetery, sure!" (Great merriment.) I entered the door, and I must confess that my feelings were quite relieved when I saw a very jolly-looking sexton standing at the door, and still more when I had conversed with him only five minutes. "Ah," said I, "there must be a cemetery there; here is a *sudorific* to begin with." (Laughter.) By-and-by, out came the clubs; and bearing in mind that this was a cemetery, and the sexton was playing his cards, I said to myself, "Clubs are trumps, surely." (Renewed laughter.) When the wands made their appearance, I began to feel better; everything was graceful and magic-like; I said, "After all, this is a very pleasant lot to be buried in." And then, as we passed on, too, the eloquence of the wooden-headed dumb-bells spoke to me a language which was exceedingly encouraging, not only to myself, who might perhaps take those hard old exercises which fat men can't,—not only encouraging to me, but the rising generation.

Looking at this matter of gymnastics, Mr. Chairman, in a serious way, I may say that, for some years, the subject of physical education has commanded my attention. We have had in our educational associations a great many lectures on the importance of physical education. Every teacher, lady or gentleman, has always been ready to admit the importance of physical education. The great question has been, how will you accomplish that end? We admit that the body should be educated; we admit that we cannot have full mental vigor without bodily vigor; the question is, how shall we get this physical culture? Gymnastics were proposed,—the old-fashioned gymnastics,—and they have been introduced into some schools—but into very few, on account of the expense attending the apparatus. Teachers came to the conclusion, very generally, that it was impossible to introduce the kind of gymnastics that have been already referred to.

Dr. Lewis, a year ago, presented his gymnastics before the American Institute; and I think it is perfectly correct for me to say, that the way so long desired has been pointed out, the course has been marked out, and to-day many eminent teachers have taken that course, and are pursuing it with the most excellent results. I say, not only in my own name, but in behalf of many of my fellow-teachers, that we recognize the debt due to Dr. Lewis. I know, from personal observation, that in many schools in this city, and towns around this city, this system of Dr. Lewis has been introduced, and the results have been all that could be desired. It is necessary, of course, that any system which shall be adopted in our schools shall be such as can be made use of in our ordinary school-rooms, because the most of our school buildings are so contracted as to afford only the ordinary study and recitation rooms, not affording a hall in which exercises of a general character might be had, not more difficult than such as have been witnessed to-night.

I am happy to add my word of endorsement to what the Doctor has said; and if the time permitted, I should wish to make some remarks on the ways and means of promoting physical culture in our schools.

I am satisfied, furthermore, that the charges which have been brought against teachers, that they have been murdering the innocents, are, as a general fact, without foundation; that the cause of the illness of school-children lies far back of the teacher; it arises, in a great many cases, from the ill-health of parents; it arises, in many more cases, from the injudicious course of treatment received at home. If children are allowed to eat when and what they please, to go when and where they please, and to study as little or as much as they please, it is hardly fair to charge teachers with having been their murderers, if they go to their graves early.

I hope that our friend Dr. Lewis will feel encouraged by the results of his efforts in this city; and I know that he has been the means of doing us teachers and our pupils a vast deal of good, and if we do not profit still more by what he has shown to us, it is not his fault.

President Felton. What Mr. Hagar has said about the cemeteries reminds me of an anecdote. Some years ago, the Turkish minister visited this city, and among others of our institutions, he went to see the cemetery at Mount Auburn. On his return, he was entertained with a magnificent dinner at the Revere or Tremont House; and one gentleman present asked him, through an interpreter, what he thought of Mount Auburn. "I thought it a very pleasant place for a short visit." (Laughter.) Now, the sort of cemeteries that Mr. Hagar referred to are very pleasant places for short visits, no doubt; but I hope, by the introduction of this system, or some system that will act as efficiently on our muscles, that remark can no longer be applied to them.

I wish to add, further, some very important observations as to the illness of children. It is frequently supposed that hard study is very unhealthy, and it is even supposed, by some, that young people kill themselves by hard study. I wish to say, emphatically, that all those stories are monstrous fabrications; that no child, girl, boy, man or woman, ever died of hard study, or ever injured themselves by hard study; and that all the complaints made against schools, of injuring the health of students by hard study, are utterly calumnious and false; and that among the most healthful exercises, the exercises that most promote vigor, strength—physical vigor, physical strength—is the exercise of the human brain—which is itself a physical organ—only it must not be exercised alone. But the pale and puny student, who flatters his self-conceit that he is suffering dyspepsia, and all the ills that come with it, because he is so *intellectual*, may not "lay that flattering unction to his soul" any longer;—it is because he is a *fool*, it is because he is a fanatic, it is because he has *not* exercised his brain, and neglected the other parts of his system also. (Applause and laughter.) With a sound system of physical exercise, and healthy modes of living, that same pale and self-fancying intellectual being would accomplish twice, four times the intellectual work that has brought him to death's door—and he prides himself on being in that very pleasant position.

It has been proved, by statistics, that among the longest livers, as a general rule, are the most intellectual. It is not—"Whom the gods love, die young"; "Whom the gods love," live longest, as shown by the case of the illustrious friend who has already been spoken of here. "Whom the gods love," live longest: it has been proved by the statistics of universities. Professor Pierce, of our University, examined the subject, and he found, somewhat to the surprise of a portion of the community,—I won't say what portion,—that, taking classes in the average, those that are the first to die are those who are the dullest and stupidest and most irregular during their college life; while, as a general rule,—of course there are exceptions, but exceptions prove the rule in this as all other things,—the good scholars, those who exercise their brains constantly, thoroughly, faithfully, and have performed all their duties conscientiously, are the longest lived. I think these are facts really worth being impressed upon the young.

Miss Abby W. May, (daughter of Samuel May, Esq.,) a member of the Graduating Class, then read a valedictory address, a considerable portion of which was devoted to the subject of dress, as affecting the health of women, and, through them, the race universally. The address was admirably written, full of vigorous thought, clearly and tersely expressed. In conclusion, Miss May referred to the teachers connected with the Institute in the following terms:—

"Classmates, the time has come for us to bid farewell to our teachers, and to one another. It were idle to linger over the word. The golden hours of summer have borne forever into the past the nine weeks of earnest purpose that have held us together here. They have been weeks of unbroken harmony; of much labor, of a kind that was new to nearly all of us; but of a wholesome and increasing satisfaction that I think I may say we never knew before. To our teachers, we owe our hearty and respectful thanks. Where each one has been so able in his own department of science, and each so devoted to our service, it were invidious to single out any one for an especial thank-offering, were it not that he who is the founder of this Institution has, by the nature of his relation to it, been called upon to make the greatest sacrifices of time and strength for our welfare: all of which he has done with a zeal and patience which have been a daily surprise, even to those of us who, from previous acquaintance with him, had been led to expect very great devotion. Henceforth, we shall delight to think of him as one who holds our welfare very near his own; we shall turn to him for sympathy and encouragement in our failures, and shall love to bring our successes to him as belonging more to him than to ourselves.

We part to-night, never, in all probability, to meet again. Our country, soon we trust to be united and free, offers a wide field for our exertions. In our own unaided strength, we can do little; but let us go forth to our work with full assurance, that He, in whose service we are to labor, will make us strong unto the end, if we put our trust in Him."

A benediction was then pronounced by Rev. Dr. Kirk, and the exercises terminated. It will not be doubted, by any who were present, at least, that this Institute will be of inestimable value in promoting the physical well-being of all who come within the sphere of its influence, whether in immediate connection with it, or through the intelligent and well-instructed teachers which it shall send forth into various parts of the country, to spread the knowledge of this new system, and on whose steps shall tread close, health, purity, and happiness.

TO J. P. B.

You propose a compromise for the government and its rebels; and, as a basis, an acknowledgment of the sovereignty of the revolted section; on condition that "travel, residence, domestic and social engagements, commercial transactions, and the exercise of speech, writing and printing," shall "*be free to the citizens of each republic.*"

Now, what is the *cause* of the rebellion? Simply the barbarism that, with a savage gusto for blood, hunts down those who, under the ægis of the Constitution, for the purpose of visit or sojourn, have the temerity to set foot on the slave-cursed soil, now lorded over by a rebel faction.

While this cause or barbarism exists, your compromise, with any such condition as you propose, is the merest vagary; and when that cause is removed, there is no longer any rebellion. The difficulty is, that as a remedy for the *effect*, you propose something with conditions utterly incompatible with the *cause* of that effect.

When you shall so change the character and moral influence of the principle of human chatteldom as to have undemonized the social condition of the South, you may hope for peace short of emancipation. We may suggest remedies to avert bloodshed, but God Almighty will not tamper with this monster abomination of the nineteenth century.

Sheds Corners, N. Y. A. HOGEBOOM.

REV. DR. CHEEVER.

Dr. Cheever's return to the United States is greeted with gratulation by the friends of freedom here. Having performed a great work in Great Britain, he returns at a time when his important labors and counsels are much needed in this country. At present, he is visiting friends in New England, but is expected to resume his pastoral labors in New York ere long.

Just before his departure from London, a public meeting was held to present him with an address and token of sympathy. The following is the address presented on the occasion to Dr. Cheever by Lord Shaftsbury:—

To the Rev. G. B. Cheever, D. D., Pastor of the Church of the Puritans, New York:

Rev. and Dear Sir,—A number of English gentlemen desire to show their sympathy with the friends of freedom in America, by testifying to yourself their high sense of the services you have rendered to the cause of humanity. For more than a quarter of a century, you have with admirable consistency, both by speech and writing, maintained the inalienable right of every being to his personal liberty; and in the face of an opposition which few would have had the firmness to withstand, you have boldly proclaimed it to be a crime to reduce any man to the condition of a chattel.

Your published works, "*God against Slavery*," and the "*Crime of Slavery*," are eminently distinguished by learning and zeal, directed by the purest Christian morality, and will, we doubt not, endure to future generations in this country, and in your own, as an irrefragable defence of freedom. We desire that in leaving our shore you should bear with you some testimony of our admiration for the high qualities both of head and heart which you have displayed, no less in advocating the rights of the oppressed, than in enduring with Christian forbearance and meekness the unrelenting hostility which your efforts on behalf of the enslaved have excited. We therefore beg your acceptance of this piece of plate, on which you will find engraven some names not unknown to the friends of the oppressed, with this copy of the works of Lord Erskine, the great constitutional lawyer, and advocate of personal liberty; and this sum of money, which we know will be expended to promote the cause of human freedom. We take leave of you with fervent wishes for your health and success, and on behalf of the subscribers we append our names.

Shaftesbury, Chairman.
S. Morley, Treasurer.
M. A. Garvey, Hon. Sec.

The piece of plate presented was a silver salver, weighing eighty-four ounces—very handsome, as a personal inspection enables us to testify. It bears the following inscription:—

Presented to the Rev. G. B. Cheever, D. D., Pastor of the Church of the Puritans, New York, in token of the honor in which he is held by British Christians, and of their sympathy with him in the noble and consistent course he has pursued in exhibiting slaveholding as a sin against God, and a violation of the first rights of humanity.

Right Honorable the Earl of Shaftesbury, Chairman.

Right Hon. Lord Kinnaird, Edward Baines, Esq., M. P., Edward Ball, Esq., M. P., Rev. Thomas Binney, Rev. William Brock, Charles Buxton, Esq., M. P., T. M. Coombs, Esq., Sir Charles Decimus Crosley, Rev. Robert Ferguson, L. L. D., Robert Hanbury, Esq., M. P., Rev. Thomas James, James Kershaw, Esq., M. P., Hon. Arthur Kinnaird, Esq., M. P., Robert Lush, Esq., Q. C., Charles Edward Mudie, Esq., Rev. James Sherman, Rev. John Stoughton, Edward Swaine, Esq., Rev. James H. Wilson, Joshua Wilson, Esq., Samuel Morley, Esq., Treasurer, M. A. Garvey, Esq., Honorable Secretary.

☞ Slavery is consolidated anarchy. To "conquer a peace," we must abolish slavery. To defeat the South, without abolishing slavery, would not be to conquer a peace, but to perpetuate insurrection. It is folly to think of saving a city by confining the fire to a certain number of blocks. No matter how many firemen you may keep employed, there will still be danger of a conflagration. The only wise way is to *put out the fire*. Now, as no one denies that slavery is the cause, and the sole cause of the war, as it has been the sole cause of all the quarrels between the North and South, why not put it out of existence, once for all, and thus establish a perpetual peace?—*Erie True American.*

HOW THE "CONTRABANDS" RUN.

That the slaves know what is going on is very clear from the reports that reach us from all quarters of the South. The Washington *Intelligencer* publishes the following statement from a correspondent in St. Mary's county, Maryland, dated August 15:—

"There is quite a rush to our shore of the blacks from Virginia. On Tuesday morning last a bateau, in which were ten likely negroes, was stranded on Cornfield Point. They got safe to land, and were taken up by the neighborhood patrol, and last night, I believe, they were taken back to Virginia. Virginia, who was so sensitive about losing a single fugitive slave that she joined in this unnatural rebellious war, is now having her negroes escaping by hundreds."

A correspondent of the Springfield (Mass.) *Republican* writes from Washington:—

"Finally, our informant reports the conduct of the slaves brought into communion with our army as excellent. Wherever opportunity has offered, they have deserted *en masse*, and have rendered valuable service as spies, and no one instance is known of their having proved faithless to their trust; it mattered little whether their owners were Union men or secessionists; they all quit service as soon as an opportunity offered. A Union man in the vicinity of Alexandria, whose property has been protected by the army, came into camp one day with a statement that it was of no use to try to keep any 'niggers' in the vicinity of the army. 'Even old aunt Elsie,' said he, 'who is over seventy years old, who has nursed me and my children, and who neither does nor can work longer—even she left me this morning.'"

The Providence correspondent of the New Bedford *Mercury* gives the following:—

"Wade Hampton is said to have gone to battle attended by a favorite slave. Reynolds is attended by an African likewise—a huge, double-fisted, brawny Ethiopian stevedore, known by the familiar cognomen of Jim Reeder. Wherever is seen the form of the captain, there also looms the dark outline of the still darker and redoubtable Jim. A story is related of this African, which is too good to be lost. When the 1st regiment went, Reeder went as servant to Reynolds, then a lieutenant. As the steamer neared the Virginia shore, going round Cape Charles, a wag asked Jim to show his free papers. The features of the swarthy Hannibal settled into an unconquerable, stubborn expression, as the huge knotted hands went into the secret depths of his regimentals and flashed out, quick as lightning, grasping like death a brace of ugly revolvers. 'Massa, dem's my papers.' The wag was demolished."

A correspondent of the Milwaukee (Wis.) *Sentinel*, writing from Baltimore, says:—

"While tarrying here, a little incident occurred, occasioning some excitement. A poor specimen of humanity belonging to company C, went down town and brought up a policeman to arrest some fugitive slaves, which he alleged had been stolen by men of the regiment. His object seemed to be to re-enslave a poor fellow who had run away from Virginia, and after securing his liberty, had been employed as a servant in company C; but his machinations failed, as the policemen were unable to find that or any other negro. A storm of hisses greeted the fellow who had made this attempt at re-enslaving a negro, as the majority of the men of the regiment wished it to be understood that they did not go South, either to steal or hunt negroes."

Per Contra.

The Frederick (Md.) *Examiner* of the 21st inst., contains the following:—

"One day last week, a gentleman of Urbana district visited the camp of General Banks at Sandy Hook, in pursuit of a fugitive slave, who was believed to have sought concealment there. The gentleman met a courteous reception, and every facility to prosecute his object was afforded him. At length his search proved successful, and he was permitted, without hindrance or molestation, to reclaim the fugitive and take him back to his master."

The Baltimore *Clipper* of August 22, says:—

"On Tuesday night, Capt. Nones, of the cutter Forward, now anchored off Fort Carroll, captured two negroes in a canoe, who were endeavoring to escape from their masters. One of the negroes belongs to Mr. Dunnock, on Wiggins's Neck, and the other to Samuel Knign, of the same place. The negroes were placed on board of the cutter, and will be returned to their masters as soon as circumstances will permit."

Fear of Insurrections. The North Carolina troops have been ordered from Virginia, it is reported, to guard against insurrections at home. Yet Southern papers tell us that there is no danger, and that the slaves, to a man, will fight for their masters. A dispatch to the New York *Times* has the following on the subject of insurrections:—

"It will be generally recollected that, shortly after the election in 1856, the Tennessee papers gave accounts of threatened insurrection among the slaves of a portion of the State, and that the insurrection was induced by the supposition, prevalent among the blacks, that Fremont was coming up the river, backed by a large army, for the purpose of liberating all the slaves. The exact details of this insurrectionary movement were never fully published, but it is known that many slaves were tried and found guilty, some being executed and others sent farther South. From well authenticated sources, it is ascertained that the superstition of 1856 has been revived; that the presence of Fremont at the head of the Western forces is already known to the negroes, and that his re-appearance is hailed as a precursor of their liberation. This feeling has spread rapidly within the last month, and it is attracting great attention and exciting much alarm among the rebels. My informant assures me that if once the name of Fremont is connected with any victory over the rebels, or that he is known to be in the State of Tennessee or Mississippi, the negroes will at once rise in rebellion. It is said that the fear of this danger at their thresholds induced the rebels to take the offensive in Missouri, and to keep the battle-field as far as possible from the eager and watching negroes."

Gen. Lane and Slavery. Gen. Lane answered at Leavenworth on the 15th ult., and in an address to the citizens, said,—

"Kansas has a glorious reputation; it must be sustained. We will not refrain from marching Union armies into slave States for fear of injuring their institution. He was the last man in the world to catch slaves for traitors. The institution of slavery will perish with the march of the Union army, and thank God it is so! He wouldn't march into Missouri or Arkansas to destroy slavery, but he wouldn't object to seeing a Union army marching in, and an army of slaves marching out. If slavery perishes, the fault is with its friends. We have to choose between our government and a military despotism based on slavery."

The U. S. Marshals and the Slave Trade. It will be remembered that the United States Marshals of all the Districts embracing ports of entry in the loyal States met at New York, a few days since, to devise more effectual measures for the suppression of the African slave trade, so far as the fitting out of slavers at ports under their jurisdiction is concerned. The New York *Herald* says that the scheme adopted by them will necessarily not be made public, but it is understood to be such as will, in a very short time, put a complete extinguisher upon this nefarious and inhuman traffic—at least, so far as the citizens of our own country are concerned.

These officers have entered upon the subject with great zeal and determination, and should they realize their expectations, they will deserve the praise and thanks of the whole country, indeed, of the civilized world. The general system which they have adopted for their operations is of the most ingenious character, and those parties who have been engaged in the fitting out of vessels, and secretly carrying on an extensive trade and amassing large fortunes almost with impunity, will now find that their occupation is gone.

The most complete system has been instituted, and if properly carried out, it will not be long before some important arrests will be made. Men worth their hundreds of thousands in the Northern cities are to-day secretly coöperating with notorious characters engaged in the slave traffic, and some bright morning they will be suddenly aroused from their quiet slumbers by a gentle tap at the door of their elegant mansion, by one of these guardians of the public, communicating intelligence which will probably bring them to a sense of their danger.

A NATIONAL FAST.

To the Editor of the New York Tribune:

Sir,—As President Lincoln has proclaimed a National Fast Day, it would be well to search the Book of Instruction to find out what kind of fast will be acceptable to the Lord. See fifty-eighth chapter of Isaiah, and sixth verse particularly:

"Is not this the fast that I have chosen? to loose the bands of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens, and to let the oppressed go free, and that ye break every yoke?"

Are we prepared for such a fast? N. T. V.

☞ The Cincinnati *Gazette* of the 2d ult. says:—"The colored people of this city celebrated the twenty-seventh anniversary of West India Emancipation yesterday. In the morning, a meeting of the colored Sabbath schools was held in Zion's Church, at which appropriate addresses were made by several persons. In the afternoon, addresses were delivered at Allen Chapel by Rev. H. H. White, Rev. Rufus Conrad, and Mr. John P. Sampson; and in the evening, service was held in the Baker Street Church, Rev. G. Graham officiating."

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The United States Constitution is "a covenant with death, and an agreement with hell."

☞ "What order of men under the most absolute of monarchies, or the most aristocratic of republics, was ever invested with such an odious and unjust privilege as that of the separate and exclusive representation of less than half a million owners of slaves, in the Hall of this House, in the chair of the Senate, and in the Presidential mansion? This investment of power in the owners of one species of property concentrated in the highest authorities of the nation, and disseminated through thirteen of the twenty-six States of the Union, constitutes a privileged order of men in the community, more adverse to the rights of all, and more pernicious to the interests of the whole, than any order of nobility ever known. To call government thus constituted a Democracy is to insult the understanding of mankind. . . . It is doubly tainted with the infection of riches and of slavery. There is no name in the language of national jurisprudence that can define it—no model in the records of ancient history, or in the political theories of Aristotle, with which it can be likened. It was introduced into the Constitution of the United States by an equivocation—a representation of property under the name of persons. Little did the members of the Convention from the Free States imagine or foresee what a sacrifice to Moloch was hidden under the mask of this concession."—JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor. | Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind. | J. B. YERRINTON & SON, Printers.

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Refuge of Oppression.

GOVERNMENT INGRATITUDE TO THE IRISH.

It is in the essence of government to be impartial to those that live under it. Being paternal by nature, and receiving existence for the achievement of the common good, it can never, with justice, draw a line of demarcation between its citizens. All that are under its sway have an equal right to its protection, to its benevolence, to its patronage. In return, it has an equal claim on the loyalty of the people. A partial State power is a tyrannous one, and open disaffection to it, in the classes injured, is both a natural consequence and very legitimate hostility. A government without strict impartial justice has no right to obedience, and we hope we shall never see such a system of rule *entirely* submitted to.

The present Administration at Washington has more than one blotch on it for partiality. It is by no means entitled to *all* our support. The slave principles of the men constituting it are, beyond all contradiction, a great deal of the cause of our actual troubles. It cannot be denied that they *were* uncompromising Abolitionists, and that their elevation to power has been much of the direct practical cause of the unfortunate act of disunion. A legitimate dread of *partial* government, from Lincoln's Cabinet, has been a formidable agent in secession. If that magistrate had not been elected, the country would not now be disrupted. Himself and his ministers were always partizans.

When the war commenced, the Administration assumed a national air, which had the effect of *uniting* in its support the whole North. The native and the emigrant, the Whig, the Democrat, and the Abolitionist—all flocked together, then, like true patriots, around the pillars of the Constitution. The Government cast off—or appeared to cast off—every tincture of partizanship; and the people became one in sentiment to preserve the nation. No one will deny that the foreign citizens have shown themselves to be splendidly animated with this just and necessary principle of unity. They constitute more than five out of eight of the national army. Had they not enlisted, impressment could not be avoided. But they forgot not their oaths of citizenship; and when a *national* proclamation to take up arms was issued, they went in tens of thousands to the recruiting depots. Germans and Irish—our principal foreign citizens—immediately answered that call. But the Irishmen responded to it with amazing force. In the State of Pennsylvania alone, upwards of fifteen thousand of them patriotically obeyed the summons. *Ex uno disce omnes.* And all the Administration papers threw out baits for the Irish to enlist. Journals that had often before shamefully reviled them for misfortunes they could not help, and by misrepresentations no man of honor would think of, basely turned round when Sumter fell, and flattered, with fulsome rhetoric, every feature in their national vanity. This was done in Boston, in Philadelphia, in New York—in every city in the North. But there was no necessity for the unprincipled subterfuge, and it did not succeed; Irish military spirit and loyalty to the country of their adoption are not the effect of the venal praise of newspapers. The two principles belong, in the largest measure, to themselves. The Administration papers did not induce a single Irish enlistment. If there were no papers in the country, that people would have answered the President's proclamation; and when they answered it, they did so from their own nature and judgment. The importance of their reponse appeared at the battle of Manassas. It was evident in the extravagant flattery employed to cajole them into the army. And it appears now, in the common acknowledgment of the country, that the Irish element is decidedly the best in the national forces. If the Irish had not enlisted, how would the army have been made up? If the 69th had not been at Manassas, what would have been the result of the day? If the Irish should now withdraw from the war, how would the war be carried on?—how could the rebellion be ever suppressed? We shall wait for answers to these questions, but we fear we must wait for a long time. The whole fact is—without Irish soldiers, the war cannot be well carried on.

From these numerous facts, it is plain that the Administration at Washington should not treat our Irish fellow-citizens in an exclusive manner—in a partial way—by a rule exhibitive of decided preference for other people; that they should receive a fair amount of the public patronage. Such, however, is far from being the case. *On the 29th of July, by a single order from the Secretary of the Navy, fifty Irishmen were dismissed from the single Navy Yard of Charlestown, because they were foreigners, and their places given to an equal number of fanatic Abolitionists.*

We submit that this is a degenerate act. Had it been perpetrated at any other time, we might pass it over; but doing it at the moment in which the Irish element is the most important feature in our army, is committing an enormous violation of decency. It is an act of deep ingratitude to the Irish themselves, and a grievous outrage on the common sentiment of the whole North. But Lincoln and his Cabinet were always partisans. True national men *they* can never be. Our satisfaction is, that they will not be always in office; and that it was not their influence or character, but the dangers which threatened the Constitution, that made the North unite, and the Irish to enlist.

In the meantime, there ought to be a public meeting in Boston, on this shameful partizan act. *It is an act that insults the common Union sentiment* of the Northern States. The community especially outraged by it, is under an obligation to make a spirited protest. Faneuil Hall can be easily obtained—if not, some other hall may be. Boston and Charlestown owe it to themselves, and to the country, to show the Administration that it is not the season for Know-nothing partizanship to be brought into operation. Partizan governments deserve no support, and the sooner their day is ended the better. Oh! that America were never infested by mere politicians!—*Boston Pilot.*

DRIVE THEM OUT.

The New Orleans *Delta* of the 13th rejoice over the contemplated expulsion of citizens of the United States "from the Confederated States." The law, it states, is, and the fact is confirmed from other sources, that all owing citizenship to this Government are to be banished from the Confederated States. The *Delta* advises the worst, and says:—

"We cannot afford to tolerate enemies in our midst, because, forsooth, they may have the discretion to keep silent, and to hear no arms in their hands. The man of Massachusetts, or the man of Kentucky, living, and perhaps thriving in our midst, has no business at this time to be among us, if he allows a reasonable suspicion to exist that he is not also cordially with us."

Selections.

DONE CANNOT BE UNDONE.

To the Editor of the Bradford (Eng.) Advertiser:

SIR,—When the great moral institution of Slavery is trembling in the balance, it is impossible to be writing on those subjects of local and limited interest, which, of whatever importance to some, must for the moment give way. Everything in its season; apples in apple-harvest, and potatoes in potato time. It may not be much that can be done, but it may be something. Some gasping soul may receive a hint that there are other interests in the world besides keeping the negro to slavery in the cotton-field; and the effect may be felt, as has been said of a drop of water at London Bridge, though oceans roll between.

It is impossible to deny that, on this occasion, the English government and public have made a humbling spectacle. Various causes have concurred. The true, real, and almost only honest and heart-felt enemies of slavery,—who were the Society of Friends,—have been in some sort put out of the field, by a question of war being involved. They did not object to slavery in the West Indian Islands being put down by Act of Parliament, because they saw no probability of troops being called to march; but they cannot be expected to enter on the question of whether the American government should move upon rebellion by declaring slavery non-existent, or confine itself to the defence of Washington.

These, then, are estimable friends prevented by circumstances from showing themselves in line. And in aid of this misfortune, come two grand frauds. One, the fraud of those who stand on the distinction between slavery and the slave trade: giving up the last because they cannot help it; and doing their best to befriend the other. And the way they do it is by calling it a "domestic institution,"—and Heaven forefend we should touch anybody's "domestic institution"! As if Holy Writ did not tell of "domestic institutions," or which, at all events, were attempted to be thrust into honest men's houses! Or as if highwaymanhood and foot-padry were not domestic institutions, in the families that live by them! It is of a piece with those early counsels, which denounced negro liberty in St. Domingo as an "unexampled nuisance."

The second engine of deception, arising in some, no doubt, from ignorance of the steps by which a national mind is brought to the sticking point, is that which throws cold water on any display of interest by the English public, by representing that the American government and people have not, up to the day when the last mail left, made any unanimous and point-blank declaration of their hostility to slavery. As if you English did anything of the kind at once! As if it was not honest men struggling against odds here, as honest men are struggling in America, cultivating every opening for good, and nursing every chance of increased adherence to their cause, instead of ducking it in the cold water bath of grumbling that it is not more! In aid of these come the "nameless horrors" alarmists, whose foolish and indecent outcry, it is hoped, will be replied to by a demand for the abolition of slavery from the women of the South, in the first portion of country which is freed from the oppression of force. The heart knows its own bitterness; and *their* hearts no doubt know theirs, if they had power to tell it.

The upshot is, that, in one way or another, the Anti-Slavery party in England is in bad hands. The enemy is in their staff and head-quarters, and American friends must make allowance for it. To such of these as will give a hearing to a voice from the old country, the real English Anti-Slavery men would say, "Either go a sensible way to work, or let it all alone. But do not make what the Hindoos call 'monkey business.' Every man who knows anything of East-Indian war, knows that an army of 10,000 whites cannot stir a step without 40,000 natives, military and non-military, to assist. The necessity springs from climate, and is everywhere the same. Stay-at-home people have strange ideas about the 'luxuries of the East;' but they may depend on it, no man gets more of these than what keeps him on his legs. The rebel party has the natives now, and sets them to make entrenchments you are expected to run against. *These aids might just as well be yours, if common sense is common enough in America to ask for it.* Be persuaded, this fishing for the enemy's fortified positions to run against,—as the French officer said of the cavalry charge at Balaclava,—'may be very fine, but it is not war.' Your generals cannot help knowing this, but their souls are not their own. They are overborne by wolves in sheep's clothing. It would be highly immoral to secure a native army and followers, for service in the Southern States; it is highly moral to turn the same resources over to the enemy, that he may build batteries to run your children's heads against! All this cannot go on; it is too contrary to the current of human sense and feelings. It is not likely that anything said here can contribute much to the conclusion. But there is an English interest in removing the impression, that there is nobody in the old country who knows more about the matter than those who appropriate the title of Economist. The notion of campaigning in the Southern States without three or four black men to one white,—and, still more, of keeping four millions of black allies at arm's length, and sending them to work in the enemy's trenches,—is too childish to be entertained by anybody of man's estate. But take your choice; this is a world of trial. Give up your sons to slaughter, that slave-auctioneers may still handle female flesh as carcase-butchers grope horned cattle by the stern, to see how they are off for fat. Sell out your good Pennsylvanias, to pay these men for making war upon you, and rebelling against your government! Perhaps if you make haste, they will take off ten per cent. Do all this if you like, and comfort yourselves that you have saved a 'domestic institution.' But do not retire to bed under the idea that Anti-Slavery men in England counselled it."

Since "done cannot be undone," the only thing is to try to do better. The advice is as old as the hills, that "if we had done everything we ought to do, and had been unfortunate, there might be reason for depression; but if we have done everything we ought not to do, and left undone everything we ought to do, there may be lively hope that, on doing better, things will mend." There must be no more fighting without a cause; and having a cause which would open every lock before them, if they choose to use it, they must not, like John Bunyan's pilgrims, "lie in a stinking dungeon, with the key called Promise in" their pocket. And when they fight, it must be with a plan connected with this cause. There must be no more of the battling of kites and crows, which consists in every one scratching where scratch can. Their generals, too, must contrive not to give them such good escape backwards. It is nothing but what took place with the first French armies under Dumourier; and it was not many weeks before the thing was mended. Dumourier, like a gallant soldier, instead of grumbling, wrote to the Convention, "*Tout est repare.*" In the meantime, a good deal is to be done by leading; there is no use in being ill-humored because a young horse shies. Make much of him, and bring him up again; and by-and-by he will go through fire and water. There must be an end, by the way, of the childish dread of cavalry. Cavalry has its uses, and one use is to assist in opposing the movements of a hostile cavalry. But the first discovery of the democratic soldier, in all ages, has been that cavalry is no match for infantry that have their wits about them. The Roman legion, the Macedonian phalanx, the English archers, the Swiss pikemen, the German, Swedish and French musketeers, though feebly armed in comparison with modern improvements, all desired no better than that cavalry would be unwise enough to throw themselves upon their ranks. A few hundred French grenadiers, with a field-piece or two, would hold their own against all the Mamelukes in the world. But then the men were disciplined; they were a military machine. Not that cavalry, either, is without its uses; and there can be no ignorance on this head. The United States dragoons must have had considerable experience. As regards volunteer forces, an officer of dragoons in India, an American by birth, and who is understood to have afterwards gone into the American service, used to celebrate as splendidly mounted, a corps of volunteer cavalry formed by the butchers of New York. To a certainty, he knew what mounting was; and if he is still in serviceable order, he might give information on the ways of using native followers and campaigning in hot countries. His name was Robinson of the 17th; and if he is to the fore, I beg my remembrances, and the sooner he is a major-general, the better.

Yours, sincerely,
T. PERRONET THOMPSON.
Eliot Vale, Blackheath, Aug. 29, 1861.

IN FOR A FINAL SETTLEMENT.

Advices begin to come, indicating more or less of discomfiture on the part of the rebels, and more or less of increasing strength and success on the part of the Federal Government. Such a turn of the tide was to be expected. If it has not already fairly begun, there is good reason for believing it near at hand. This change, even though it be for the better, has its danger as well as promise. It may lead to premature anxiety, not to say premature movements, looking to too speedy and too hasty adjustment of affairs, before the best end and the most desirable end is fairly and squarely reached.

It can hardly be pretended that the contest now is for the limited purpose for which it was begun on our side. Then, very properly, that purpose was confined simply to holding the positions still retained by the Government, and retaking those stolen by treachery, or captured by force and treachery combined. As the contest has proceeded, the aspect of things has altered very decidedly. The formidable character, the immense audacity, and the ulterior designs of the long-concerted and widely-spread treason have become more evident; and of consequence the peril to the nation, and the necessity for an exertion of the whole of the nation's strength and resources to annihilate this treason, have been made every day clearer. The do-nothing policy of the previous administration, and the wise forbearance and conciliatory temper of the present, at the outset and until the rebellion was meanly guilty of murderous overt acts, were hardly objected to by the people, desirous of peace, at any cost, save the loss of honor and all that makes peace worth having. But the opposing parties do not stand to-day where they stood a year or six months ago. The patience of the loyal people, on the one hand, and the desperate madness of the insurgent leaders on the other, growing more daring by a misapprehension of that patience, have brought the country to a crisis most momentous in itself and in its consequences.

The people, true to the republic, find themselves summoned to consecrate everything to its defence and preservation. They are called upon for men and treasures, for sacrifices of business and of the prosperity of peaceful times, to an extent which no foreign war would have required. Everything has given way and is subservient to the exigency of the hour,—to the conduct of the great contest which is to decide what power, or rather what principle, shall rule over this land.

Now, by as much as the endeavor has been to avoid, ward off, and postpone this contest, by just so much, since it has come upon us, should it be waged to a finality in the way of settlement. Virtually we are undergoing a second revolution, fighting another battle for freedom. The references and appeals made to the spirit of '76 have not been meaningless—they are instinctive perceptions of the truth of the case. We are in arms against the only remaining foe to a republican government—no less a foe because of domestic origin. We are meeting to-day, on the battle-field, the wily enemy of the country we have been trying in vain to bribe into friendliness, by concessions and compromises, which he accepted only until he believed himself strong enough to throw off the mask and spurn them. To confront him, and insure a victory over his despotic machinations, has cost, already, a heavy draft upon our resources. Summoned—against our wishes—to pay this great price for freedom, but ready to pay it, and a thousand times more, if need be, it behooves us to be sure that we gain all we contend for, and that we cut our way with the sword to a final adjustment.

Everybody must see that it would be as impolitic and unwise, as it would be cowardly trifling with sacred interests, to pause now for any half-way negotiations, any patched-up and temporary treaties. The Slave Power, as a political power, must now be buried past all hope of resurrection. It has carried on its selfish and exacting intrigues long enough; and since it has insanely invited the death-blow, it should have it up to the hilt. Then, also, now is the day to make the grossly deceived South know, understand and respect the people of the free States for just what they are; and to learn the secret of their prosperity. It has come to be a necessity that the North must vindicate its libelled character at the cannon's mouth. Let not the cannon cease to speak until the necessity is fully met.

In a word—leaving the peculiar institution to take care of itself as it best may, as a local institution, except as military exigences may be compelled to interfere with it—the hour is here for a final determination that these States shall be united under a strictly republican form of government, in spirit as well as in the letter, that the Constitution shall be construed in favor of freedom, and that under such construction freemen shall be undisturbed and unvexed in the building up and management of a pioneer nation of the Christian civilization of the future. The hour is here for this work. Let it be met, and let its high behests be obeyed. Let the putting down of the rebellion be so entire that the result shall inaugurate, beyond the power of any faction or section to hereafter endanger them, those broad, generous, humane principles—the liberty and equality secured by just laws, which can alone meet the requirements of the age, and secure for this country its glorious destiny.—*Boston Transcript.*

THE BEGINNING OF THE END.

We run no risk in stating that, in decreeing the emancipation of the slaves owned by rebels in the State of Missouri, General Fremont has neither, on the one hand, relied upon the recent Act of Congress relating to confiscation, nor, on the other, exceeded the proper limits of his authority as General commanding. Under his proclamation of martial law, all State and municipal laws were at once suspended, and he, as commanding General, was practically invested with dictatorial powers over persons and property, for the just use of which powers he tacitly undertook to render account when martial law ceased to exist in his Department.

The direct consequences of his decree, so far as slavery in Missouri is concerned, cannot be of much importance. Missouri does not contain 125,000 slaves, and of these considerably more than one half are believed to be held by loyal men. Moreover, under the terms of Fremont's proclamation, no slave can be emancipated until it is proved that his owner has been actually in arms, or laboring actively in aid of those who are in arms against the Government: a large number of slaves may thus be defrauded of emancipation through the want of evidence to establish the treason of their masters. It is doubtful whether 25,000 human beings will exchange slavery for freedom under the proclamation of Gen. Fremont.

But its moral effect must be signal. It is a solemn warning to the inhabitants of the rebel States, that wherever the armies of the United States are resisted in the interests of slavery, the cause of the resistance will be removed. It is a pregnant hint that the rebels who have falsely accused us of being Abolitionists may, if they choose, make their accusation true. It is a notification to Kentucky, which seems to be on the eve of explosion, that open treason will necessarily involve the extirpation of slavery. This rebellion has more than once recalled the old adage, "Those whom the gods wish to destroy, they first render mad": we shall now see how far the madness extends. The cost of rebellion is abolition. Those who choose may purchase.

Another important result of General Fremont's proclamation has been the discovery of the fact that the people of the North are much more solidly united on the question of slavery than was imagined. It had been generally supposed that the first utterance of the cry of emancipation would divide the North into two hostile camps. How this strange delusion came to be entertained, it is difficult to discover; the least reflection should have satisfied every one that it was impossible to build up at the North a party based on protection to slavery anywhere. But, however the notion originated, there is no doubt it did exist, and that leading men and journals in the confidence of the Administration were so thoroughly imbued with it, that they indignantly repudiated the imputation of being friendly to freedom under any circumstances. It seems, from the temper in which the public receive General Fremont's proclamation, that they are not so tender on the subject. They seem very well satisfied with the prospect. We hear no complaints, no lamentations over the downfall of slavery in Missouri. The respectable Democrats of this part of the country express themselves rather pleased than otherwise. Of course, it must be expected that the lottery-policy dealers and the profligate vagabonds who pretend to represent the Democracy in convention will testify their sorrow at the event, as they will do at every success of the national arms: but neither in this nor in any other particular do they express the sense of the rank and file of the Democracy.

What people want now is decided, startling, effective successes on the part of the United States. If these are achieved, no one will complain of what they may cost. Our Generals may emancipate every slave in the country, and lay waste every field from the Potomac to the Rio Grande—the people will sustain them, provided they crush out the enemy and restore the supremacy of the Government. But there will be no mercy for the General who, for fear of breaking a law or dividing a party, suffers the rebels to progress from victory to victory, and the Stars and Stripes to endure defeat after defeat, and disgrace after disgrace.—*Harper's Weekly, Sept.* 14.

BUT ONE WAY OUT.

To our apprehension, God is fast closing every avenue to settled peace but by emancipation. And one of the most encouraging facts is that the eyes of the nation are becoming turned in that direction quite as rapidly as could have been anticipated. Some men of conservative antecedents, like Dickinson of New York, saw this necessity from the first. But it takes time to accustom a whole people to the thought, and to make them see the necessity. It was impossible for Northern men to fathom the spirit and the desperate exigencies of the slave system and its outbreak, and consequently to comprehend the desperate nature of the struggle. We were like a policeman endeavoring to arrest a boy-ruffian, and, for the sake of his friends and for old acquaintance sake, doing it with all possible tenderness for his person and his feelings—till all of a sudden he feels the grip on his throat and the dagger's point at his breast, and knows that it is a life-and-death grapple.

Slaveholding is simply *piracy continued.* Our people are beginning to spell out that short and easy lesson in the light of perjury, robbery, assassination, poisoning, and all the more than Algerine atrocities of this rebellion. It cannot require many more months of schooling like the last eight, to convince the dullest of us what are its essence and spirit.

Our people also are rapidly finding out that no peaceful termination of this war will be permitted now by the Slave Power, except by its thorough overthrow. The robber has thrown off the mask, and says now to the nation, "Your life or mine." Even the compromising Everett has boldly told the South, "To be let alone is not all you ask—but you demand a great deal more." And in his late oration he has most powerfully portrayed the impossibility of a peaceful disunion. Many men, some anti-slavery, were at first inclined to yield to the idea of a separation. But every day's experience is scattering that notion to the winds. The ferocious spirit exhibited from the first by the Secessionists towards all dissentients, the invasion of Western Virginia by Eastern, the threats to put down loyal Kentucky, the foray in Missouri, the plan for capturing Washington, which was part of the original scheme, are convincing proofs that if by any pacification whatever our troops were disbanded to-day, to-morrow a Southern army would be on the march for Washington, Philadelphia, New York, and perhaps Chicago.

The South has sufficiently declared the cause of this trouble to be the irreconcilable conflict between their institutions and the fundamental principles of this government. While the cause remains in full strength, and after it has once burst forth in bloody and final collision, nothing will ever check that strife, whether in or out of the Union. The cause must be eradicated. Meanwhile, our own position, both before the world and in our own struggle at home, is a false one, so long as we blink the real issue.

Many indications are hopeful. Gen. Butler's letter to the Secretary of War, and the Secretary's reply, look in the right direction. The Confiscation Act is pregnant with great consequences, and may yet be so used as to become an emancipation act in all the rebel States. It is high time it were so used. We have serious doubts whether the rebellion will ever be suppressed till that trenchant weapon is wielded. We reverently doubt whether the Lord means it shall be.

The quiet passage of the Confiscation Act was an immense step of governmental progress. Perhaps it was all that the nation as a whole and the government were ready for. It may answer as a keen wedge. But we trust that, in December, Congress will make a clean work by the full emancipation of all slaves in the rebel States, and by provision in some way for the speedy and certain extinction of slavery in the loyal States. To accomplish the latter event, we would ourselves willingly submit to any proper amount of pecuniary burden, provided it could be so arranged as not to recognize a right of property in man.—*Chicago Congregational Herald.*

MISSOURI.

No part of our country presents greater points of interest at the present time than Missouri. The recent proclamation of Gen. Fremont has turned all eyes in that direction. None condemn his declaration of martial law. It was not a day too soon. His warning that all traitors in arms within the military lines would be tried by court-martial, and if found guilty, shot, is the only mode of treating this piratical rebellion. None condemn him for this obvious, wise and humane decision. The personal and real property of rebels is pronounced confiscate. This is also approved by the loyal part of the country.

In the midst of this general approval, comes up a faint rumbling cry of dissatisfaction, because the slaves of rebels are declared to be FREE MEN. Why, in the name of our country, is this kind of property to be held more sacred than any other? Are they not laboring to raise provisions for the rebels? Are they not employed on their fortifications, and even in a military capacity? *No other "property" can be so important to the rebels.* Yet, we have some thin-skinned individuals who demur at this manifest duty of the bold mountaineer commander of our Western army. They want the same thing done, but they want it glossed over with "contraband of war," or some other circumlocution, which shall not say that they are free men. Nonsense! Gen. Fremont is not the man to become a slave-dealer or a slave-driver. This is a slave-driver's rebellion, and the "contraband of war" plea recognizes a kind of property in man as in horses and other chattels. Gen. Fremont will not stultify himself by admitting as right what these slave-drivers are fighting for. The moment he holds slave property more sacred than any other, he admits just what the rebels say, viz: that slave property should have the protecting care of the government above all other. But the "department of the west" is not involved in this stupid, timid—we had almost said—cowardly nonsense. ALL property of rebels is declared confiscate, and no civilized law, except that of States enjoying sovereignty by virtue of their loyalty, can recognize property in man. No power exists to sell or dispose of slaves by virtue of civilized military law, and they become, by virtue of the act of confiscation, absolutely, what Gen. Fremont declares them, FREE MEN. He has no power, by virtue of his office, to dispose of them otherwise. If he should sell them, he would deserve to be condemned with the barbarians who trade on the African coast. If he should compel them to labor without compensation, he would be scorned by the whole civilized world. He has done just what honesty, frankness, and a military necessity demanded—nothing more, nothing less. The country and the world will commend him for it, and he will add to his fame by being the first to boldly declare such entire confiscation.—*Chester County Times.*

AN EVENTFUL WEEK.

Our columns, to-day, bear witness that the past week has been fraught with grave and startling events, of more than usual national importance. The brilliant victory at Hatteras, achieved by our galland land and naval forces under the lead of Gen. Butler and Commodore Stringham, which has infused new life into our citizen soldiers, and additional lustre to our arms, securing for the Government a foothold in the rebel States of immense strategic and commercial value, and teaching the traitors the salutary and important lesson that their madness and folly are fast bringing upon their devoted land the terrible doom which the inexorable fiat of retributive justice, sooner or later, metes out to every people whose material prosperity or social position is based upon slavery,—the Proclamation by General Frémont, declaring Missouri under martial law, and offering freedom to the long-suffering, down-trodden slave, thus following in the footsteps of the Hero Jackson, and accepting the leadership of the grand and glorious emancipation movement, destined soon to be the controlling issue of the war, and the speediest method to accomplish a lasting and honorable cessation of internecine strife,—the uprising throughout Kentucky, North Carolina, and Tennessee, of the Union men, and their determination to aid the Federal Government in its attempt to crush out the traitors who have belied the true sentiment of the people, and, by fraud and violence, sought to drag down to the bottomless abyss of political and moral perdition three of the brightest stars in our national galaxy,—the disaffection, sickness, poverty, hunger and death, stalking hand in hand over the doomed and stricken South, and scourging it with terrific fury,—and last, not least, the cheating of the gallows by the death from disease of the arch-traitor and rebel, Jeff. Davis, who is reported, and with considerable probability, to have died at Richmond, Va., on Monday or Tuesday,—all unite to render the past few days epochs of unusual significance. [The report of the death of J. Davis proves erroneous.]

It was peculiarly fitting that Major General Benjamin F. Butler, of Massachusetts, should lead the expedition whose signal success has cast such refulgent glory upon our arms,—the man who, long before the Administration dared to grapple with the subject, with wonderful legal acuteness cut, with his sword, the Gordian knot of slavery, and, by a dash of his pen, showed to the world that it was not only possible to metamorphose slaves into freemen, without interfering with musty parchment deeds of wrong, or bringing down upon the barbaric masters the vengeance that long years of oppression had awakened in the hearts of their victims, but that it was the only practicable method of dealing with the question,—and it needed but this to prove to the country that the old Bay State only nurtures brave and loyal hearts, and that such a man as Butler, brought up under the shadow of Bunker Hill, and within view of Faneuil Hall, could not, when brought face to face with the giant wickedness of our country, prove false to the teachings of her past history, and turn traitor to the State wherein he had learned the duty and responsibilities of a free son of New England. It was right and just that the gallant standard-bearer of Liberty in 1856, the pioneer of civilization in other days across the desert wastes and beyond the rocky barrier of the western world; who planted in the El Dorado of the Pacific our starry banner, and in the name of the Union took possession of that virgin soil, teeming with inexhaustible treasure; who, but him, should unfold that emblem of deliverance upon the slave-cursed lands of the South, and rally around him the bravest and truest men of our country in this new crusade of Freedom?

All hail, then, to Butler and Fremont, the brave and loyal son of Massachusetts, and the gallant Pathfinder, who opens a way for Freedom into the benighted regions of our land, and who, with sword in hand, will press on, undaunted, until rebellion is crushed forever, and the chains shall be stricken from the limbs of four millions of American bondmen!—*Sandwich Advocate.*

SLAVEHOLDING UNIONISTS.

Much is said about a class of slaveholders who are supposed to be Unionists, and the policy of the Government, in its conduct of the war, is shaped very much with a view of conciliating them. For this reason, the fugitive slaves of Unionists are returned. For this reason, the Government hesitates to declare the fugitive slaves, held and employed by Gen. Butler as "contraband," free. For this reason, the Government permits, if it does not instruct, its generals to issue proclamations, declaring their readiness to put down insurrections of slaves, thus repelling from their standard hundreds of thousands of loyal men, who would be glad to fight the battles of their country!

But who are these slaveholding Unionists, and how many of them are they, for the sake of whose aid the aid of these hundreds of thousands are spurned?

Every slaveholder who desires to continue being a slaveholder—every slaveholder who desires the continuance of slavery—is either a *Secessionist*, or else he is a *Unionist conditionally*—the condition being that, in his opinion, slavery can be maintained more certainly *within* the Union than *outside* of it.

There is not, probably, a single exception to this rule. The slaveholder, wishing to retain slaves and to perpetuate slavery, holds slavery paramount to the Union, and will abandon the Union the very first moment that he thinks slavery can be better secured outside of the Union than inside of it. The policy of the Government, and of its generals, is evidently founded upon the supposition that this is so. They dare not do anything to disturb slavery, lest they should lose the coöperation of such *Unionists.*

The first question is, how much is the coöperation of *such* Unionists worth, if we could have never so many of them?

The second question is, how many such slaveholding Unionists have we in the country—and in a position to render us any assistance?

I. What is the loyalty worth that is conditioned on a national protection of slavery? The present condition of the country would seem to furnish an answer to that question. So long as the Government was but the servile tool of the slaveholders, affording them its pap and its protection of slavery, so long they remained "loyal," and no longer. Just so fast as they have given up the hope of a continuance of the old state of things, they have given up their allegiance to the Union.

The difference between a loyal and disloyal slaveholder is not a difference of principle or of character, but only a difference of calculations and of circumstances.

The probability is, that the country has more to fear from the treachery of Union slaveholders than from the open opposition of the Rebels.

II. How many of these slaveholding Unionists are there, who are in a condition to render us any assistance? We can count upon none, out of three or four border States. A thousand or two of such would, we think, be a large estimate. But what if they were ten, twenty, or thirty thousand? If unreliable, as we hold them to be, the more of them, the worse.

But allowing them to be reliable, and to number thirty or even forty thousand men, can we afford to offset these against ten times the number of stalwart, muscular negroes, inured to labor, to hard fare, to privation, and panting for freedom?

The able-bodied male slaves, capable of bearing arms, may be put down at 700,000. This estimate is based upon the *Evening Post's* estimate of the military capabilities of the State of New York, which has a population somewhat short of that of the slaves. But we will take the *Post's* statement of enrolled militia of the State of New York, namely, 400,000, which, it says, the State could spare for the army, without danger to the home defence. The slaves could as easily furnish us with the same number, as our readers are already aware.

For the sake of securing the help of 30,000 slaveholding Unionists, then, we repel the help of 400,000 slaves!

The proportion is as 30 to 400, or as 3 to 40, or as 1 to 13 1-3!

On what principle of military science, or of wise statesmanship, can we afford to do this?

What is it but servility, deep-seated, habitual, inveterate servility, that causes either the people or the Government to hold back, or to hesitate, for a moment, in a case so perfectly transparent?—*Principia.*

PLAIN TALK IN KENTUCKY.

This is the way Andrew Johnson talks to the people of Kentucky, in his recent speech at Newport, in that State:—

"Slavery was made the pretext to break up our glorious Union. There was no right violated, and never could be, if the people would abide by the Constitution. But, thank God! the *people* of the United States did not, do not, sanction this unholy rebellion. The leaders of it tell you here in Kentucky that slavery is in danger; but it is only a pretext to terrify you, and draw you into the yawning gulf of secession. I am a Southern man, sharing the prejudices of my section, and I am no Abolitionist, but I tell you, my fellow-countrymen, that secession has done more harm to-day than all the Abolitionists in the country put together since we were a nation. (Cheers.)

Men talk about their rights; will you go to the South to get them? Will you tell them in the South to come here and get them for you? (Cries of 'No! no!') Your distinguished representative in the United States Senate—I say distinguished, for I use terms of respect toward him, as I would toward any

other Secessionist—I labored hard for. I spent my money to print and circulate his speeches, and I stumped the State of Tennessee to elect him; but I stand here to-day to disavow those acts. I disown him. He deceived me. The fault was his; if he deceives me again, the fault will be mine. I desire to express my mind here, which I cannot do in Tennessee, from which I am an exile. John C. Breckinridge was not representing Kentucky when he was sent to the Senate by her people. He was helping to break up the United States. (Shouts of 'Down with the traitor!')

Talk has been made about compromise! But there is no sincerity in these talkers about compromise. What, compromise with traitors armed and with cannon pointed at your Capital! Treat with them indeed! If we cannot live with them as we have lived, think you we can live peaceably under a treaty? Never! Never!

I am an exile—a fugitive, not from but for justice, and my crime is my feeble efforts to support the Constitution; but if the people of Tennessee could speak to-day, an overwhelming majority of her people would shout for the Union! We want Kentucky, who fought with us side by side, at New Orleans, to come and do so again, and under the same flag for the same cause—Liberty. If you give us your help, the Stars and Stripes will float over every Court House in the State in a very brief period. (Cries of 'We will, we will!')"

LETTER FROM RICHARD D. WEBB.

DUBLIN, August 24, 1861.

To the Editor of the Anti-Slavery Standard:

After a pleasant and busy week spent in attending the meetings of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science, which has just concluded its sittings, I turn to the much less gratifying task of making some remarks on the report of the First of August celebration at Abington, which has just reached me in the columns of the *Anti-Slavery Standard*. The portions of the report to which I specially refer are, the letter which was read at the meeting from the Hon. N. H. Whiting, with whose name, as an Abolitionist, I have long been familiar, and the speech of Wendell Phillips. I assure you that, when I read the letter and the speech, I felt as if I had plunged my hand into a bunch of nettles, or like a child when his breath is taken away by a sudden dip in cold water. Not I alone, but all those whom I have long known as the ardent, indefatigable, zealous friends of the anti-slavery cause, the admiring and faithful friends of the Abolitionists since their claims to our affection and respect were first known to us, are utterly confounded to find ourselves regarded as *jealous, envious, ignorant, malignant, inexcusable, and hateful*, by the Hon. N. H. Whiting, who has no personal knowledge of us whatever; and by Wendell Phillips (who knows some of us at least, and whom we all greatly venerate,) as the citizens of three populous kingdoms (the homes of his own ancestors,) who are ready to perpetrate any meanness and any crime, any violence or any fraud, for the purpose of securing the friendship of the Confederate States, at the price even of the continued slavery of her four million of bondsmen and bondswomen.

When I ask the honorable men and honorable women with whom I have been so long united by the delightful ties of anti-slavery intimacy, what does [illegible] this mean, not one of them can tell me. It seems too ridiculous that, without any change on our part of conduct or feeling, we and all belonging to us, and the swarming millions of these two populous islands, should be set down as the basest and meanest of mankind, for no other reason that we can discover, except that our government have agreed to treat eight or nine million of your late "Southern brethren" as belligerents—that is, as people at war (which they are), and that they refuse to undertake the responsibility of treating them as pirates, in which case the American people and government (who like to pick a quarrel with us) would promptly protest against our intermeddling brutality.

Really and truly, I do not think that, since the world began, any instance has ever been known of a civilized nation showing such hearty readiness to turn against another on grounds so utterly frivolous. It would have been another matter if we had shown sympathy, or encouragement, or good will to the seceders. But nothing of the kind has been shown. They are simply regarded with disgust by as many as know anything about them. It has always seemed to me that you are continually exposed to be carried away by the tremendous onset of the tide of public opinion, which rolls on your side of the water, with a force of which we can form no adequate idea. Here there is such a diversity of ranks and classes, cliques and coteries—from the laborer on the land through all the gradations of artisans, tradesmen, shopkeepers, merchants, bankers, professional men, landholders and noblemen, up to the queen on her throne, (on which she very seldom sits,) and all these classes are so little influenced by the opinions and prejudices of any class but their own, that I suspect we have much more individual liberty of thought and action than is enjoyed by you, with all your republican privileges. You are the sovereign people, and when you are mastered by any sovereign impulse, you are all swept along by the tide. Up to the present time, it has always been felt by us who know you, that the Abolitionists alone have stood on their legs, maintained their own opinions and held on their own course, led by the Higher Law and the guiding light of their own heartfelt humane convictions. This present crisis has appeared to some of us too strong for some of you, and that you have been hurried by your national pride and patriotic enthusiasm into a vehemence of indignation against the slaveholders, which is the less accountable from those who knew them so well, than it is when manifested by their dupes and sycophants, the great majority of the Northern people. The hostile spirit manifested against us is the more extraordinary, as, beyond this verbal offence of calling the rebels belligerents, we have really been as quiet as lambs and as meek as mice, and have evinced a ridiculous anxiety to give you no offence whatever, if we could by any possibility keep from annoying you, and still hold the breath in our bodies. Why, there was Lord Brougham, so anxious to keep us all sitting pretty, with our hands folded before us, like four-year old pupils at a dame-school, that he declared he would use all his influence to keep us from holding any anti-slavery meetings, lest, perchance, you should be affronted. All this time you kept on returning fugitive slaves, sending home Southern prisoners on their parole of honor (!), and evincing a polite tenderness for rebel editors, a courtesy to seceding ladies, and a forbearance to traitorous office-holders at your seat of government that, we venture to think, was fully as deserving of the Hon. N. H. Whiting's uncomplimentary adjectives as our unpardonable crime in defining the rebels by a term which you yourselves fully recognize by all your behavior towards them. To you, O editor! I have no objection to make. Like a sensible man, you approved of my poor letters; and like another sensible man, I heartily endorsed your admirable leaders, and, accordingly, when you come to Dublin, I shall be very happy to make your acquaintance. As to the Hon. N. H. Whiting and Mr. Wendell Phillips, I shall have a crow to pluck with them, for I am sure they have judged us ungenerously and unjustly, and I hope to hear of their sitting on the stool of repentance.

R. D. WEBB.

THE HOUR AND THE MAN.

BY MRS. HARRIET BEECHER STOWE.

At last, a blow has been struck which finds an echo in the heart of a whole nation, and will find an echo in the hearts of the whole civilized world. The hour has come, and the man!

Fremont's proclamation has in it that genuine military ring, that martial directness, for which the heart of the people in disturbed times always longs. They long for the man without fear—whose sword divides all meshes of compromise, all fine-spun legal doubts and hesitancies—who is not afraid to take the responsibility of a thorough movement in a critical hour, and who does something splendid and decided, while the rest of the world are feebly and perplexedly making up their minds what to do.

Not often has the opportunity of so splendid a deed been given to any one mortal. To right wrong—to uphold law—to give liberty to the slave by one majestic declaration, is the privilege of one in centuries. Fremont has done it—and every heart through the nation leaps up at the news, as the human heart always leaps at what is grand and heroic.

It is true that we did welcome even the acute, lawyer-like subtlety, which, by naming the slave the contraband of war, took him ingeniously from the grasp of the oppressor. We forgave the fallacy of the figure for its benevolent ingenuity, and the heart of the North warmed toward Butler for using the fine weapons of legal diplomacy on the side of humanity. All honor to Butler—for while he stooped to call the slave a thing, it was that he might use him as a man. He used the very terms of the Southern law which had stripped the negro of human personality, and recorded him a chattel to build a fortress of protection around him, under whose shadow his human rights might be once more restored; and thousands of liberated slaves will bless the name of Butler to their latest day; and when he comes to a dying hour, we question whether all military glory will weigh so much in his eyes as the thought of the human beings he has restored to liberty and manhood. But it is the noble prerogative of the military chieftain to declare law without subtlety or explanation. Fremont does not call the slave contraband of war. That position, advantageous and ingenious in its day, is now abandoned for higher vantage-ground. Fremont does not even speak of the slave as property: the *property* of traitors he declares confiscated, their *slaves*, if they have any—free. There we have it, fair and square. Out goes his banner! down goes his glove! and if any one does not like it, let him try conclusions, sword with sword—that is all!

Earth shall not look on a sublimer sight than the army of the South and West, with freedom to the slave on its banner, as it shall roll majestically down the Mississippi, with the prayers of the oppressed rising like many waters for its success, and the songs of redeemed ones wakening like birds as it passes.

The hero of the golden gate, who opened the doors of that splendid new California world, has long been predestined in the traditions of the slave as their coming liberator. "Fremont and liberty" are words that have been coupled in many a song before now, and Fremont has made good the augury. So far as we have seen and heard, this proclamation has met that universal response which the world always accords to a fitting deed done in the fullness of time.

We longed for a bold step—we sighed for a victory—and we have got it!

It was something to take the shores of North Carolina. Well and gallantly was it done. But this proclamation is a greater victory than that; it will carry with it a swing and impulse—a moral force, which will be felt through all nations.

This will be a burning test of the sincerity of those in foreign lands who have said, All our sympathies are with this war when we shall see that it emancipates the slave. Let us see if it proves so. Let us see if they who carped at Butler, though he freed thousands, because he used the legal technics of the slave-law to do it, will now respond to the open trumpet-call of Fremont—declaring liberty at a breath to sixty thousand slaves!

Will they meet this great movement with generous sympathy or with unworthy detraction? To us, now, the question matters little—to them a great deal. It will show to all the world what manner of spirit they are of!

Let us pray that this heroic declaration of Fremont's find its echo in the Eastern army. We have freed a great many slaves, and got very little credit for it—we have freed them, as it were, under protest, by pretext, and by ingenious subtleties—now, let us free them martially, and with the high hand.

We have had a good lawyer for them, now let us have a good general. The heart of the nation longs to hear in the East just such a trumpet-call as we have heard from the West.—*New York Independent.*

FREMONT'S PROCLAMATION.

We regard the proclamation of Gen. Fremont, by which sixty thousand chattels are virtually converted into freemen, of greater importance than the capture of the forts at Hatteras. It will strengthen our cause incalculably in Missouri, and commensurately weaken that of the enemy, besides creating much sympathy in our favor with the European powers. It is cheering to see that many Union men, who are slaveholders, highly commend the action, and are heartily sustaining it, not only in Missouri but in other States also. This corroborates a fact which has long since become apparent to all who have closely observed this movement, that those who are true Union men in the slave States, are generally men who have little relish for the institution of slavery, though many of them are slaveholders. Indeed, this war having originated, as all men both North and South know it did originate, for the aggrandizement of slavery, it could not be otherwise than that those who were fast friends of the institution should array themselves on the side of the rebellion.

It seems hardly possible that the predictions of some few should be correct, who prophecy that the administration will disallow of the proclamation. It is hardly a supposable case that our government will throw away the advantage this measure affords it in Missouri, and by so doing *give aid and countenance* to the rebels, and perhaps surrender that State into the hands of the South. Should the same course be pursued in the States of Tennessee, Kentucky, North Carolina, Maryland and Virginia, it would save more blood and treasure than any other piece of policy which could be adopted, unless, perhaps, it might be that of liberating *all the slaves*, with the promise of remuneration to those loyal men who might lose on that account. Let either of these measures be adopted, and the troops of the Confederates could not be restrained in camp. All who own slave property would leave the army at once, to secure it.

It is to be hoped that this policy will, sooner or later, be adopted by the Government. In spite of the timidity of a few of our time-serving contemporaries, such a measure would receive a hearty response from all true patriots of the North, and would show a commendable fearlessness on the part of our Government, which would be honorable among men and commendable in the eyes of God, and would awaken a new enthusiasm in the breasts of many in favor of the war, who now fear that nothing is to be gained to the cause of freedom or the permanent peace of the country, so long as the blows are not aimed at the real aggressor—the institution of slavery.—*Dover Morning Star.*

APPROVAL OF FREMONT'S PROCLAMATION.

It has come. What? *The beginning of the end.* Read Fremont's proclamation, and ponder over the words, "The property, real and personal, of all persons in the State of Missouri who shall take up arms against the United States, and who shall be directly proven to have taken active part with their enemies in the field, is declared to be confiscated to the public use, *and their slaves, if any they have, are hereby declared free.*" This is the utterance of no act of Congress, but of *the war power*, of the power of self-preservation. Think of the vast consequences locked up in these few words. They say that the administration is prepared to take "the bull by the horns," and throw him, if necessary, to save the country. This is no empty decree of emancipation, but an enunciation backed by the energy and military force of Gen. Fremont, so far as the State of Missouri is concerned. But it is the stretched-out forefinger of the administration to the rebellious States. It is a warning to slaveholders that if they will make slavery the cause for destroying the government, the cause will be removed, and they shall "hold a barren sceptre in their grasp." It is one of the logical results to which Providence is fast bringing us by the exigencies of events. And, thank God! the people endorse it. All through the streets of conservative merchants, we hear, "That's it; that's the way to do it; we've got them on the hip now." It makes one's heart glad to see the unanimity with which this act of Fremont is endorsed by all classes. Even clergymen who have taken a "south-side view of slavery" endorse it. Old commentators who have lost their sight in poring over ancient *excursus* on "Cursed be Canaan," endorse it. Men who have prayed for years for the slave, saying, "O, Lord, *how* long!" thank God and take courage. The administration may go ahead; the people will stand by them if they emancipate every slave in the land, provided they finish up the war and maintain an undivided country. *Messieurs* rebels of the South, our next weapon is the formation of black regiments, wherewith to invade your sacred soil. Shall it be done? We know what it means, and so do you. We have counted the cost, and we will finish this war, if need be, by every weapon which God and nature place in our hands. Shall it be done? It is for you to say. May not our anti-slavery friends learn patience from this new illustration of the text, "Be still and see the salvation of the Lord?"—*Army correspondent of the Watchman and Reflector.*

PAINFUL RUMOR. It has been currently rumored here for some days past, (says the Columbia *Republican*,) that Mr. Paul Coleman, formerly a resident of Greenport, and more recently of Canaan, and well known to most of our citizens, was hung a few weeks since by the Rebels of Fairfax county, Virginia, where he has been living for some time past, for the crime of loyalty to the Constitution and the Union. Such is the murderous spirit of the South!

The Liberator.

No Union with Slaveholders!

BOSTON, FRIDAY, SEPT. 20, 1861.

THE GOVERNMENT SUBVERTING ITSELF.

Since the present civil war commenced by the traitors of the South, for the overthrow of the National Government and the subversion of all free institutions, nothing has transpired to give such heartfelt satisfaction and wide-spread enthusiasm as the Proclamation of Gen. Fremont, emancipating under martial law all the slaves belonging to the rebel slaveholders in Missouri. The act has been universally sustained by the press, without distinction of party—both the New York *Herald* and the Boston *Post* concurring in its necessity and importance. But, just as the public sentiment is reaching a white heat in its support, out comes a letter from President Lincoln to Gen. Fremont, virtually annulling the act aforesaid, by making it conform to the confiscation act adopted by Congress in August, which requires proof that slaves have been used to carry on the rebellion by their masters, before they can be set free! As if any other proof were needed, in such cases, than the fact that the slaves are held as property—that they cannot and do not act contrary to the wishes of those who exercise over them unlimited despotic power—and that it is all the same whether they are forced to dig trenches, raise embankments, construct barricades, bear arms, or work in the field to produce the food necessary to keep the rebels alive! To all intents and purposes, they are compelled to do all in their power in support of the bastard government of the Confederate States, and, consequently, to the overthrow of the National Government. An involuntary rebel slave, with his shovel and hoe, is almost as formidable as his rebel owner, with his sword and gun. Until he obtains his freedom under the national flag, he cannot be otherwise than a tool for the furtherance of the designs of the enemy. Hence, nothing more is needed to be known, to justify his transformation into a freeman, than that he belongs to a traitor. Instead, therefore, of President Lincoln attempting to annul or modify Gen. Fremont's wise, beneficent and masterly procedure in this respect, he is to be regarded as guilty of a serious dereliction of duty in not making it applicable to all the other slave States in revolt. Of his rightful power to do this, there is none so bold or foolish as to deny it. In his great speech in the U. S. House of Representatives in 1842, John Quincy Adams said, while treating upon the war power:—

"I lay this down as the law of nations. I say that the military authority takes, for the time, the place of all municipal institutions, slavery among the rest. Under that state of things, so far from its being true that the States where slavery exists have the exclusive management of the subject, not only the President of the United States, but the commander of the army, has power to order the universal emancipation of the slaves."

If, then, to preserve the government, in case of foreign invasion, "the universal emancipation of the slaves" may be proclaimed, "not only by the President of the United States, but by the commander of the army," how much more justifiably in case of a civil war, waged by the great body of the slaveholders themselves, for the most treasonable purpose!

We do not see how the act of Congress, referred to by the President, is applicable to the state of things in Missouri. It is clearly outside of martial law, which, being proclaimed by Gen. Fremont as a necessity in that State, takes precedence of that act,—not counteracting any of its provisions, but making it more stringent, in order that the rebellion may be put down, and the authority of the Government vindicated.

To all those who are wilfully blind, there are five propositions manifestly plain:—1. That slavery is the sole cause of the present struggle which rends asunder the nation. 2. That its extinction is essential to the triumph of the government, and the perpetuation of an all-embracing Union of the States. 3. That not to strike at its existence, boldly and uncompromisingly, is to play into the hands of the secessionists, and to give them "aid and comfort." 4. That, by striking an effectual blow in that direction, without delay, the war will be speedily terminated, and the root of national disunion extracted. Hence, 5. That, so long as the government refuses to do this, it is playing fast-and-loose with Southern treason and traitors—pulling down with one hand what it seeks to build up with the other—daubing with untempered mortar, attempting to draw out leviathan with a hook, and seeking to drain the ocean with a sieve. It is time for such folly and fatuity to end. Either the government must abolish slavery, or the independence of the Southern Confederacy must be recognized. A reunion upon the old basis is alike undesirable and impossible.

It is too early to know what will be the effect of this untimely and unwise interposition of the President; but that it will have a damaging effect upon the cause of the government, by depressing the moral sentiment and popular enthusiasm inspired by Gen. Fremont's proclamation, cannot be reasonably doubted. It may gratify the malignant prejudices of the base despisers and vulgar enemies of the colored race, but it will not in the slightest degree appease the spirit of treason in the land, whether veiled at the North, or half or wholly revealed at the South. It will serve to subvert rather than to sustain the government; it will needlessly prolong a fierce and sanguinary conflict, and add greatly to the number of the slain and the expenses of the war; it will discourage the true friends of freedom, and encourage its bitterest foes. Even the Baltimore *Patriot* has the manliness to say:—

"We have had enough of attempts to soothe, to conciliate, and compromise with traitors bearing arms in their bands; and *we know what we have suffered therefrom.* THEY MUST BE PUT DOWN. We rejoice at and heartily approve of Gen. Fremont's action."

And the Cincinnati *Commercial* significantly adds:—

"The men from whom we have heard the loudest praises of the Fremont proclamation are Democrats and Kentuckians. They say it is all right. *It don't free anybody's negroes but traitors; and are we to suppose that a General is to take care of an enemy's negroes for him? Gen. Fremont has simply refused to enter into the negro trade.* As the shortest way of managing contraband negroes, he turns them loose to shift for themselves. He don't undertake to sell them for the benefit of the United States, or to feed them at the expense of the government. If this is radical, it is a case of radical common sense."

Once more to quote John Quincy Adams:—

"If civil war come, if insurrection come, is this beleaguered capital, is this besieged government to see millions of its subjects in arms, and have no right to break the fetters which they are forging into swords? No! *The war power of the government can sweep this institution into the Gulf.*"

Well, the time has come when "civil war" rages, when "the capital is beleaguered" to its imminent peril by a legion of deadly foes, when the government is "besieged" for its utter overthrow by a piratical slave oligarchy; and yet neither the President nor the Commander-in-chief of the army is disposed to strike the only blow necessary to save the republic, and suppress a most desperate and bloody rebellion! Are they not deserving of impeachment?

Now see what is the temper of the traitors! Take the following item from the Richmond *Whig*:—

WON'T BE RECOGNIZED. It is thought that no exchange of prisoners may be effected without recognizing the Southern Confederacy. Cuss your recognition! We don't want it, and won't have it. You may hang away as fast as you please—we have a goodly number of Yankees here, who will grace the gallows as well as another! But don't distress yourself about recognition. We will recognize you with a vengeance on the banks of the Delaware and Hudson, before many moons have waned.

The New Orleans *Delta* says—"No mediation of any Power on earth will be entertained by the South, which looks to a reconstruction of the government as it existed on the 4th day of November last," and no scheme of any party or faction in the North "can ever again bring together the broken fragments of the once powerful United States." Enough!!

OUR COUNTRY AND ITS PERIL.

We make the following spirited extract from a handsomely printed pamphlet, just published by John M. Hewes, 81 Cornhill, Boston, entitled "Our Country: Its Pride and its Peril: A Discourse delivered in Harvard Street Baptist Church, Boston, Aug. 11, 1861, on the return of the Pastor from Syria," by Rev. Dr. Eddy.

"The troubles in which we now are, are the results of concessions in matters of principle, which should have been settled by the infinite standard of right, and by the great law of God. We had a monster in our midst, and we thought the best way to manage him was to feed him, pat him, and let him have his own way. So every time he roared, we threw him a bone to still him, and all the time he was growing strong. When we saw his glaring eyes, we threw him the Missouri Compromise, and still he grew. When he growled, we threw down before him the Fugitive Slave Law, and yet he grew. When he became more terrible, we fixed the Kansas-Nebraska bill to please him; and when we had nothing more to cast to him, this monster, whom we had fondled and fed, came upon us and tore our flag to pieces, trampled our Constitution in the dust, repudiated honest contracts, and, seizing with his infernal claws the pillars of the fabric of our freedom, endeavored to pull the whole structure down into one common ruin. That monster is *Slavery*—a system which has been the cause of our alienations, the source of our misunderstandings, and the plague of our nation from the time its corner-stone was laid. Some men seem to have an evil genius—a bad angel, that moves them to evil, that sweeps away their good intentions, that spoils every honest endeavor, and destroys them in spite of themselves. Slavery has been the evil genius of our nation; the blot on our liberty; the stain on our banner; the millstone in our ascent to a glorious destiny. And yet the legislation of our country, for half a century, has been little more than a series of compromises with this evil spirit, and the result we have in the ruin and disgrace which stare us in the face to-day.

And yet we shall hear of compromise again ere long; the old cheat is not yet dead, and the moment the enthusiasm of victory is over, men will begin to yield. "Feed the monster," they will begin to say. "Throw him a few more bones; let him grow a little; give him more life." Politicians, who want something upon which to climb into office; business men, who feel the pressure of these evil times; quiet citizens, who are tired of war, and mistaken theorizers, who really think slavery a source of national strength, will begin to cry—"Feed the monster; let him live, though he has taught our senators treason, and shed the blood of our soldiers—let him live."

But, unless we find some means to ensure the peaceful, constitutional, honest extinction of slavery, we keep the cause of all our woes. Settle this evil war by compromise, and it will not be ten years before this scene will be repeated, even if the breach be now healed. It will not be ten years before slavery will let loose upon us a new tide of blood.

The victory we need to gain is not simply to crush out the spirit of rebellion, to set up the flag over the bastions of a dismantled Sumter, and drive traitors out of Richmond and Charleston! Do all that, mend the breach, heal the divisions, bind up the wounds, present to the world an unstained flag and an undivided nationality, and if slavery has not received its death-blow, you are a vanquished people; the precious blood you have shed has been spilt in vain; the brave men who have lost their lives have been thrown away; the millions of money you have expended will be worse than squandered, and you will come out of the battle with the heel of the monster on your neck.

And what is there about slavery that any man in the North should want to keep it? Has it not corrupted your public men, perjured your judges and senators, plundered your treasury, murdered your citizens, soiled your flag, trampled on your Constitution, perverted your history, and sown your fields with blood? Has it not done all this, and more than this? And can you afford to give it a new lease of life, even though you pacify it now? Do you dare to lengthen its cords, and allow it to gather strength, that it may rise again in four, eight, or twelve years, anew to plunder your national treasury, destroy your national honor and credit, blast your business and prosperity, butcher your wives and children, and again overflow your land with blood? Why, how many civil wars can America stand? How often can it go through periods like this, without having its life quenched in blackness and blood? Let your government enter into any compromise that will strengthen the hands of slavery, and you rush upon your doom. You take up a controversy with the religion of the Bible, and the conscience of the whole civilized world. You go with your eyes open, into a hopeless war with omnipotent God.

Why, what is God teaching us now? Don't you hear his voice? From Sumter's dismantled bastions don't you hear it?—"Let the oppressed go free." From the blood-wet pavements of Baltimore don't you hear it?—"Let the oppressed go free." From the fearful slaughter of Bull Run, from that brave day that mysteriously lapsed into panic and fright, don't you hear it?—"Let the oppressed go free." From victory and defeat, from the beleagured and the murderous charge, don't you hear it?—"Let the oppressed go free." Every slave that comes to us, saying, "Knock off these chains," is a plea from God. Every drop of blood shed, and every unburied body left on Southern fields, is a heaven-high demand for the extinction of slavery.

I say, then, that compromise with slavery is a mad, ruinous, hopeless method of settlement. You who urge it are the scribes who would write in gore the doom of American liberty, and quench every star that now shines in the horizon of our country's future."

A VALUABLE BOOK.

From the hand of the Publisher, my esteemed friend, R. F. Wallcut, I have received a faithful and timely exposé of the pro-slavery wickedness of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, by CHAS. K. WHIPPLE.

This is a closely printed volume of 247 pages, abounding in copious extracts from official records. The industry and faithfulness of the author will not fail to commend itself, especially to all who love the Anti Slavery cause, and to every candid mind. It is a sad mirror for those to look into who are in fellowship with the Board of Commissioners. The colossal guilt of this pampered and overgrown society stands out in bold relief. And the worst of all is, that out of their own mouths they stand condemned. If any one has ever had the shadow of a doubt of their guilt by a complicity with the sin of slavery, that doubt will be forever removed, by an examination of Mr. Whipple's work. The heart of the reader will not fail to be moved with a righteous indignation at the hypocrisy of such a "Board," presuming to teach the heathen the way of Christian duty; and the honest soul must inwardly exclaim, "Better that my money be cast in mid ocean, than a single cent find its way into hands red with the blood of enslaved millions."

But with this awful revelation, so potent to the world, thousands are annually paying tribute to this wicked "Board," flattered with the idea that such an offering is acceptable to God! Let all such persons lay no such flattering unction to their soul. God is not mocked. The accursed wrong thus winked at will one day be revealed; and when the cry goes forth, "Where is thy brother?" it will be more tolerable for Sodom and Gomorrah, than for the "American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions."

Most thankful do I feel to our indefatigable brother Whipple, for his valuable labor in giving this work to the public; and I am sure no Anti-Slavery man or woman will fail to have on the table this potent weapon, to parry off every canting appeal for money to save the heathen, through such an ally. Circulate this work: let it go forth to open the eyes of many blinded by interested zealots, of whom it may be said, in their present wicked position, "I know you; ye have not the love of God in your hearts."

G. W. S.

GENERAL T. PERRONET THOMPSON.

34 Newington Crescent, Kennington Road,
LONDON, August 27, 1861.

MY DEAR SIR,—My friend, Gen. Perronet Thompson, informs me that, although personally unacquainted with you, he has addressed you a letter and enclosed several communications from his pen, on the subject of the civil war in America in its relation to the slavery question, which have been published in various English journals. He has expressed a desire that, when I wrote to you, I would mention who he was, as an additional introduction to yourself and your fellow-laborers in the cause of emancipation. This, however, is, I think, scarcely necessary. You certainly must be familiar with the name of Perronet Thompson as "a household word,"—a name which must be precious to the friends of humanity and the oppressed, for all time. Considerably more than fifty years have elapsed since General Thompson was recalled from the Governorship of Sierra Leone, for his activity in adopting measures for the suppression of the slave trade;—so that he was an early sufferer, as well as laborer, in the anti-slavery movement. At a later period he was, I believe, the first man to conclude a treaty with the Arabs of the sea-coast, for the abolition of the slave trade in the Gulf of Persia. As one of the founders of the *Westminster Review*, and a most terse and vigorous writer, as well as speaker, he rendered substantial service to the cause of West India Emancipation. No man of whom I possess any acquaintance, has more consistently devoted his great powers to the benefit of his species. He was the author of the "Catechism of the Corn Laws," the publication of which long preceded the organized agitation for free trade, and did much to prepare the way for one of the sublimest events of English history. His scathing exposure of the cruelty and injustice of England's policy towards native races, with especial reference to the Indian rebellion and the war with China, cost him his seat as member for Bradford. So that you have in him, I think, a perfectly clean-handed abolitionist,—a man who, as he spares not the crimes of his own country, is peculiarly entitled to extend the sphere of his philanthropic labors to other parts of the world. I can testify to the deep and unceasing interest he has taken in the American question. No one man has done more than he to enlighten the English public as to the real nature of the struggle which has now divided your great country into two hostile camps. No man has, with greater persistency or more intense faith, endeavored to imbue the popular mind with the conviction that, despite the examples of Northern subserviency to Southern ideas of property,—with which all England was shocked, and which did more than anything else to alienate foreign sympathy from the Federal cause,—the true apostolic successors of Washington, the honest representatives of American republicanism would sooner or later gain the upper hand, and make the war one not only for the suppression of rebellion, but for the extirpation of the system which has borne such bitter and monstrous fruits. You have, therefore, in General Thompson, a true friend and co-worker,—one steadfast in adversity, "faithful among the faithless found." He and all unofficial, undiplomatic men like him, are well fitted to preserve the *entente cordiale* between England and a free North, or, better still, a free and emancipated America. Meanwhile, believe me that, however cold you may think the English people at the present moment, the instant your President and commander-in-chief inscribes "Emancipation" on the Federal banner, that coldness will give place to a warmth and enthusiasm in favor of your cause which will prove to you that, while we cannot sympathize with a mere war of domination, we can heartily wish "God speed" to a war for the freedom of four millions of the human race.

Our first of August meeting, this year, was all that we could have desired—the speeches being thoroughly up to the mark, and the audience large and enthusiastic.

With true respect, I remain,
Very truly, yours,
F. W. CHESSON.

W. L. GARRISON.

THE DECISIVE COUP D'ETAT.

The actual problem now undergoing solution among us as a nation is the same that has been traversing its various stages of process for many years. Heretofore, it has been proceeding politically, and at times socially. In politics, different phases have appeared at different seasons; pro slavery continually becoming more stringent in its demands, till it finally reached a pitch which, if carried out according to its tendency, would introduce slaves, temporarily at first, all over the Union, and then permanently wherever its advocates deemed them profitable, and for its interest, to be established, regardless of its injury to others, and of their right to protest against it. In the social sphere, discussion of the subject in its numerous bearings was not to be tolerated; but, submission was required. Certain citizens were not safe in certain parts of the nation, and were watched, in their deeds and words, as pickpockets are watched by an efficient police.

The problem is, shall we have a free or a slave Republic? If the latter, the predominant influence will be against freedom. One section will have powers not enjoyed by the other; and there will be inequality. The standard of everything will be slavery. If the former, all can enjoy equal privileges, and the standard will be freedom to each and every one, and equality to each and every one, in the nation. There will be no sectional collision, nor any occasion for such. Peace and prosperity, unity and happiness, valuable desiderata, will be the result. What will be the state of things, if the contrary prevail, our present unfortunate condition declares to us. Discord, enmity, and war, are its concomitant and disastrous consequences.

What we experience now will continue constantly or at intervals, so long as its cause exists; and the present predicament of our country demonstrates it to the satisfaction of every unprejudiced mind. Indeed, no other charge is preferred by the South than that they cannot do with their slaves as they please, notwithstanding the wishes and views of others opposed to them. Their asserted rights ignore and deny the existence of any opposite rights, and the right of any body to dispute or to oppose theirs.

From a social and a political sphere, they have seen fit to transfer the process of solution to the battle-field. They have inaugurated a war. They have appealed to arms. Their previous tactics were demands; now, they employ force. The conflict has been waging for months, and we seem no nearer to an end of fighting than before. Skirmishes and stratagems are continued with tedious prolixity. Instead of being dislodged from their position, their martial numbers have increased. The conflagration has spread; and it assumes interminability. This course deranges and exhausts the people.

What should be done? President Davis orders all friends of the Union away, at forty days' notice. By that act, he has given our government his own authority to notify him and his fellow rebels to quit Virginia and other States belonging to the Union. If they refuse, he adds the authority to our President to impose on them a penalty, and as a matter of courtesy, if he be pleased to extend such leniency, to notify them of the nature of the penalty, viz., that unless they lay down their arms and depart, he shall liberate their slaves. If they still persist, he can then notify all the women and children and all Union men in the South, that he is about to proclaim emancipation at such a time, and advise them to leave that region before the stated time. Let him then act as he promises, by issuing his proclamation; and if that *coup d'etat* do not give the rebels enough work to employ themselves at home, if it do not compel their departure and a disbandment of the army, no harm is done except the inauguration of a free Republic. To pay the Union men the full value of their slaves liberated would require much less money, toil, and violent death, than a continuation of the contest will require; and it would effect a permanent settlement of difficulties, which, it is by no means certain, the contest will do. Is it not a duty due from the government to the people, to practise economy in all our national interests? Life, liberty, happiness, property, business, are all at stake; and all are now deeply suffering. Let the practice of administrative economy retrench, aye, end this public and private suffering. One legitimate act energetically applied is worth more than all the successful battle-fields within our reach. Diplomatic or military temporizing is unequal to the quelling of tyrannical rebellion.

The professed object of the volunteer soldiery is not pecuniary reward, nor promotion, nor fame for the officers, nor discomfort, nor death; but, to secure the permanent integrity of the Union. They can have no pleasure in incurring a needless risk of life and health, undergoing the privations of home and business, nor any desire to perpetuate the cause of rebellion. They cannot therefore wish for a continuance of slavery, which is the cause. What then? The sooner that object is attained, the sooner they will be released from martial discipline and toil, the sooner they will escape the risk of loss of life, limb, and health, and the sooner will they return home in safety. It is then natural to suppose they will coincide with that course of action which will produce the desired result in the most speedy and permanent manner. They know that the rebels have really forfeited all title to their property by the violent assault upon public property, and upon the structure of our government; all title to our soldiery's respect by the insolent calumnies and insults they have uttered against all representatives of free labor; and all title to protection by their endeavoring to undermine the national protection. What sympathy, therefore, can the rank and file of the patriotic military have for the rebel, or for the security of his property, be it slave or cotton field? Their very volunteering in such immense numbers declares them loyal men, and not ready to uphold the rebellion. They could not and would not breathe an objection to an emancipation so decisive in its effect, so abundantly warranted by the rebels' course, and so clearly demanded and authorized by the exigency. Such policy would produce no disaffection in the army.

Try then the decisive *coup d'etat*. Were it in their power, they would not hesitate to try it upon us. They have already done more than that. Under the present circumstances, the whole *Union* will say *Amen*, and all posterity will pronounce it a blessing, an act of justice, and its author a benefactor; nor will the noble deed of FREMONT, or the generous sentiments of BUTLER,—both indicating the military pulse,—ever be forgotten by the tenacious memory of history.

L.

"WATCHMAN, WHAT OF THE NIGHT?"

The War as an Anti-Slavery Educational Instrumentality. Slavery or the Government will be Abolished. Which must it be?

LIVONIA, (Mich.,) Sept. 5, 1861.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON:

DEAR FRIEND—You stand on the watch-tower of our Anti-Slavery Zion. Allow me to ask, "Watchman! what of the night?" Can you say, "The *day* cometh?—the day of deliverance to the captive"? Do you see in this horrible war, liberty for the slave? I DO. Why?—How?

I ask—*Who are the combatants?* Not the enslavers and enslaved—but the conflict is solely between the enslavers themselves. Hitherto, slavery has ruled the nation, solely through the North coöperating with them in the Federal Government. The North was not willing to do all the South wished, and the slaveholders have waged against the North a malignant war, to compel them to do their bidding, and to demolish their National Edifice, if they refuse. Though the cause of the war, the slave is allowed, as yet, to take no part in it, with a view to his own deliverance. But is it possible for the enslavers thus to war among themselves without its resulting for liberty, and against slavery? No. Every day this war continues, and every battle fought, whoever wins, the power of the oppressor is diminished.

What effect has the war upon the slave? It deepens his desire for freedom, intensifies his hatred of slavery, diminishes his servile dread of his enslavers, buoys him up with the hope that the day of his redemption is near, and helps to vitalize and energize his whole being, and make him feel that he is a *man*, and not a chattel. Even when compelled to fight for his enslavers, to build their forts and man their batteries, the slave is finding his manhood, and acquiring the will, the skill, and the power to assert it. Into whichever camp the slave is brought, he is being taught the lesson that resistance to his enslavers is obedience to God, and that slaveholders have no rights which he is bound to respect, and that slaves owe no duties to their enslavers. This war is rapidly educating and preparing the slave for freedom,—more rapidly than millions of compromising teachers, priests and politicians could do. A bloody, relentless war among the enslavers is a most efficient and mighty educational power to prepare the slave to strike for his freedom. I give it not as an argument in favor of war, but state it as a fact, which, though not a result intended by the belligerents, at least on one side, must as necessarily follow as strength and skill of muscle follow its exercise. No argument can reconcile war with justice and humanity. But nearly universal Christendom recognizes bullets and bayonets as just and *Christian* means to resist all piratical enslavers of men and women. The South slaughter men and women to spread and perpetuate slavery. Every blow struck against the slaveholder by the North must tell against slavery, the one object for which the South fights. Whoever wins, the condition of the slave will be improved. He is nearer his final redemption.

Then, *the influence of the war upon the North.* It is all but a universal feeling at the North that slavery is the sole cause of the war. Every ship taken by the pirates, every battle fought, every arsenal, fort, custom-house, post-office or mint plundered or stolen—every debt and bond repudiated by them, every man and woman whipped, outraged, tarred and feathered, imprisoned or hung by them, but deepens and strengthens the anti-slavery sentiment of the North. The bullets that sent death to the hearts of Ellsworth and Lyon, sent Anti-Slavery—*Abolition*, to the hearts of thousands at the North. The feeling against slavery was never so intense and so wide-spread in the non-slaveholding States as at this hour. As the sole cause of the evils that are upon us, slavery was never so hated as now. As fast and as clearly as it is seen and felt that slavery is the cause of our national affliction, so intensely and practically will it be hated by the North, and its abolition be imperatively and unconditionally demanded.

The abolition of the Federal Government is essential to the propagation and perpetuation of slavery. So says the South. So the man-stealing, man-imbruting, woman-whipping, cradle-plundering Confederacy have decreed. This end they are seeking to accomplish. The abolition of slavery is essential to the support and perpetuity of the National Government as a means to secure the blessings of liberty. Does the North see this? If not now, they soon must. SLAVERY OR THE GOVERNMENT MUST BE ABOLISHED. Every day the war continues, every battle and skirmish, only deepens and intensifies this conviction.

No event of the war seems so satisfactory to the masses, and thrills their hearts with more hope and joy, than the Proclamation of Fremont, published last Saturday, Aug. 31st, declaring that "the slaves of all rebels and their abettors in Missouri are *free men*." What can be done to carry this news, instantly, to the slaves of the Missouri rebels? Who will carry it to them? Who will say—"Here am I, God of Liberty, send me?" Who will go anyhow, whether sent or not? What can be done to get Butler and McClellan to issue this decree in their districts? What to get Lincoln and Scott to proclaim freedom to every slave in every revolted State?

Yours, HENRY C. WRIGHT.

P. S. Dear Garrison, I left Boston Monday, Aug. 12th; was at a Convention in Omega three days—the discussion turning on our duties under the present

crisis of the nation. I then visited Chenango and Otsego counties, and held many conversations in private circles; and in these once strong holds of pro-slavery Democracy, but few are found to side with the pirates, and those few are rapidly being silenced. There is a loud call for a law to suppress all papers and assemblies in the interests of the pirates. It is felt that their advocates and apologists in the North are more dangerous to liberty and free institutions than the pirates themselves. This has ever been true. The Northern apologists, in Church and State, of Southern marauders and pirates, have been more dangerous to the cause of freedom and free institutions, than the most rampant braggadocios among Southern kidnappers.

Sunday, Aug. 25th.—I lectured three times in West Winfield, Herkimer Co., N. Y. The Greens, the Eatons, the Backuses, the Browns, and other true friends of freedom in that place, see and feel that slavery is the sole cause of the war, and they are laboring efficiently to get all around them to see and feel the same. God speed them! say I—for as the North feels this, will all the people demand its abolition as the only way to preserve their National Government as a means of securing the blessings of liberty to themselves and their posterity.

Sunday, Sept. 1st.—I lectured twice in Farmington, Michigan, and last evening, the 10th, in this place. My theme is—The Cause and the Cure of the Evils that are upon us. The abolition of slavery the only means to preserve and perpetuate the institutions of freedom. Shall Slavery or Liberty rule the continent? These are my subjects. Never were so many prepared to give them an impartial hearing. They are momentous as life—while men seek to *human* governments for protection and for morality, as this nation and all Christendom do. GOD, as a governing power over man in every-day life, is ignored by Church and State; the dominion of man over man, sustained by bullets and bayonets, is their standard of duty, and the measure of protection.

Wonderful is the change going on in the public mind. There are some who are seeking to compel the North to submit to all the demands of the pirates; for well they know that their party can never again come into power but through their votes. So they try to get the North to yield. But, Slavery has lost its power forever over the Northern mind. It can never be where it was one year or six months ago. God speed the right! H. C. W.

A VISIT FROM HENRY C. WRIGHT.

LIVONIA, Mich., Sept. 5, 1861.

EDITOR LIBERATOR,—We have lately been favored with a visit from Henry C. Wright; and it occurs to me that a brief account of his labors in this vicinity, and of the state of public sentiment here on the great issues now before the people, may not be entirely uninteresting to the readers of the *Liberator*. The subject upon which he addressed the people here last evening was, "The war, or the cause and cure of the present crisis in America." He proceeded, briefly but clearly, to show that slavery was the cause of the present war; that the slaveholders, failing to secure the perpetuity and ultimate universality of their institution, under the government, had (seizing upon the incident of the election of Abraham Lincoln as a favorable opportunity) attempted to overthrow the government;—that the stake for which they played was the ultimate universal reign of slavery in this nation, failing of which, liberty must rule—as the two principles, being directly antagonistic, could not exist in co-partnership;—that this rebellion had been the deliberate design of leading Southern politicians for the last thirty years; and finally, that the only way of securing permanent peace was by the ABOLITION OF THE CAUSE OF THE WAR—American slavery.

He held that our government was originally organized upon the idea of liberty, and that however wide its administration may have been of the true intent of its framers, it, and the flag which represents it, were symbols of liberty,—particularly as opposed to the traitorous, piratical, slaveholding oligarchy, represented by the stars and bars, and the fundamental law of the C. S. A.; and that it was the manifest duty of every true lover of liberty to stand by the old flag and the government, and to strengthen the hands of the administration in this conflict with the Slave Power, which must ultimately result in the breaking of the slave's fetters.

He demonstrated that the rebels had fortified all constitutional rights, and claimed that he who talked of our constitutional obligations to traitors with arms in their hands, was himself a traitor and a spy in our camp. He declared it to be the duty of our government to confiscate all rebel property, and proclaim every slave free, as a measure of common defence and retributive justice, as had Gen. Fremont in Missouri, and expressed his belief that this was the intention of the Executive, as manifested by the initiatory step of Fremont.

The lecture was a manly and forcible exposition of the convictions of one who has grown old in a war of ideas for liberty, and was attentively listened to and applauded by an intelligent and appreciative audience. Public opinion here is rapidly coming to the point of universal emancipation, and such lectures are productive of a vast amount of good in provoking discussion and in eliciting an expression, of the anti-slavery proclivities of an overwhelming majority of the people. It seems to me that now is no time to stand upon niceties of opinion, but rather to seize upon the present opportunity to deal our heartiest blows against our common enemy, the Slave Power, leaving to some future time, when we have more leisure, the adjustment of delicate constitutional questions; and I apprehend that no anti-slavery man can engage in a better work than teaching the lesson, that resistance to tyrants is obedience to God, either by his tongue, his pen, or his OWN RIGHT ARM.

Hastily, yours, R. L. ALEXANDER.

TO A. HOGEBOOM.

I see in the *Liberator* of September 13, a communication addressed by you to me, which you commence by saying that I "propose a compromise for the Government and its rebels." I propose no such thing: no person is more averse than I am to any compromise with a community of barbarians, who have made such outrageous violations of all justice and humanity as the secessionists of the South; and there is not one of the compromises which were offered to them the last winter, even by leading Republicans, to which I would have assented. It is true, I do propose "an acknowledgment of the sovereignty of the revolted section"; but this is only admitting that to be a fact, which all the world sees to be a fact. The government of the Southern Confederacy is as thoroughly organized, as unresisted at home, and as uncontrolled by the Federal Government, as are the Republics of Mexico or Hayti; and that it may be brought into the Union at the end of the war, (if the war ever ends,) does not disprove its independence now. The irrational denial of the fact of this independence by our Government, and by the people of the North, will be a subject of ridicule in a future less infatuated age. Clearly, such an acknowledgment of a truth would be no compromise.

But you further say, that this "acknowledgment" by me is to be on condition that travel, residence, domestic and social engagements, commercial transactions, and the exercise of speech, writing and printing, shall "be free to the citizens of each republic." It is true I propose these conditions, but these are not all; and your subsequent argument, founded on the implication that these are all I ask, misrepresents me, and misleads your readers. In the plan I have proposed, I would not only insist on these conditions, but I would so hem in the slave States by the Northern Republic, that the further extension of slavery should be made impossible, and that the free States should be exempted from the obligation to return fugitive slaves, or any other measure by which slavery should be promoted, or its rightfulness admitted. Such conditions, instead of being a compromise favorable to the South, would be a stipulation of advantages to the free States they have never yet claimed.

You consider such a plan a "vagary": to me, it is the only possible or desirable result of this war; and so great a curse do I deem our union with the slaveholding States, that, if they would not consent to the conditions we should impose on separation, I would compel them to do so—a task much easier performed than the attempt to force them into the Union by war. It is true that separation will not effect the immediate emancipation of the slaves; but it is certain to do so ultimately—a result which never can be accomplished by war, while the restoration of the Union is insisted on; and the forcible emancipation of the slaves, without consent of the masters, can only be achieved by the extermination of the whites of the South, the desolation of their country, and the burial of all the liberty of the nation under the charge of a military despotism. J. P. B.

THE NATIONAL FAST.

To the Reverend Clergy of the United States:

This, the memorial and petition of the undersigned, doth most respectfully set forth, and most earnestly and affectionately ask, as follows:

1. Our beloved Chief Magistrate, in accordance with a recommendation of Congress, has, as we are all aware, appointed a day of humiliation, prayer, and fasting.

2. The 58th chapter of Isaiah, as every diligent Bible reader is aware, describes very clearly the kind of fast which alone is acceptable to the Lord.

3. Permit me now to ask of you that, in your clerical ministrations on that day, you read the above named chapter as a scripture lesson.

4. And in your addresses on that day, will you not instruct your auditors, in accordance with the teachings of the chapter above referred to, that, for those in authority, and for those holding the rights of others in their hands, the proper style of fasting is, "to loose the bands of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens, and to let the oppressed go free," &c.; and that for those *not* belonging to either of these classes, the proper course is to deal bread to the hungry, to clothe those who suffer for lack of clothing, to invite the homeless to their houses, &c.?

5. Also in your *prayers* on that occasion, will you please heed the scripture injunction, to "remember them that are in bonds as bound with them"; and will you not also enforce upon your hearers the propriety and duty of endeavoring, in thought and in feeling, to make the case of the bondmen and bondwomen of our country their own? And, especially, in reference to such of these as manifestly are sincere Christians, will you not show what can be so easily shown, that to their case applies the principle so clearly announced by the Savior in Matthew 25th, that whatever is done or not done by us "to one of the least" of His "brethren," is accounted by Him as being done or not done to Himself?

6. And, finally, in view of the foregoing, will you not *pray*, and pray fervently, not only that *war* may soon cease in our nation, but also that, by some suitable means, this most flagrant of human oppressions, chattel slavery, may speedily come to an end?

7. "And your memorialist and petitioner, as in duty bound, will," with divine assistance, faithfully perform his part of the duty herein asked to be done, whether this appeal shall be heeded or not.

Fraternally, JASON LEWIS.

COUDERSPORT, Potter Co., Pa., Aug. 25, 1861.

VOICES OF THE PEOPLE.

"Proclaim liberty throughout the land, unto all the inhabitants thereof."

It seems as though the time had fully arrived for our Government to give heed to this very emphatic command, and break every yoke, that the oppressed may go free. Until this is done, we are fighting in vain, and never can conquer while we assist to hold four millions of our brothers and sisters in a bondage, "one hour of which is fraught with more misery than ages of that which our fathers rose in rebellion to oppose." Let us, then, instead of stopping to observe hypocritical fasts, go to work, get petitions in circulation, giving every man, yea, and every woman too, a chance to bear their testimony against this whole system, now seeking by violence and blood to blot us out forever as a free people. Let the united voices of the freemen of the North proclaim, in tones not to be mistaken, that liberty is the birthright of all. Let us give expression to—

"The voice of Massachusetts—of her free sons and daughters;
Deep calling unto deep aloud—the sound of many waters;
Against the burden of that voice what tyrant power shall stand?
No fetters where our flag doth float—no slave throughout our land."

Feltonville, Sept. 12, 1861. H.

PHILADELPHIA, Sept. 14. An unfortunate accident occurred at Wheatley's Theatre this evening, by the dress of one of the ballet girls catching fire in the dressing-room. Miss C. Gale, Miss Herman and several of the ballet girls were badly burned. The disaster created some alarm among the audience, but all were dismissed without accident. No damage was done to the theatre.

It appears that Miss Cecilia Gale, one of four talented and handsome sisters, was about robing herself in ballet costumes. She stood upon a settee to reach her dress, and somehow flirted it into a jet of gas, when it was instantly ignited. Before the young lady could recover from her fright, her clothes were all ablaze, and her sisters and several of the ballet girls from an adjoining dressing-room, rushing up to assist her, were in turn set on fire. About a dozen of these helpless girls were thus burning at once, and the fire ran over their gauze and among their underclothes, making fast to their close leggins of "tights," and literally burning to the bone. Their screams were thrilling; and no scene of horrors that the stage ever witnessed may be compared to the terrible picture behind the scenes, where the fire from the burning dresses blazed up to the ceiling, and singed the lashes and hair of the affrighted women.

Miss Cecilia Gale, writhing and still in flames, darted down the stairs as stated, and was caught by Mr. Bayard, a stage carpenter, who at once tore up the sea cloth, (a sheet of canvass used to make waves,) and wrapped it around her. He was much burned while doing this. The young lady was removed to the hospital soon afterwards.

Several girls leaped into the street, through the second story windows, and Miss Hannah Gale, already badly burned, fell upon the pavement, bruising her back and head so that her case is considered hopeless.

Miss Phœbe Norden, of Bristol, Penn., inhaled the flames, and was shockingly burned. She was at the point of death last evening.

Miss Annie Phillips died on Sunday morning.

Miss Anna McBride was burned in the breast, arms and legs, and taken to the Pennsylvania Hospital. She suffered the most exeruciating pain during Saturday night, but towards morning her delirium abated, and she died in the arms of Mrs. Wheatley.

Miss Annie Nichols was somewhat burned, but in the panic which ensued after the accident, she jumped from the head of the flies to the stage—twenty-five feet—and breaking through a lot of mirrors and plate glass used to represent a lake, her hands and cheeks were lacerated.

Ruth and Adeline Gale were burned in the hands and breast.

Mrs. Mary E. Herman suffered exceedingly.

Abby Carr, Margaret Conaway, Thomas Bayard, Kate Harrison, and a young man, name unknown, were more or less badly burned. The last named inhaled the fire, and his lungs have since been bleeding.

Three of these people, it is believed, will die, and all will linger in acute pain for days—perhaps weeks and months.

PHILADELPHIA, Sept. 15. Hannah and Zela Gale, and Misses Phillips, McBridge and Forden, who were burned at Wheatley's Continental Theatre last night, died to-day. Three more will probably die. Miss Annie Nichols, who leaped from the flies, is unharmed. Abbie Carr, reported dead, is likely to recover.

☞ The American Tract Society of Boston has issued a tract from the pen of Rev. Dr. Wayland in reference to the coming national fast day. It designates some of our national errors and sins, specifying practical atheism, reliance upon mere intellectual education to the neglect of moral and religious training, recklessness in the choice of officers, devotion to money, indulgence of sensual appetites, and worldliness in the church. What! no allusion to, no condemnation of our great crowning national iniquity, slavery!

LETTER FROM THE PRESIDENT TO GENERAL FREMONT.

WASHINGTON, Sept. 14. The following letter from President Lincoln to Major General Fremont, was transmitted to the latter on the 12th inst.:—

WASHINGTON, D. C., Sept. 11, 1861.

Major General Fremont:

SIR,—Yours of the 8th, in answer to mine of the 2d inst., is just received. Assuming that you upon the ground could better judge of the necessities of your position than I could at this distance, on seeing your proclamation of August 30th, I perceived no general objection to it. The particular clause, however, in relation to the confiscation of property and the liberation of slaves, appeared to me to be objectionable in its non-conformity to the act of Congress, passed the 6th of last August, upon the same subjects, and hence I wrote you expressing my wish that that clause should be modified. Accordingly, your answer, just received, expresses the preference on your part, that I should make an open order for the modification, which I very cheerfully do.

It is therefore ordered, that the said clause of said proclamation be so modified, held and construed as to conform with and not to transcend the provisions on the same subject contained in the act of Congress, entitled "An act to confiscate property used for insurrectionary purposes," approved August 6, 1861, and that said act be published at length with this order.

Your obedient servant,
(Signed) A. LINCOLN.

☞ Upon this timid, depressing, suicidal letter of President Lincoln to Col. Fremont, the Boston *Transcript*, of Tuesday evening, contains the following sensible and scathing editorial comments:—

THE PRESIDENT AND GEN. FREMONT.

In a time like this, subordination is indispensable. Gen. Fremont must obey the President. We have no doubt that the General's duty to his country will be paramount to what he believes was a most unfortunate error of judgment in the President. The country cannot spare the General from its service, and nothing but bitter necessity will ever induce a comparison between the President who might have been elected in 1856, and the President who was elected in 1860. As a matter of feeling and of policy, we should avoid the discussion of this unfortunate difference, were this central question not sure to arise again and again if this war goes on.

But neither the direct conflict of opinion between the two to-day, nor the immense importance of the action of the government and its generals on the great questions involved, will allow us to mince this matter. And we say unhesitatingly that the great blunders of this administration from the start have sprung from the policy, urged by the Secretary of State and adopted by the President, of "What will the border States do?" instead of "What *shall* the border States do?"

This policy, weak, hesitating, mistaken, was inaugurated by that first six weeks of fatal adoption of Mr. Buchanan's unmasterly inactivity, which not only handed the States which followed the original seven to the conspirators, but for fear of offence, lost its own forts, navy yards, arsenals and strategic bases of operation.

What the great bulk of the people of all parties foresaw, has been the lesson of the last five months; so sad, so sure, so unmistakable, that we had hoped the Government were at last fully up to the wisdom, temper and determination of the people, whose war this is. We mean nothing fanatical or unconstitutional. We only mean the dictates of plain common sense, which proclaimed, as State after State was lost, that what the traitors and neutrals of the border States feared and respected—and what their Union men desired for protection—was *military power*. Tennessee was lost for want of it. Maryland was only saved, and is only held through it. Even Western Virginia was only preserved by troops from without its borders. Kentucky, starting with the mean denial of its quota of troops through a Secession Governor, and openly furnishing soldiers to the enemies of the Union, its people divided then and now into active Secessionists, earnest Unionists, and a great body of persons occupying the intermediate, unconstitutional and disgraceful position of "neutrals"—sure to join whichever party was supported by the largest force from without; Kentucky, the home of Clay, the birthplace of Lincoln, with her immense nominal majority for Union, is utterly unable (if her Holts and Prentices know her position) to crush her own traitors and defend her own borders without a large army from the free States.

The time for "shilly-shallying" with any Border State, if it was ever wise, passed months ago. Military power and wholesome fear were the true touchstone of Union. To prevent just such military necessities for martial law and its consequences as have arisen in Missouri, the stern announcement of the application, when necessary, of doctrines like those of Fremont, supported by sufficient armies, was needed at the very time when this Government was rejecting the 500,000 armed men who sprang patriotically to their feet, and who would, if then accepted, have been an army sufficiently drilled for past and immediate efficiency. Can it be that still "What will Kentucky do?" is the timid cry of the administration?

And now, through whose fault was it that these terrible military necessities have arisen in Missouri? Heaven knows that Fremont did not wish them, though he rose, imminent in this great emergency, to meet them. We owe the loss and devastation of a large part of its territory, the division of towns, counties, neighborhoods and families against themselves, the threatening of Cairo and even St. Louis, and, sadder than all, the loss of our heroic general Lyon, to the failure of this government to send the very few regiments and arms the week before the battle of Springfield which it waked up to send a week after.

We have heretofore shown, that if the emergency for martial law could come, it was upon Gen. Fremont, dictating his imperative duty. And now let us see what he had the power to do, and what he did. He was, the President admits, the judge of that emergency. He should have been supported in his acts under it, unless he clearly transcended his powers. No publicist or lawyer will, for a moment, pretend that, martial law once proclaimed, he was to find its interpretation and its limitation in the act of Congress relative to confiscation. Neither that act nor martial law can be narrowed to any such absurd limits. This act, designed especially for such circumstances as those in Maryland, Kentucky and Missouri, so long as the laws of those States were not supplanted by martial law, does not in terms or by implication bind a General in the field to limit martial law to its exact methods, but leaves it open to the broad, bold and indispensable laws of war and of nations, with reference to the protection of his government in an emergency of which he is the judge. In fact, that act, without much subtlety of interpretation, can be far more easily found to support and justify his exact action, than that action can be condemned because it had no other support than that law. When the municipal laws of Missouri, and the relations of master and slave are annulled, what or who is the slave? What do confiscation and forfeiture mean?

The President finds no difficulty in overriding the Constitution and laws *where martial law has not been proclaimed*, by arresting the free citizens of free States, without public charges, sometimes entirely in mistake, always without legal proof; sometimes abandoning those taken when threatened with *habeas corpus*; sometimes defying *habeas corpus* itself; and *all loyal citizens rejoice* to see such decisiveness in this great crisis in our history. But compared with this high-handed exercise of power in the loyal States, the action of Gen. Fremont, in an imminent deadly struggle with traitors from within and without, for the very existence of government in the State which is the key to Kansas and the Pacific, and to Cairo and Memphis, is as simple as it is necessary and inevitable. Why this extreme tenderness for the rebel owners of negroes, where the stern decrees of martial law are thrown over a death-grapple for mastery, which has its origin in a scheme of slave-propagandism, and when this blow can hit a vital spot in the foe,—and at the same time this unhesitating assault upon the personal freedom of white citizens unindicted, untried and unconvicted, in the loyal States? If weakness must be shown in either case, the free States can much more easily dispose of their suspected traitors through their courts of law, than Fremont, acting on the defensive, can repel the blows struck at the very heart of his power. If the Government must have held back any hand, it should have been its own.

We believe in the constitutional rights of loyal States and loyal citizens. So does General Fremont. But we believe, also, in martial law for great emergencies, and that when we are at war, *we should conquer our enemies by the application of military means to military ends*. Of what earthly use is the strict letter of the confiscation act to General Fremont in the crisis in Missouri? In the smoke and din of battle, can he stop, before declaring free the slaves of masters who are armed to kill his soldiers, to hear proof that the slaves did or did not help build entrenchments? Martial law and his duty as a General, unlimited by, and not conflicting with the act of confiscation, tell him he has no right, when fighting for life, to fail to strike any and every blow known to the laws of war and of nations. Though not at war with a foreign power, we are in actual war, and martial law once proclaimed, carries with it the usages of war and the interpretations of the laws of war.

Some loyal men may possibly suppose that the emergency in Missouri was not sufficient. Of that question they may have an opinion, but they cannot be the judges. But is there an honest man foolish enough to suppose that, in conceivable cases of still more terrible necessity, General Fremont and the President cannot apply the doctrines of the late proclamation without summoning a special session of Congress—to meet, perhaps, when the sword has been struck from the General's hand, because he did not deal a fair military blow?

We have no doubt that the proclamation of General Fremont was operating as a wholesome warning to Kentucky. Were it the last as well as the first instance of such a military necessity, we should have avoided all discussion of it. But that we may be prepared for the right action in the uncertain future, it is an imperative duty to discuss boldly and fairly the policy for which this great and pregnant case bids us be ready.

PRESIDENT LINCOLN'S REPLY TO GOVERNOR MAGOFFIN.

WASHINGTON, D. C., Aug. 24, 1861.

To His Excellency, B. Magoffin, Governor of the State of Kentucky:

SIR,—Your letter of the 19th inst., in which you "*urge the removal from the limits of Kentucky of the military force now organized and in camp within said State,*" is received.

I may not possess full and precisely accurate knowledge upon this subject, but I believe it is true that there is a military force in camp within Kentucky, acting by authority of the United States, which force is not very large, and is not now being augmented.

I also believe that some arms have been furnished to this force by the United States.

I also believe this force consists exclusively of Kentuckians, having their camp in the immediate vicinity of their own homes, and not assailing or menacing any of the good people of Kentucky.

In all I have done in the premises, I have acted upon the urgent solicitations of many Kentuckians, and in accordance with what I believed, and still believe, to be the wish of a majority of all the Union-loving people of Kentucky.

While I have conversed on this subject with many eminent men of Kentucky, including a large majority of her members of Congress, I do not remember that any one of them, or any other person except your Excellency and the bearers of your Excellency's letter, has urged me to remove the military force from Kentucky, or to disband it. One other very worthy citizen of Kentucky did solicit me to have the augmenting of the force suspended for a time.

Taking all the means within my reach to form a judgment, I do not believe it is the popular wish of Kentucky that this force shall be removed beyond her limits; and, with this impression, I must respectfully decline so to remove it.

I most cordially sympathize with your Excellency in the wish to preserve the peace of my native State, Kentucky; but it is with regret I search, and cannot find, in your not very short letter, any declaration or intimation that you entertain any desire for the preservation of the Federal Union.

Your obedient servant, A. LINCOLN.

THE ADMINISTRATION AND SLAVERY. Caleb B. Smith, Secretary of the Interior, in his speech a few weeks since, at Providence, R. I., stated the position of the administration in relation to slavery and the war in the following clear and unmistakable terms:—

"I have known the President long and well. It has been my fortune to be selected as one of his constitutional advisers. I have had the honor of being connected with this administration since its commencement, and I tell you to-night that you cannot find in South Carolina a man more anxious, religiously and scrupulously, to observe all the features of the Constitution relating to slavery than Abraham Lincoln. Had the people of the South been willing to wait and see whether he would regard that oath which in the presence of the assembled nation he had taken, they would have found that no administration ever organized in this country would have more conscientiously regarded and protected the rights of the South than this administration would have done. I know that I speak the sentiments of the President and his advisers—of those who have controlled the administration."

FRANKFORT, Ky., Sept. 11. The House has adopted the resolution directing the Governor to issue a proclamation ordering the Confederate troops to evacuate Kentucky soil, by a vote of 71 against 26.

The House then refused to suspend the rules to allow another resolution, to be presented, directing the Governor to issue a proclamation ordering the evacuation of Kentucky soil by both the Federal and rebel troops.

KENTUCKY. The following are the resolutions of the Kentucky Legislature, calling upon Governor Magoffin to drive the rebel forces from that State, and which have been passed over the Secession Governor's veto. They are of the true stamp:—

"Resolved, That Kentucky's peace and neutrality have been wantonly violated, her soil has been invaded, the rights of her citizens have been grossly infringed by the so-called Southern Confederate forces. This has been done without cause; therefore be it

Resolved, By the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Kentucky, that the Governor be requested to call out the military force of the State, to expel and drive out the invaders.

Resolved, That the United States be invoked to give that aid and assistance, that protection against invasion, which is granted to each one of the States by the fourth section of the fourth article of the Constitution of the United States.

Resolved, That General Robert Anderson be, and he is hereby requested to enter immediately upon the active discharge of his duties in this military district.

Resolved, That we appeal to the people of Kentucky, by the ties of patriotism and honor, by the ties of common interest and common defence, by the remembrances of the past and by the hopes of the future national existence, to assist in repelling and driving out the wanton violators of our peace and neutrality, the lawless invaders of our soil."

Gov. Magoffin of Kentucky, in obedience to the recent action of the Legislature, has issued a proclamation informing the rebel government that it is expected to withdraw its troops from that State.

CARNAX FERRY, Va., Sept. 13. The battle of last Tuesday at this place was by far the greatest and severest yet fought in Western Virginia. Ex-Secretary of War Floyd commanded the rebels in person, and received a severe wound in the arm, during the engagement.

The rebels had accurate advice of our approach and exact strength, as appears from the papers found in their camp, and had made every preparation to resist an attack. They had six regiments, beside their intrenchments, with artillery sweeping all approaches.

During the whole engagement, lasting nearly four hours, we brought into action only five regiments, and of these, but parts of three were long engaged. The rebels stationed expert riflemen to pick off officers, and fired spelter from their cannon—a missile unknown to civilized warfare. Experienced military men say the roar of cannonading and musketry for a time was the heaviest they ever heard, but the rebels fired mostly too high with their artillery. Their squirrel rifles did the most execution. Floyd should be surrounded and his retreat to Lewinsburg cut off.

An immense amount of personal property was found in the rebel camp, but only some fifty wagon loads were thought worthy of transportation, and in this country the whole amount is hardly worth $10,000.

CHICAGO, Sept. 16. *Particulars of the Engagement between the Rebels and Col. Montgomery's Kansas Forces.* Leavenworth papers of the 11th inst. give the following account of the late engagement between Gen. Rains and Col. Montgomery on the 2d inst. Gen. Rains approached Fort Scott with 600 rebels, and seized 80 mules belonging to the Government and killing a teamster. A message was sent to Montgomery, who had 500 men. He pursued Rains 11 miles, killing several of his men, when, coming on the main body of the enemy, the battle commenced, the rebels having cannon and Montgomery one howitzer only. The fight lasted two hours, when Montgomery slowly retired, keeping up a running fight until nightfall. The enemy's force is reported by prisoners to have been from 2000 to 3000.

☞ The Charleston *Mercury* has the following items of news:—"The free colored men of Charleston have contributed $450 to sustain the cause of the South. The zealous and unfailing alacrity with which this class of our population have always devoted their labor and their means to promote the safety of the State, is alike honorable to themselves and gratifying to the community.

The business of citizen-making has been going on pretty briskly for the last fortnight. Several residents of foreign birth, anxious to place themselves 'right upon the record,' appear daily to qualify themselves as citizens of the Confederate States.

The Confederate Congress presented Howell Cobb with a banner, on his resigning his seat in that body to take command of a Georgia regiment."

☞ A Northern man just escaped from Georgia, where he has been in business for several years, informs the Rochester *Advertiser* that there is a reign of terror in Georgia—no Union man dare utter his sentiments, but he believes that fully one-third would rejoice to see the Federal troops enter the State in triumph. The Union men at heart talk the loudest for secession in the streets—and do it for safety and to avoid suspicion. They give money, and even go into the rebel army, but they are, nevertheless, for the Union, and will show it when they can do so without an absolute certainty of death staring at them. Salt is hard to get at five times its value—bacon 21 cents per pound, coffee 46 cents, common satinet $2.50 per yard, boots and shoes at fabulous prices, and difficult to be found at that. Trade is paralyzed, and distress the order of the day.

GEN. CASS ON THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY. Gen. Cass, in a recent conversation with President Fairchild, of Hillsdale College, Michigan, said that though he had always been, heretofore, opposed to abolition, yet this was now the only way to successfully and permanently end the contest. Without abolition, if we had peace to-day, we should have war to-morrow. This is saying considerable for one who has always been so conservative as the great Michigan statesman.

ST. LOUIS, Mo., Sept. 12. The Provost Marshal will issue a proclamation to-morrow, stating that the commanding General has satisfactory evidence that Thomas L. Snead, of this city, having taken an active part with the enemies of the United States, and the Military Commission now in session at the arsenal having reported the facts at headquarters, as a result of its deliberations, the Major-General commanding has executed and published deeds of manumission in favor of Frank Lewis and Hiram Reid, heretofore held to service or labor by said Snead; and they are free, and forever discharged from the bond of servitude, giving them full right and authority to have, use and control their own labor or service as to them may seem proper, without accountability to said Snead.

DELIVERING UP A FUGITIVE SLAVE TO A REBEL OFFICER. The Washington *Republican* is justly indignant at an act of Gen. Rosseau, commanding the Federal forces in Indiana. A slave named Goree, body servant of Col. Robert Johnson, of the rebel Camp Boone, had escaped, and reached the Ohio river. In swimming that river he became exhausted, and was rescued from drowning by some of the Federal soldiers. Thereupon Gen. Rosseau ordered him to be carried back, by a file of men, to the Kentucky side of the river. This is stated to have been done for the express purpose of his re-delivery to his former master, and, if not done for that purpose, will doubtless result in that as a matter of fact.

☞ It is understood that several army officers have been engaged in returning fugitives to their masters.

FORTRESS MONROE, Sept. 15. A party of fourteen contrabands escaped last night from near Sewall's Point in a canoe, and have arrived here. They represent provisions in Princess Anne county as scarce, that there are some 500 rebel troops at Sewall's Point, and that the force there is constantly changing.

☞ There was a stampede of negroes, 14 in number, consisting of men, women and children, in the neighborhood of Lewinsville, on Monday. They came to our lines, saying they were to be sent to Manassas this morning. Gen. Smith sent them to Washington. They belonged to the estate of the late Commodore Jones. They stated that they left at home only a daughter of the Commodore, her mother having departed some time ago for Manassas Junction.

ST. LOUIS, Sept. 14. The fight at Boonville, yesterday morning, terminated in a victory to the Home Guards, under Major Eppstein, who held their entrenchments. The rebels, 1000 strong, were driven back, and were in the neighborhood of Booneville when the Sioux City passed there. The Home Guards lost one man killed and four wounded. The rebels lost 12 killed and 30 wounded. Among the rebels killed were Col. Brown and Capt. Brown.

ST. LOUIS, Sept. 16. Col. F. P. Blair, Jr., was ordered, yesterday, by the Provost Marshal, to report himself under arrest, on the general charge of using disrespectful language with reference to Gen. Fremont.

It is understood that the precise charge upon which Col. Blair was arrested is insubordination, in communicating, while a militia officer, with the authorities at Washington, and making complaints against, and using disrespectful language towards Gen. Fremont, with a view to affect his removal.

It is stated that letters written by Col. Blair are now in possession of Gen. Fremont.

NEGROES CANNOT BE ENLISTED. When Captain Hight was mustering the 8th Maine Regiment into the U. S. service, at Augusta, last week, in one of the companies he noticed a negro. He ordered him from the ranks, but the man made his appearance in another section of the company, and his captain insisted upon his being mustered in, as he was a strong and able-bodied man. Captain Hight remarked that he came to muster in white citizens, not negroes. He then inquired the name of the negro, and struck it from the company roll. Shame!

MCCULLOCH'S INDIANS. The Helena (Ark.) *Herald* of August 10th, states that thirteen hundred Indian warriors—Southern allies—had crossed the Arkansas river near Fort Smith, *en route* for McCulloch's camp. These Indians were armed with rifle, butcher-knife and tomahawk, and had their faces painted and seemed eager for the fray.

☞ The rebels near Leesburg have torn up over nine miles of the newly-laid track of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, removed the rails, &c., and have commenced to lay a military line from Winchester to Strasburg, thus connecting Harper's Ferry with the Manassas Gap Railroad. They had also taken forcible possession of a large quantity of rolling stock belonging to the same company.

A LARGE BATCH OF FIRST-CLASS CRIMINALS. There are forty-two slave-traders and twenty of the Southern pirates, from the privateers Savannah, Sumter and Jeff. Davis, who are to be tried at the fall term of the United States District Court in New York.

☞ Jeff. Thompson has issued a proclamation, in which, as a retaliatory measure for Gen. Fremont's proclamation, he threatens for every member of the Southern forces or citizen soldiers of Missouri executed to bang, draw and quarter a minion of Abraham Lincoln.

☞ On Monday night last, while a Government steamer, name unknown, was conveying a number of prisoners from Lexington, Mo., to Fort Leavenworth, for better security, she broke her rudder between the Mill and Kansas City, and was obliged to haul to the land. Shortly after reaching the shore, a company of the Jackson county secessionists seized the boat, released the prisoners, and secured some 40 Federal soldiers as captives.

CINCINNATI, Sept. 16. A special dispatch to the *Gazette*, dated Cassnix Ferry, 11th, says:—"Lee resumed the attack along our whole line at Cheat Mountain, yesterday. After a long contest, Gen. Reynolds fairly repulsed him, with considerable rebel loss, and little or no loss on our side, owing to the fact that our troops fought behind entrenchments."

☞ It has been ascertained that the enemy's loss in the affair at Lewinsville, on Wednesday, is 30 killed, and between 60 and 70 wounded.

ELK WATER, Va. Sept. 16. The body of Col. John A. Washington was sent over to the enemy yesterday, under a flag of truce. While on the way, it was met by a similar flag coming from the enemy, for the purpose of obtaining information as to his condition. He was shot in a foray.

☞ Among the killed by the Little Platte bridge railroad disaster in Missouri, was Barclay Coppic, of John Brown notoriety, together with five or six men who were *en route* with him to join Montgomery's Kansas regiment.

A shell thrown from one of Loomis's guns, in Western Virginia, two miles into the enemy's camp, killed ten men, and wounded four.

The 13th Indiana regiment had a severe skirmish with superior numbers of the enemy on the 12th, and killed ten or twelve with a trifling loss. As the enemy advanced on the Elk Water, the column was handsomely checked by a detachment of the 17th Indiana regiment.

Lieut. Morrill, of the Topographical Engineers, was taken prisoner on his way to Cheat Mountain.

On the 12th inst., a detachment of 500 men from the 14th Indiana and 24th and 25th Ohio regiments, dispersed three Tennessee regiments under Gen. Anderson, on the west side of Cheat Mountain, completely routing them, killing eighty, and obtaining most of their equipments. Our loss was eight killed.

☞ The arrest of rebel agents in New York has led to the discovery of a carrier pigeon communication from the suburbs of that city with Richmond. A pigeon was shot by a rifleman, and under the bird's wing was an important dispatch on its way South. A shed somewhere on Long Island was used as a starting point for the pigeons.

☞ A correspondent of the Boston *Journal* writing from Hillsborough, New Hampshire, says:—

"I have information direct that ex-President Pierce has been forwarding letters, papers and various documents to Vallandingham, Powell, and others of that stamp, from the Lower Village, his birthplace in this town. I saw he was in Louisville the other day."

☞ The *Tribune* editorially states that preparations for two important movements against the Southern coast are rapidly going forward; in one of which the land forces will be under Gen. Butler, and the other under Gen. Sherman. The number of troops will be about 25,000, with a naval force of proportionate strength. The points to be assailed are unknown.

☞ Charleston papers say that, within a month, 14 vessels have entered Charleston, and 22 in Wilmington harbor, and that in the same time $180,000 in duties had been paid to collectors.

☞ The Richmond shoe merchants urge the discharge of all shoemakers from the army, and their employment at making shoes of canvass.

DEAD. Ben Wood's secession newspaper, the New York *News*, has given up the ghost.

☞ The New York *Day-Book* has suspended, and merged itself into a weekly, to be called the *Weekly Caucassian*.

Old Mrs Gurnsey, known to many as the discoverer of the Flume at the Franconia Notch, died at Lisbon, N. H., Sept. 11, aged 75 years.

DEATH OF EX-GOVERNOR BRIGGS. Ex-Governor Briggs died at his residence in Pittsfield, (Mass.) last week, most widely and deeply lamented for his solid worth and many shining virtues.

The accident and circumstances attending the death of Gov. Briggs are painfully fresh in the minds of the people. It will be recollected that on Wednesday, the 4th inst., while in the act of taking down his coat from the clothes-press, for the purpose of going to the assistance of some persons in distress, caused by a frightened horse, a loaded gun, which was unobserved, in the haste of the moment, fell and discharged its contents into his face, the charge passing under one jaw and a portion of it through the other side. Twenty-eight shot were extracted from the wound by Drs. Childs and Cady, the surgeons in attendance, and from the first they expressed very little hopes of his recovery. It is now seen how fearfully true were their apprehensions.

From 1820 to 1843, he was a member of Congress from the western district of the State, serving his constituents with great acceptance. From 1844 to 1851, he was Governor of Massachusetts by annual election—a great favorite with the people, and a faithful and most unexceptionable public servant. In 1854, he was appointed Judge of the Court of Common Pleas, which office he continued to hold until the courts were re-organized under the administration of Gov. Banks.

AWFUL MASSACRE OF EMIGRANTS. A telegram from Zreta (California) of the 29th ult. states the reported massacre by Indians of an emigrant party on the Northern route is confirmed by the arrival of only one survivor, who reports that there were 14 families, numbering 100 persons, and the whole company of men, women and children were inhumanly butchered.

ANOTHER TERRIBLE RAILROAD DISASTER. *Cincinnati, Sept. 18.*—Last night, at half-past 8, the train on the Ohio and Mississippi railroad containing a portion of Col. Forchiu's 19th Illinois regiment, while passing over the bridge at Huron, Ind., 143 miles west of Cincinnati, fell through, killing and wounding over 100 soldiers. A special train was sent from here late last night to assist.

It let four cars down into the bed of the creek, and one on top of them. The engine and one car passed over safely. There were about 100 wounded, and 10 or 15 killed. The Colonel of the regiment says there were about that number killed, although nearly the whole company is missing. It is thought the bridge was weakened by malicious scoundrels.

FREDERICK, Md., Sept. 18. The Union members of both Houses refused to meet this morning. The Legislature is virtually dead; all the officers being under arrest to prevent calling the roll.

The Union members will leave this afternoon for home, and the secession members for Fort McHenry. The city is quiet.

The arrest of the clerks will prevent them from calling the roll, and so the Legislature is at an end. Several of the most noisy and active secessionists in town have also been arrested.

☞ Rev. Dr. Cheever has prepared an address entitled "The Voice of Christian England for the Emancipation of the Slave." He delivered this discourse at his own church in New York on Sunday last.

ANOTHER COLORED LAWYER. In the Superior Court, Sept. 14, before Judge Russell, John S. Rock, M. D., was, on motion of T. K. Lothrop, Esq., examined and admitted to practice in all the Courts of this Commonwealth.

The Hartford *Courant* says that Gen. Lyon left, by will, all his property, valued at $30,000, to the government. He has thus given all that a man could give to his country.

☞ The New Hampshire *Gazette*, printed at Portsmouth, after one hundred years of existence, has gone by the board. Its title has been purchased by the owners of the *Chronicle*, of the same place, and will be united with the name of that paper.

BURNING OF THE NAHANT HOUSE. The celebrated Nahant Hotel, at Nahant, was totally destroyed by fire on Wednesday night, last week, at 11 o'clock, with nearly all its contents. In consequence of the prostration of business, the hotel has been closed this season, excepting a small portion, which was kept open by Mr. Learned. He closed that part of the house on Monday, and since that time it has been unoccupied. The fire is supposed to be the work of an incendiary. The whole cost of the hotel, from first to last, was not much less than $175,000.

☞ A. T. FOSS, an Agent of the American A. S. Society, will speak on "The War," at

West Randolph, Vt.,	Sunday,	Sept. 22.
Randolph Centre, "	Tuesday,	" 24.
Braintree, "	Thursday,	" 26.
West Brookfield, "	Sunday,	" 29.
Northfield, "	Tuesday,	Oct. 1.
Barre, "	Wednesday, P.M. and eve'g,	Oct. 2.
Montpelier, "	Thursday,	Oct. 3.
Gaysville, "	Friday,	" 4.
Peacham, "	Sunday,	" 6.
Danville, "	Tuesday,	" 8.
St. Johnsbury, "	Wednes.,	" 9.
L. Waterford, "	Friday,	" 11.
McIndoes Falls, "	Sat. eve'g,	" 12, and Sunday, 13.

☞ MERCY B. JACKSON, M. D., having had fifteen years' experience in the Homœopathic treatment of diseases, offers her professional services to the Ladies and Children of Boston and vicinity.

References.—David Thayer, M. D.; Luther Clark, M. D.; John M. Tarball, M. D., Boston. Eliphalet Clark, M. D., Portland, Me.

Rooms No. 20 Bulfinch street. Office hours from 2 to P. M.

☞ BESSIE S. LOCKWOOD, M. D., *No. 34 Auburn Street, Boston.* Particular attention paid to the Diagnosis and Treatment of Chronic Diseases.

OFFICE HOURS from 11, A. M., till 2, P. M. Nov. 23.

OBITUARY.

DEATH OF NATHAN WINSLOW, ESQ.

In the *Liberator* of the 9th ultimo, we recorded the death of Dr. AMOS FARNSWORTH, one of the earliest of the little Anti-Slavery band in Massachusetts. This week we are called to record the departure of NATHAN WINSLOW, Esq., of Portland, (Me.) who died in that city, on Monday, Sept. 9th, after a brief illness, aged 76 years and 5 months. His hearty and fearless espousal of the Abolition movement covered a period of thirty years. In the early days of its fiery trials, especially, none was more zealous, more outspoken, or more generous with his means "to help the cause along," than himself. Although by birth and education a member of the Society of Friends, (whose technical and outward trammels he subsequently transcended,) his abhorrence of negro slavery was innate and uncompromising, and not the result of traditional training. Upon the altar of impartial freedom, he generously offered success in business, social standing, and whatever else it required at his hands. Always frank and courageous, he improved every opportunity to advocate the claims of the suffering bondman, and to rebuke the all-abounding pro-slavery spirit of the age. His co-operation was of great value in many ways, at the very time when most needed. For several years, the elegant hospitality of his home was freely extended to the advocates of the slave, and of other reforms; and many a fugitive slave found safety and succor under his roof.

No sooner was the first number of the *Liberator* issued, than he became, and continued to the close of life, a subscriber and patron—more than once preventing its suspension by his liberal assistance, and authorizing us to draw upon him at any time, in case of emergency, for the means to continue it. He was "a friend in need"—a fast and true friend—and, therefore, "a friend indeed." Our recollections of his kindness and hospitality are of the most pleasurable and grateful character. His removal, at a ripe age, is in the order of nature; but we feel the bereavement as though he had been our equal in years.

So—one by one—the early and long-tried friends of the still unpopular cause of the fettered slave are exchanging the perishable for the enduring—the transient for the permanent—the vestments of decay for the robes of immortality; and, at no distant day, they will all have finished their earthly course,—thanking God, if not permitted to sing the song of jubilee on earth, that they were enabled to endure unto the end in the noblest of moral conflicts and most far-reaching of philanthropic enterprises.

"Baptized in blood for glorious deeds,
O'er falling thrones and flaming creeds,
The Martyr-Angels throng;
Through quickened minds and hearts below,
We hear their golden trumpets blow,
A fiery peal and long.

Give us, O Lord, our God, to be
The mediums of Divinity,
Like Angels great and wise;
With them to labor and to wait
Till thou dost ope the morning gate,
And call us to the skies!" [ED. LIB.

Poetry.

For the Liberator.

THE JUDGE'S DECISION.

Away, on the hills of New England,
  In the old heroic time,
When the Priest and the Ruler were making
  A theme for the poet's rhyme;

When every man was in earnest,
  And meant the thing he said—
For they'd carved the charter of Freedom
  With their bayonets, sharp and red;

There stood, at a Court of Justice,
  A black man, huge and grim;
The bondman's fetter and shackle
  Were clanking on wrist and limb.

Then Harrington sat in judgment,
  As they led the prisoner in,
To be tried for the crime of condition,
  For the guilt of a colored skin!

Soft was the mien of the claimant,
  As the airs of the balmy South;
Like the musical ripple of waters
  Were the words that fell from his mouth:—

"May it please your honor, this servant
  From his Christian service ran;
And so, he hath wronged his master,
  A noble and chivalrous man.

"By the rule of the Law and the Gospel,
  The servant that runneth away
Shall he sent, by the Judge or Apostle,
  To his master, without delay."

Just then, the sun in the heaven
  Broke in, like a golden wave;
It fell on the Judge and the claimant,
  It fell on the chain of the slave.

It streamed through the crowded court-room,
  And lighted the faces of all;
Like a halo, it dwelt on the pictures
  Of the worthies that hung on the wall.

It seemed like an Iris of Freedom,
  Golden-winged, from the Just and the Brave,
Who spake through the Judge as he questioned
  The proof, that the man was a slave.

They gave him the oath of the master,
  And the oaths of more of that sort,
Bills of sale from trader and planter,
  And records of county and court.

The Judge ran his eye o'er the papers,
  He turned them around and around;
He looked on the sun in the heaven,
  He looked on the poor and the hound.

And his eye caught a glimpse of the future,
  Of the Judgment of Judges—*to be!*
And, slowly and lowly, he uttered,
  "These papers are nothing to me.

"From the font of our own Revolution,
  From the paths that our martyrs have trod,
Shall I render a MAN to a master,
  When the ownership resteth in God?

"Nothing less than a warrant from Heaven
  In the case shall be binding on me:
For I rule, that the Law and the Gospel
  Command that *all men* shall be free."

B. RUSH PLUMLY.

For the Liberator.

THE PROSPECT.

AIR: "*What fairy like music.*"

"Lift up your heads: for your redemption draweth nigh."—CHRIST.

Weep n[illegible] is near!
Every day brings some tidings your spirits to cheer;
While men's hearts are full of the spirit of fight,
Out of all this gross darkness God will bring to you light.

Ye who've toiled long as bondmen, in sorrow and pain,
Trodden down by your masters—made vassals for gain—
Shall ere long be delivered, for God doth decree
That the black and the white shall be all alike free.

Though the great men of earth may unite all their skill
To cover up Justice, and Truth's voice to still,
In a moment unlooked for shall a voice come from heaven,
Saying, "Strike off the fetters—let freedom be given."

How cheering the prospect which breaks on the view,
When our country no more shall be ruled by the few;
When all men as brothers acknowledged shall be,
And our land be "the home of the brave and the free"!

Dry your tears, then, ye captives, and lift up your head,
Freedom's hosts are uprising, filling tyrants with dread;
Soon your chains shall be riven, your shouts rend the air,
And God be acknowledged the hearer of prayer.

A "good time is coming"—have patience to wait—
God shall raise up the fallen, and humble the great;
His will shall on earth as in heaven be done,
And slavery no more shall be known 'neath the sun.

Boston, Sept. 5, 1861. JUSTITIA.

From the Boston Transcript.

FORWARD!

BY REV. JOHN PIERPONT.

God, to the human soul,
  And all the spheres, that roll,
Wrapped, by His spirit, in their robes of light,
  Hath said, "The primal plan
  Of all the worlds, and man,
Is forward! Progress is your law,—your right."

  The despots of the earth,
  Since Freedom had her birth,
Have, to their subject nations, said, "Stand still!"
  So, from the polar Bear,
  Comes down the freezing air,
And stiffens all things with its deadly chill.

  Be who doth God resist—
  God's old antagonist—
Would snap the chain that binds all things to Him;
  And, in his godless pride,
  All peoples would divide,
And scatter even the choirs of seraphim.

  God all the orbs that roll
  Binds to one common goal—
One source of light and life—His radiant throne.
  In one fraternal mind
  All races would He bind,
Till every man, in man, a brother own.

  Tyrants with tyrants league;
  Corruption and Intrigue
To strangle infant Liberty conspire.
  Around her cradle, then,
  Let self-devoted men
Gather, and keep unquenched her vital fire.

  When Tyranny, grown bold,
  To Freedom's host cries "Hold!
Ye toward her temple at your peril march"—
  "Stop," that great host replies,
  Raising to heaven its eyes,
"Stop, first, the host that moves across yon arch!"

  When Tyranny commands,
  "Hold thou my victim's hands,
While I more firmly rivet on his chains,
  Or, with my Bowie knife,
  I'll take your craven life,
Or show my streets bespattered with your brains"—

  Freedom, with forward tread,
  Unblenching turns her head,
And drawing from its sheath her flashing glaive,
  Calmly makes answer,—*Dare*
  Touch of my head one hair,
I'll cut the cord that holds your every slave!"

THE DEPARTED.

The outward world is dark and drear
  When friends we love are seen no more;
But, hark! their happy songs we hear
  In music from the spirit shore.

We wake no more by night to mourn;
  They are not lost, but gone before;
And still their loving thoughts are borne
  In music from the spirit shore.

The Liberator.

LETTER

To a Missionary of "The American Board" now in this Country.

BOSTON, Sept. 8th, 1861.

REV. JUSTIN PERKINS:

SIR—Your note of the 5th inst., received yesterday, designates as "false" my statement respecting you on page 216 of the book entitled "Relation of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions to Slavery."

This statement was that, instead of taking "a decided and active part in opposition to slavery," (in the Annual Meeting of the Board in 1859,) you "remained silent" while Rev. Henry T. Cheever and Rev. Dr. George B. Cheever were urging immediate and energetic measures against slavery and the slave trade.

I added to this that you "preserved a like shameful silence, though present, when the yet worse transactions of *the next* Annual Meeting were going on." But since you do not pretend that this second statement is incorrect, my examination of authorities, to see whether I have even accidentally misrepresented you, may be confined to the first.

I looked, for information in regard to your demeanor at the Meeting of the Board at Philadelphia, in 1859, first to the Annual Report of the Prudential Committee for that year, and next to the extended reports of that meeting in the *Recorder* and the *Congregationalist*.

The Annual Report does not mention you as speaking at all, while either slavery or the slave trade was under discussion.

The *Congregationalist* does not mention you as speaking at all in regard to the very important motion made by Dr. Cheever, that the Board declare the holding of slaves "an immorality, inconsistent with membership in any Christian church," and require that the Choctaw mission churches "should immediately put away from themselves this sin." It does not mention you as speaking at all upon the very important motion made by Rev. Henry T. Cheever, "that the Prudential Committee be instructed to carry on the Choctaw mission by the appointment and substitution of other missionaries than the present incumbents." It however gives the following as the substance of your remarks on Dr. George B. Cheever's proposition, that the Board address to Congress a memorial against the enlargement and legalization of the foreign slave trade:—

"Dr. Perkins, as a returned Missionary, said he had always been outspoken on this general subject, and he wished to bear testimony that no influence had been exerted to induce him to keep silence. During his twenty-five years' absence from the country, many things had transpired, that prophecy would have been wild to predict; and the re-opening of the slave trade would have been regarded as the most distant of all probabilities. It curdled his blood, almost, to think that, for a moment, the idea should be entertained. He trusted and prayed that the Board might not shrink from any responsibility that God, the friend of the slave, had put upon them in this matter."

The *Recorder* does not mention you as speaking at all on the first two of the three most needful and timely propositions above-mentioned. Upon the third, it gives the following, as the substance of your remarks:—

"Rev. Dr. Perkins, of Persia, wished to testify that he had never been pressed by the Board in relation to slavery and the expression of his views upon it. In the twenty-five years since he left, nothing more strange had happened than the opening of the slave trade; he prayed the Board might not shrink from responsibility, although he would not urge precipitate action."

Here, then, is the substance of your remarks, and *the whole* of what you are reported to have said in regard to slavery, out of the mouths of two disinterested witnesses. Let us examine what ground is covered, first by your speech, and next by your silence.

You are shocked at the idea of enlarging and legalizing the foreign slave trade. So is Chancellor Walworth, one of the strongest defenders of the Board's complicity with slavery in this country! You pray that the Board may not shrink from responsibility. So does every member of it, as a matter of course! In the *Congregationalist's* report, you *seem* to become more specific, trusting and praying that the Board may not shrink from any "responsibility that God, the friend of the slave, had put upon them in this matter." But the minuteness of specification is only seeming. Dr. South-side Adams trusts and prays the same thing; and what he means by it is, that friendship for the slave requires him to be kept in slavery, and that the Board's "responsibility" requires it not to interfere with that relation! What you *said* at the meeting of the Board in Philadelphia, therefore, does not in the least distinguish you from its most pro-slavery members. You *did not* urge them to any measure whatever of opposition, either to slavery or the slave trade, according to the reports of your two Orthodox "brethren"!

Moreover, besides failing to make any protest on your own account against the pro-slavery position of the Prudential Committee (while it remained uncertain whether the Board would authorize that position, and while, therefore, faithfulness on your part might have caused a different result) you shrank from supporting either of three special movements made by others in that direction. Is it not true, and is it not "shameful," that on this occasion you were "silent"? In regard to the advocacy of a much-needed reform, and in regard to exposure and rebuke of the Board's aggravated guilt, certainly you were "silent."

But you represent it as an important point—and as tending to counterbalance the *proof* offered by Dr. Cheever, that silence in regard to slavery had been "enforced" upon some of the Board's missionaries—that no influence had been used by the Prudential Committee to induce *you* to keep silence! What then? Why should they wish to silence you? You were one of their defenders. There is no evidence that you have ever attempted to rebuke their sin, or to speak to them at all in behalf of Christ's little ones whom they were helping their Cherokee and Choctaw church-members to keep in slavery! This very forbearance of the Prudential Committee towards *you* strengthens the evidence of your guilt!

It appears, moreover, that in accusing you only of shameful silence on the occasion in question, I treated you too leniently; for the *Recorder's* report represents you as discouraging the reformation urged by Dr. Cheever; you "would not urge precipitate action."

The action which Dr. Cheever urged was immediate remonstrance against a most pernicious movement (one so bad that the mere thought of it "almost curdled your blood") which was at that moment vigorously urged forward by many Southern people, and which seemed likely to be accomplished before another Annual Meeting of the Board. This immediate remonstrance was the movement in question, and this you implied to be "precipitate." How could the policy of the Prudential Committee have been better served? Why should they have wished to stop *your* mouth?

For some time past, not only has a shameful silence in regard to the pro-slavery course of the Prudential Committee been your accustomed policy, but you have given much aid in persuading the people of this country to yield them renewed confidence and support. It is too late, now, for you to obey the inspired precept of Jeremiah—"Execute judgment *in the morning*, and deliver him that is spoiled out of the hand of the oppressor." The morning is past; the eleventh hour is already come; but the lamp still holds out to burn, and you may yet, if you will, at the approaching meeting of the Board, make earnest appeal to them to withdraw their shameful concurrence in the monstrous declaration of the Prudential Committee, that "The Cherokees are a Christian people"; even if a union of that nation with the rebels now waging war against the United States shall prevent the present fulfilment of the Board's *further* duty, namely, to send to that slaveholding people missionaries who shall really preach Christianity to them.

Trusting that you may have courage and honesty enough for the performance of these duties, I am

Your friend and servant for the truth,

CHARLES K. WHIPPLE.

ADDRESS,

Delivered at the Commencement Exercises at the Normal Institute for Physical Education, Boston, Sept. 5,

BY MISS ABBY W. MAY.

GENTLEMEN AND LADIES—In the period of universal reform, through which we have been passing, it was both natural and proper that woman should arouse herself, and ask—Am I keeping time to the world's great onward march? Am I in possession of all my rights and privileges? Am I doing my whole duty? To these important questions, the answers have been as varied as the temperaments and characters of those who made reply. Ignorant and foolish women were ready with a flippant retort; timid conservatives shrank from facing the obstacles that stood in the way of what they admitted to be a needed reform, and so preferred to let "pretty well" alone; but the thoughtful and earnest of my sex have pondered the grave question, and, spite of the difficulties in the way of a satisfactory solution, have confessed that woman is not fulfilling her destiny. It is not my purpose, to-night, to enter into any consideration of the great question of woman's sphere. I shall merely make one affirmation in relation to it, to which I am sure you will all accede; I shall then endeavor to trace the connection between it and the matter that especially concerns this occasion; for the interest that has brought us together to-night is of no small importance to woman. I am not unmindful of its great value to the other sex. Neither man nor woman is complete without physical culture adopted for its own sake, and only discontinued as a special branch of study and practice when the occupation of the individual is proved to answer every physical need. But man's education and ordinary habits of life enable him to do without it, as woman cannot.

I affirm, then, that woman was created for a lofty purpose,—that a great work has been given her to do; and I know that you will readily admit the statement. How, then, is she fitted, by her present mode of life, to do that work?

Look, first and carefully, at her style of dress. I speak of no particular class of women. Unhappily, our hardest workers copy the follies in dress of our most inactive class. Would that our laboring women were blessed, as those of the old world, with a peasant's costume! Where is the woman who, in her usual dress, can raise her arm perpendicularly above her head, or thrust it forward, backward, or sideways to its full length? If, in the circle of your acquaintance, you can find one woman able to do thus, you are more fortunate than I have been. But why the nice adjustment of shoulder joint and muscle, if not for these very uses? Or shall we ask for free motions of the leg? No: that were too foolish a demand on limbs that, for the greater part of their life, have been fettered by trailing skirts and cumbersome drapery. But perhaps you will say this freedom is unnecessary for refined and cultivated women; leave it for the "working classes." Putting out of the question the responsibility that the more fortunate ought to feel for those less wise than they, I answer to this, that I believe God knows none other than "working classes." They who are idle are so not by virtue of His will, but by their own misfortunes or unfaithfulness. Who ever framed a delicate and elaborate machine, capable of mighty and varied uses, for ornament merely? Human Economy forbids us to admit, for a moment, that Divine Power could so trifle. But for an instant we will allow our delicate and noble woman to be crippled, as to her limbs; we will count freedom of motion vulgar, fit only for those who do our most menial work; and may they burst off the buttons to secure it! And we will think only of those vital organs which affect the life of the individual alone. What of the lungs, whose utmost expansion is none too great thoroughly to purify the blood, upon which this delicate beauty is dependent, not only for life, but for that comeliness which is so important to her? Her lungs never expand, as her pale cheeks, and feeble breath, and low average of vitality amply testify. Her cramped stomach labors to do its duty, and fails, in a great majority of cases. And her heart is so misplaced, that the efforts of the whole male sex would fail to set it right. Nor does the trouble end here. This imperfect physical life makes constant and fearful calls on the brain; and, in multitudes of cases, that crowning organ of humanity is useful principally as a telegraph-operator, to receive messages of distress pouring into it from the much-abused dependents, which would be excused if they tried to secede. I think it perfectly safe to say, that no important function of a woman's body can be carried on in perfection, with the present style of dress. And if the physical laws are all broken, we cannot expect the intellectual, moral and spiritual life to be healthy and lofty. It is true, exceptional cases may be found, but we want a universal rule that will be better than any exception. I believe insanity and morbid spiritual experiences would greatly diminish in this generation, if woman would at once inaugurate a reform in dress; and, in generations yet to come, the gain would be beyond computation. Nor need the changes be so great as to shock the most modest, or interfere with the most refined taste. That mantua-maker must be a poor student of her art indeed, who, with the endless variety of ornament which French skill is constantly devising, cannot make a dress handsome, and even without a noticeable departure from the prevailing mode, at the same time that she gives its wearer room to breathe and to digest. A woman who should adapt her dress to physiological laws would lose at once, it is true, that graceful outline which the mantua-maker's idea of beauty of form has made current among us; but she would gain within the year a breadth, and solidity, and vigor, that are priceless; and eventually the firm muscle and the delicate tissue would bring back to earth such beauty as God made, and set in Paradise. Oh! women of thought and conscience, consider well this matter, as it deserves. Go home; consign all bones not yours by birthright to the comparative anatomist; leave street-sweeping to our city fathers; wrestle with the tempter until you slay him; and go forth from the combat, resolved no longer to bow down to the Demon of Fashion. Ye cannot serve God and him!

I would not have occupied so much of your time with this matter of dress, were it not that it is directly connected with the new gymnastics. Dr. Lewis regards a reform in this direction as of the utmost importance; and every performer of his series of exercises will, I believe, find that a dress which prevents all the motions,—at least of the upper part of the body,—from being freely made, must be wrong; since there is no forced use of limb or muscle encouraged or even allowed by the system.

But when we have freed woman from the slavery of dress, we have only taken the first step. How shall we bring back the lost power and grace to the enfeebled frame? I will not speak of the need of fresh air, abundant bathing, and a rational diet. These are equally required by both sexes; and, too, the public mind is becoming rapidly enlightened about them. But I wish I could pay a just tribute to the father of this new system of physical training. I believe he has given fresh life to many a sufferer; and by the scheme which he has founded, has inaugurated a reform not second in importance to any moral or intellectual reform. The noblest achievement for the human race is a perfect body, *until that has been attained:* afterward, we climb may from sphere to sphere of glory. There never was a noble, enduring building erected on a poor foundation: there never will be. Hitherto, in the world's history, one set of powers has usually been cultivated to the neglect of another. One man treated himself as if he were nothing but a brain; another was but a magnified heart; still another exaggerated his muscular powers, by forced means, until he was only a huge body. But it is to be hoped that the time for all this is past; so far as *this* system goes, it surely is. Here man is studied as a complex being. His higher nature is no longer to be sacrificed, because the more material part is suffered to run to waste. A system of gymnastics is no new thing; but the peculiarity and crowning excellence of this system *are new*; at least, so far as Anglo-Saxon experience is concerned. Its novelty consists in this, that every muscle, every limb, every organ, has been studied with a view to its relation to man as a harmonious and immortal being. Each part is honored for its own sake, and also for the sake of the soul, whose servant it is. Here, each enters on a course of harmonious development, that ends only in perfection. It is no child's play. It is obedience to God's will, as manifested in our flesh. It contains, too, the element of constant growth, and so secures to itself perpetual youth, and ever-widening usefulness and fame. It were vain for me to seek words to express what I believe to be the value of this new school of physical training, to woman in especial. It cannot be so measured. Its power has begun to be felt; it will not cease until all physical life shall be supplanted by that which never dies.

Friends, I ventured, just now, to presume on your assent to a statement I then made. Permit me to hope that the deductions I have made from it, or, rather, the great truth which underlies all I have tried to say, may strike home to your hearts, and spread, by its own power, from one to many, until the external and physical condition of woman may become such as to fit her for the moral and intellectual position that she ought to occupy.

Classmates, the time has come for us to bid farewell to our teachers, and to one another. It were idle to linger over the word. The golden hours of summer have borne forever into the past the nine weeks of earnest purpose that have held us together here. They have been weeks of unbroken harmony; of much labor, of a kind that was new to nearly all of us; but of a wholesome and increasing satisfaction that I think I may say we never knew before. To our teachers, we owe our hearty and respectful thanks. Where each one has been so able in his own department of science, and each so devoted to our service, it were invidious to single out any one for an especial thank-offering, were it not that he who is the founder of this Institution has, by the nature of his relation to it, been called upon to make the greatest sacrifices of time and strength for our welfare: all of which he has done with a zeal and patience which have been a daily surprise, even to those of us who, from previous acquaintance with him, had been led to expect very great devotion. Henceforth, we shall delight to think of him as one who holds our welfare very near his own; we shall turn to him for sympathy and encouragement in our failures, and shall love to bring our successes to him as belonging more to him than to ourselves.

We part to-night, never, in all probability, to meet again. Our country, soon we trust to be united and free, offers a wide field for our exertions. In our own unaided strength, we can do little; but let us go forth to our work with full assurance, that He, in whose service we are to labor, will make us strong unto the end, if we put our trust in Him.

STATE OF THE COUNTRY.

MECHANIC FALLS, Aug. 30, 1861.

DEAR FRIEND GARRISON:

I have written several letters for the *Liberator*, lately, some of which have not appeared, unless they were in numbers which I have happened not to receive; but it is no manner of consequence, for, among your numerous contributors and voluminous correspondence, it cannot be expected that everything can find a place in the paper, and none can be of less consequence than the contributions that I occasionally offer.

Among the interesting contents of the *Liberator*, I have been much gratified and instructed by reading the discourse of Rev. A. D. Mayo, in the paper of August 16th, in the perusal of which I was reminded of James Boyle's letter, published in 1838; and I have just risen from a re-perusal of that letter, so prophetic of the events which have transpired since the period of its publication and of the present state of the country, and I cannot but think it would be refreshing to the readers of the *Liberator* to ponder the following extract:—

"Now look at our own country. We are able to exert no more than a moral influence on the slaveholder. We can affect nothing, unless we can bring him to see his sin, and voluntarily to renounce it. But to me, insurmountable difficulties are in the way, so far as moral suasion is concerned. The oppressor, with the obstinacy and desperation of a demon, has closed up every avenue of access to his understanding and conscience, so far as this has been in his power. He has transformed the pages of the Bible into brazen shields, to ward off every arrow of truth. He has thrown around him a rampart of spungy priests, who, like bales of cotton, extract the momentum from the balls that are levelled at his callous heart. He has trampled under his impious feet the rebukes and remonstrances of the civilized world. He has shown a Corinthian impudence that would look the moral world out of countenance. He has perpetrated the most daring and unparalleled piracy to give unending perpetuity to his crime. He has sworn eternal allegiance to the prince of murderers, and sold himself, body, soul and spirit, to perpetual evil. Every sect, with the exception of the Quakers, (and they dare not bark,) which inhabits his territory—their Judas like priesthood, who teach for hire and divine for money—the great body of the equally corrupt clergy, and corpulent, gouty sects of the North—the greater influence of a psuedo religious press—the worshippers of Mammon, a mighty host—a widely-extended, unprincipled political press—the two great political parties, which divide the country in their sordid strife for the spoils of office—the vast army of office-holders, without feeling and without honesty—the governments of nearly all the States, and the government of the United States—all combine to justify, to protect, and defend him.

I know there is nothing too hard for the Lord—that he is able to surmount all these or any other obstacles. But what reason have we to expect that He will interpose His all-conquering arm to rescue *such a nation as this?*—a nation that has proved recreant to every principle upon which its government is ostensibly based, and for the rectitude of which, in their birth, they most solemnly appealed to Heaven;—a nation more perfidious than Arabs or Algerines, guilty of the blackest perjury before all the world, in violating solemn treaties with the grievously-wronged Indian, scattered and peeled and driven with force and cruelty from his rightful home;—a nation guilty of the most high-handed and daring robberies;—a nation dyed in the blood of stolen Africans, of murdered slaves and murdered Indians;—a nation which weighs every principle and every interest of heaven and earth in the scales of avarice, and calculates their value accordingly;—a nation which has trampled on all justice, all law, all government, all truth and righteousness, in efforts to crush the best friends of our common humanity;—a nation which, like the drunkard or the maniac, has lost the power of self-recovery, and is every way worthy to be . . . a proverb among all the nations of the earth. 'Were they ashamed when they had committed abomination? Nay, they were not at all ashamed, neither could they blush! Therefore, they shall fall among them that fall, at the time that I visit them; they shall be cast down, saith the Lord. Shall I not visit for these things? saith the Lord; shall not my soul be avenged on such a nation as this?'

There is a certain class of medicines, powerful, but equally valuable, which, when administered to a patient in whom the vital stamina is not materially injured, invariably effect a cure; but which, when administered to one whose constitution is imperceptibly, yet irrecoverably impaired or undermined by a complication of diseases, have no other tendency than to develop the most frightful symptoms, such as deadly chills, violent convulsions, and raving delirium—and hence, hurries him to the tomb. The state of this latter patient I consider a just representation of the moral, religious and political condition of this country generally. Abolition would effect a cure, if there was enough of vitality to sustain its operation; but fierce diseases having pertinaciously seized on every part, its only tendency is to develop (not create) appalling symptoms of deep decay and speedy dissolution."

What has become of James Boyle? Has he died in retirement, still beloved and unforgotten? I think his judgment of the patient was not quite correct; for, although the disease was deep and violent, I think that abolition may still effect a cure. I think, certainly, no other remedy will; and the disease has been so long and so violent, that recovery must be slow, and the period of convalescence long, before health is restored. All now depends upon the skill, judgment and *courage* of our political doctors in prescribing the medicine; and if the chief physician acts wisely, the patient may not only live, but acquire a condition of health and vigor it has never experienced; for the disease being congenital, the nation has never yet enjoyed a healthy existence. I hardly think the patient is yet quite sick enough, and has not yet suffered quite enough to be ready for the medicine; but when the moment of the crisis arrives, the doctor must compel him to swallow it, or consent to see him die. But to drop metaphor. I doubt not that if government would accept the services of colored men, proclaim liberty to all the slaves, with a reasonable compensation to loyal masters, the war could be brought to an end in sixty days—thus saving thousands of lives, and costing no more money than it will to carry on the war for two years. Every rebel would claim loyalty the moment their case appeared hopeless.

Some men, and many of them, even, in the Republican party, cannot distinguish between an act of emancipation and organizing the slaves into the army, and the exciting of insurrection; but it is necessary, although extremely trying, to labor to teach stupidity, and particularly that stupidity which is the result of moral obtuseness. Still, I think persevering precept, and one or two more Bull Run expeditions, will open the understandings of some seemingly hopeless cases.

Had I twelve sons and six men servants, and government should say to me, "We want your twelve sons to die for the country," I would answer, "Here are six of my sons and six servants, who offer their services. Take them, and then, if these are killed, or if they be not enough, you shall have the other six, and myself with them." If government should reply, "We want your sons, but your servants we will not have under any conditions," I would answer, "Then, with my consent, you shall not have one of them." When the people come to look at the subject in this light, Slavery will go out, and Liberty triumph.

"Dearly beloved, the morning cometh, and also the night; but the night first."

D. S. GRANDIN.

TRAITORS IN THE REVOLUTION.

The following extracts, of "Newspapers in the Revolution," and "action of State Legislatures," from the pen of B. J. Lossing, the Revolutionary historian, will be read with interest as a similarity in the present state of the country:—

"In all colonies there were only thirty-seven newspapers, and of these, at the time in question, only seven were devoted to the interests of the British government. These were soon stifled by public opinion wherever the Whigs, as the patriots were called, bore rule, while five of the remaining thirty were seduced by gold or frightened by innuendoes into the support of the Crown. *Rivington's Royal Gazette*, published in New York, took ground boldly against the Revolutionary movement; and at noonday, late in the autumn of 1775, it was 'surprised' by one hundred light horsemen from Connecticut, led by Capt. Sears, a distinguished 'Son of Liberty,' in New York. They destroyed the press and other apparatus, put the type into bags, and, without one word of complaint from the people, returned to Connecticut, carrying with them a tory clergyman named Seabury, who had preached against the Whigs and the Continental Congress. The type they cast into bullets. All the people, except the 'peace party' of that day, said, Amen! After that, the newspaper press ceased to be troublesome to the Whigs, and pampbleteers wrote anonymously.

In the course of the war for independence, the several State Legislatures passed numerous acts for the punishment of the sympathizers with the enemies of the country. In Massachusetts, they could be arrested under a Magistrate's warrant, and banished, unless they would take the oath of allegiance to the Whig cause. The selectmen or trustees of towns could prefer charges of political treachery in town meetings, and the accused, if convicted by a jury, might be immediately banished into the region occupied by the enemy. Many persons were subjected to these penalties in that State.

Rhode Island passed laws still more severe against the tories. Any person who should communicate with the ministry, or their representatives, or who should pilot armed ships of the King's, or who afforded supplies to the enemy's forces, might, by law, be punished by death and confiscation of estate. There were, also, special acts passed in that State, by which the property of certain persons named was confiscated and sequestered.

In Connecticut, speaking, writing or acting against the doings of Congress, or the Assembly of Connecticut, subjected the offender to the penalties of disqualification for office, the seizure of his arms and imprisonment. For furnishing the royal troops with supplies or personal aid, the offender might be punished by the confiscation of his estate, and imprisonment for a term not exceeding three years.

In New Hampshire, similar laws were passed, and under them a large number of tories, former citizens of that commonwealth, were prohibited from entering within her borders; and the estates of about thirty residents were confiscated.

In New York, those who were opposed to the Declaration of Independence were prohibited from practising law in the courts, and their estates might be confiscated. A parent whose sons joined the enemy was taxed nine pence on the pound of his estate for each and every such son. County committees were authorized to apprehend and decide upon the guilt of all persons who should be accused of correspondence with the enemy; and they had the power to punish them with imprisonment or banishment.

The Legislature of Virginia provided by law that certain tories should be treated as aliens, their property to be sold, and the proceeds placed in the public treasury. They also, by law, forbade certain persons entering the bounds of that commonwealth, and subjected them to penalties for the violation of the command.

New Jersey passed several acts for the punishment of tories, subjecting them to imprisonment and forfeiture of estates."

A VISIT TO THE HOSPITAL.

In company with Dr. Curtis of Boston, who has recently been appointed Brigade Surgeon, I visited the hospital north of the City Hall, at the Infirmary building, this afternoon. Passing through the lower ward to the rear of the building, we came to a row of tents, in one of which was a soldier, private Bailey, Mass. 14th, who had received a fracture of one of his legs by falling into the trench at Fort Albany. By his side sat the wife of Rev. Mr. Barker, Chaplain of the 14th. The nature of the wound was such that he was compelled to lie in one position, and the poor fellow was nervous and restless; but the affectionate words, the gentle acts, and warm sympathy of Mrs. Barker, soothed the pain. It was very touching to see how warmly he grasped her hand, and held it as if it were his mother's. She is as a mother to him, and not only to him, but to all in the hospital. Determined not to be behind her husband in doing good, and obeying the warm impulses of her heart, she obtained permission to visit the infirmary. She found that, though the general management was excellent, almost every patient was in want of something, not merely to make them comfortable, but which was indispensable to their speedy restoration. She systematized her investigation, making notes of things wanted for the various patients, then proceeded to the sanitary commission and made a requisition, or stated what was wanted. The commission at once complied with her request, and gave her *carte blanche* to go and come at all times, and agreed to honor all her requisitions. She visits the infirmary daily — talks with the patients, writes letters for them, supplies them with the little things which in a large hospital are generally overlooked. Her presence fills the wards with joy. I do not wonder that the English soldier kissed the shadow of Florence Nightingale when she passed through the ward, after having seen the light which kindles in the countenances of the patients in the hospital here, when their kind friend makes her appearance. One poor fellow who is slowly recovering from an amputation of an arm, rendered necessary in consequence of a wound received at Bull Run, whose education was not obtained at Harvard, with much earnestness remarked that she was "an *epistle* of mercy!" The mingling of terms can well be pardoned, in view of the warmth of his gratitude.—*Washington corr. Boston Journal.*

LETTER FROM GEN. B. F. BUTLER.

The Lowell *Advertiser* publishes the following letter upon the state of the country, and the coming election in Massachusetts:—

U. S. STEAM FRIGATE MINNESOTA,
Off Cape Hatteras; Aug. 27, 1861.

MY DEAR FRIEND,—I have received your note, as well as those of many others of my true friends in Massachusetts, asking my opinion about political questions, and some kindly suggesting my name as a candidate for Governor, at the ensuing election. I reply to you as representing them all, because our intimacy will permit more frankness than would seem meet towards those less closely connected. As I have stated to you, and as I have publicly repeated, when I left home I left all politics, in a party sense of the term, behind me, and I now know no politics in any sense, save as represented by the question—How best to preserve the Union and restore the country to its integrity? Peace is desirable to all, and to none more so than to the soldier who has left his friends and his home to do his duty to his country. But however desirable, it is not to be purchased upon any terms, save the recognition of the authority of the Federal Government over every inch of territory which ever belonged to it. Upon no condition whatever, other than this, would I consent to peace. A peace involving the disintegration of the Union, or until the supremacy of the Government is forever established, would be simply a declaration of perpetual war of sections. Were the Southern Confederacy to-day acknowledged in the fullness of good faith, two months would not elapse before causes of war would arise, sufficient not only to justify, but to demand a renewal of the conflict. No two months have passed, in the last ten years at least, in which outrages have not been committed upon Northern men in the South, which, had they been perpetrated by a foreign nation, would have demanded a redress of grievances, under pain of a suspension of diplomatic relations. But we have borne these outrages because there was no tribunal to the arbitrament of which we could submit them, and it was against the genius of our people to appeal to arms. Therefore I see with pain, upon the part of some of those with whom I have acted in political organizations, a disposition to advocate peaceful settlements wherein there can be no peace. Therefore this war must go on, not for the purpose of subjugation—but if those who have commenced it bring upon themselves that condition as an incident, it will only be another illustration of the fruit of sowing the wind. Besides these, there are no other politics.

On the matter of nomination, I cannot consent that my name shall be used by any party. While on some things, as you are aware, I do not agree with the principles upon which both the State and the National administrations were inaugurated, yet we are a long way past that. The Republican party, having won a political victory, both in the State and in the Nation, is entitled to the patriotic endeavor of every man to give it a fair trial in the administration of the government, and in that, it should as it does, take the lead in official positions. And now there is left nothing for us to contend against, save any corruption, inefficiency or impropriety of administration, which I doubt not would at once be rebuked as well by Republicans as by Democrats. But as far as regards the *personnel* of administration, in the State, I believe Gov. Andrew has endeavored faithfully, zealously and efficiently to put our Commonwealth on the side of the nation and to sustain the Union. I, therefore, for one, would not desire to see a change in the Executive, although, I doubt not, people will demand changes in some of the minor officers. I do not say that I would vote for Gov. Andrew, but were I at home, I would not vote against him. Let it be understood, that without distinction of party and without raising party issues, all men who love the Union are determined to stand by it and the country, until this rebellion shall be quelled, and then we may hereafter divide as we please upon the minor differences of administration of government.

To you, my dear friend, I need urge no justification for this course. You will appreciate it, for you are aware of the sacrifice, both of feeling and of position, I made a year ago, in the earnest endeavor to save the country from this calamity, which I then partly foresaw, and, acting in the best light I had, endeavored to prevent. And I am ready to make a like sacrifice now to repel that which I then sought to avert. I need to thank you and others of my friends for this, among many other kindnesses you have shown me.

Very truly yours,

BENJ. F. BUTLER.

F. A. HILDRETH, Esq.

LETTER FROM THOS. FRANCIS MEAGHER.

HEADQUARTERS IRISH BRIGADE,
596 Broadway, Sept. 11, 1861.

MY DEAR TREANOR,—I have this moment sent you word by the wires, that, very probably, I shall send you the name of a Colonel to-morrow. In the meanwhile, work away like a trooper, and mind what I urged upon you—don't enlist any but decent, intelligent, steady and brave young fellows—no rowdies, no loafers, no broken-down political backs and hirelings, for God's sake, and the sake of the Country! We are getting on gloriously here. Within a fortnight our three regiments—one of them being a regiment of flying artillery—will be complete. I have telegraphed to my friend Sergeant Tom O'Neill, requesting and authorizing him to raise a squadron of 100 men. Should he do so, if he has no objection, we shall bring him along here, for we shall all be right glad to have the dashing Irish dragoon protecting our guns. I purpose being in Boston in the course of ten days or a fortnight, and will deliver an address on the National Cause, the Stars and Stripes, and the Irish Brigade. The glorious three in glorious unity must win. No retreat, next time. "Stand or fall—victory or death—but no retreat—no retreat"—that's the marching and rallying cry next fight we have. Heavens! isn't it glorious to have such a country, and such a cause, and such a flag to battle for? The Irishman who is not with us in this contest—with us heart and soul—let him never utter another syllable about the liberty of Ireland.

If he will not stand up to strike, or at all events to cheer, for the good great cause which is now in fierce debate upon the banks of the Potomac, he will never have the heart and soul to face the red tempest for the cause that is still more desperately in peril.

I remain, my dear Treanor,

Ever faithfully your friend,

THOS. FRANCIS MEAGHER.

To B. S. TREANOR, Esq., Boston.

A DAY OF PRAYER.

In accordance with the request of a joint committee of Congress, President Lincoln has issued a proclamation, recommending Thursday, September 26th, as a day of fasting, humiliation, and prayer. He states, in general terms, what it is desirable the people should pray for.

If we are expected to join in that day's supplications, we shall be under the necessity of making *our* prayer more specific.

We would pray that effectual means might be taken to ascertain whether William H. Seward has forgotten the text of his Rochester speech, and if so, that he be provided with a printed copy—pasted in his hat—and that he be taught to repeat the words, "irrepressible conflict," till he will not be likely so soon again to forget their significance.

We would next pray for a thorough purging of all the departments, of disloyal and unprincipled men, filling their places with the good and true, so far as possible.

Having thus prayed all the tories and rebels out of the camp, we would implore the bestowment upon the remaining officers, from President to the least subordinate, of a necessary amount of strength in their spines, intelligence in their foreheads, well-directed force in their back brain, and an overpowering love of freedom and right to crown the whole.

Lastly, we would pray that the commander-in-chief might cause every army banner to be inscribed with "Freedom for the Slave," and, instead of a national pray day, there be appointed a national day of deliverance from bondage.

Even the prayer-hearing God of the Christians would prefer the song of deliverance from four millions of bondmen, to the groans and tears, humiliation and prayers of thirty millions of freemen. And if not, it is no reason why every sinner, from Abraham Lincoln down to the writer of this paragraph, should not forsake his sin before he prays to be forgiven.—*Herald of Progress.*

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☞ The following gentlemen constitute the Financial Committee, but are not responsible for any debts of the paper, viz:—FRANCIS JACKSON, EDMUND QUINCY, EDMUND JACKSON, and WENDELL PHILLIPS.

The United States Constitution is "a covenant with death, and an agreement with hell."

☞ "What order of men under the most absolute of monarchies, or the most aristocratic of republics, was ever invested with such an odious and unjust privilege as that of the separate and exclusive representation of less than half a million owners of slaves, in the Hall of this House, in the chair of the Senate, and in the Presidential mansion? This investment of power in the owners of one species of property concentrated in the highest authorities of the nation, and disseminated through thirteen of the twenty-six States of the Union, constitutes a privileged order of men in the community, more adverse to the rights of all, and more pernicious to the interests of the whole, than any order of nobility ever known. To call government thus constituted a Democracy is to insult the understanding of mankind. . . . It is doubly tainted with the infection of riches and of slavery. There is no name in the language of national jurisprudence that can define it—no model in the records of ancient history, or in the political theories of Aristotle, with which it can be likened. It was introduced into the Constitution of the United States by an equivocation—a representation of property under the name of persons. Little did the members of the Convention from the Free States imagine or foresee what a sacrifice to Moloch was hidden under the mask of this concession."—JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor. Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind. J. B. YERRINTON & SON, Printers.

VOL. XXXI. NO. 39. BOSTON, FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 27, 1861. WHOLE NO. 1605.

Refuge of Oppression.

IMPORTANT CORRESPONDENCE.

MR. HOLT ON FREMONT'S PROCLAMATION.

WASHINGTON, Sept. 12, 1861.

MY DEAR SIR,—I hasten to place in your hands the inclosed correspondence with the President of the United States. The action which he has taken was firm and decided, and must prove satisfactory to the friends of the Union in Kentucky.

The act of Congress alluded to was a necessity under the circumstances, and was fully justified by the usages of civilized warfare. The Government has the same right to confiscate slaves engaged in digging trenches or mounting guns for the Rebels, that it has to confiscate their arms when captured during the progress of the war; but, having confiscated them, Congress goes no further. Upon this law the President stands firmly, and in doing so, and in disavowing Gen. Fremont's proclamation, he gives another of the ever-multiplying proofs that the war, which is one for national existence, *does not seek to extinguish or interfere with slavery as established in the States.* If this institution suffers detriment from the events or issues of the rebellion, the blow will come from those who, under the pretence of defending it, are striking at the life of a Government under whose Constitution it has enjoyed complete shelter and protection for three quarters of a century.

* * * * * * * * *

Very sincerely yours, J. HOLT.

Gen. JAS. SPEED, Frankfort, Ky.

WASHINGTON, Sept. 12, 1861.

DEAR SIR,—The late act of Congress providing for the confiscation of the estates of persons in open rebellion against the Government, was as a necessary war measure accepted and fully approved by the loyal men of the country. It limited the penalty of confiscation to property actually employed in the service of the rebellion with the knowledge and consent of its owners, and instead of emancipating slaves thus employed, left their status to be determined by the Courts of the United States, or by subsequent legislation.

The proclamation, however, of Gen. Fremont, under date of the 30th of August, transcends, and of course violates the law in both these particulars, and declares that the property of rebels, whether used in support of the rebellion or not, shall be confiscated, and if consisting in slaves, that they shall be at once manumitted. The act of Congress referred to was believed to embody the conservative policy of your Administration upon this delicate and perplexing question, and hence the loyal men of the border slave States have felt relieved of all fears of any attempt on the part of the Government of the United States to liberate suddenly in their midst a population unprepared for freedom, and whose presence could not fail to prove a painful apprehension if not a terror to the homes and families of all. You may, therefore, well judge of the alarm and condemnation with which the Union-loving citizens of Kentucky—the State with whose popular sentiment I am best acquainted—have read this proclamation.

The hope is earnestly indulged by them as it is by myself, that this paper was issued under the pressure of a military necessity which Gen. Fremont believed justified the step, but that in the particulars specified it has not your approbation, and will not be enforced in derogation of law. The magnitude of the interest at stake and my extreme desire that by no misapprehension of your sentiments or purposes shall the power and fervor of the loyalty of Kentucky be at this moment abated or chilled, must be my apology for the frankness with which I have addressed you, and for the request I venture to make of an expression of your views upon the points of Gen. Fremont's proclamation, on which I have commented.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully, your obedient servant, J. HOLT.

His Excellency, ABRAHAM LINCOLN, President of the United States.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, Sept. 12, 1861.

THE HON. JOSEPH HOLT: *Dear Sir,*—Yours of this day, in relation to the late proclamation of Gen. Fremont, is received. Yesterday I addressed a letter to him by mail on the same subject, and which is to be made public when he receives it. I herewith send you a copy of that letter, which, perhaps, shows my position as distinctly as any new one I could write. I will thank you not to make it public until Gen. Fremont shall have had time to receive the original.

Your obedient servant, A. LINCOLN.

PRESIDENT LINCOLN NOBLY MEETING THE CRISIS.

While contending, in battle array, with the insane nigger-drivers at the South, and putting down with the strong hand their murderous and suicidal treason, Mr. Lincoln has been equally mindful that the original cause of evil began with the machinations of the fanatical nigger-worshippers at the North, and that to them are mainly owing our present troubles. The moderate and effective rebuke contained in his letter to Major-General Fremont is eminently worthy of admiration, both for the dignified and courteous language in which it is couched, and the death-blow it strikes at all attempts of badly advised local commanders to overstep the legitimate sphere of their military duties, and inaugurate a governmental policy, concerning a matter on which the gravest results may hinge, and which the President alone has the right to indicate.

The re-union of the States, temporarily dissevered by insurrectionary treason, cannot be established by force of arms alone. In addition to the triumphant advance of our troops by sea and on land, it is indispensable that the good and glorious old Constitution, with all of its provisions and guarantees, should remain embalmed in the respect of the people, and that it should be the pole star towards which all thoughts will point, when the moment shall have come for negotiating a cessation of the unfortunate strife that now rends the entrails of the republic. As it came down to us from Washington, Jefferson, Madison, and their contemporaries, it must be preserved and clearly marked as the basis of the peace which the war is intended to bring about. The greatest enemies of the Union and Constitution are the secessionists of the South and the Abolitionists of the North—the political nigger-drivers who culminated their treasonable intrigues with the bombardment of Fort Sumter, and the nigger-worshippers who have endeavored to make the struggle that has commenced a crusade against Southern institutions, in which oceans of blood should be shed to gratify the malice and folly of the school of which Garrison, Greeley, Gerrit Smith, Wendell Phillips and others are the prominent representatives. The recent acts and letters of the President of the United States show that he and his advisers are equal to the task of stretching out the hand which shall effectually crush the efforts of both of these classes of factionists, and that they are not more resolved to drive the armies of Beauregard, Lee and Johnston out of Virginia, than to check efforts similar to those into which General Fremont was lately beguiled by perfidious abolition counsellors.

The people of the United States endorse every one of the recent acts of Mr. Lincoln, as well in shutting up secession newspaper offices as in depriving active sympathizers with rebellion of their liberty by enclosing them within the walls of Federal fortresses. When the proper time, however, shall have arrived, popular sentiment will demand another step forward, and insist that those who originated the discord that prevails between the States; who, for years, declared that "the Constitution was a league with hell and a covenant with death"; and who have preached a division of the Union into two confederacies with far more pertinacity and venom than any of the school of Davis, Slidell, Benjamin and Yancey, should be meted out their deserts. Such journals as the *Anti-Slavery Standard*, the *Tribune*, Boston *Liberator*, *Times*, *Independent* and *Post* have done more to obstruct the progress of this patriotic war, than all other instrumentalities put together. They have not only stimulated their readers to a violation of the Constitution on the subject of slave property, but have endeavored, by every possible device, to foment discontent against the Administration and its agents. They ought to be silenced in the same manner as the secession newspapers have been silenced, and we have no doubt that the closing up of their offices will be the ultimate sequel of the measures which the President is so wisely adopting to secure the well-being of the country. He is meeting the crisis nobly, and the hearts of the people are with him in his determined efforts to put down both secession and anti-slavery treason.—*New York Herald.*

A QUESTION OF LAW. Fremont having once proclaimed martial law in Missouri, as it is admitted he had a right to do, and having also, by his powers as military chief, and under the construction of the law of nations given by John Quincy Adams, in his speech in 1842, liberated the slaves of rebels, can his act be annulled by himself, or even modified by any other authority? In other words, can men once declared free be again reduced to slavery by any color of law? The question is profoundly interesting, as it affects the condition of all the slaves of rebel owners now within the military jurisdiction of General Fremont.—*Evening Post.*

Nail this question just here. The proclamation of General Fremont has already given the Administration sufficient trouble, and, as we have already suggested, would, if its principle were universally adopted, make the war interminable. There is no *question of law* in the matter. It is a question of no law, of actual revolution. The proclamation of Fremont gave no slave his freedom.

We have printed a deed of manumission made by General Fremont to a slave, under his own proclamation. The deed is waste paper, so far as any law is concerned. If the slave were hereafter to plead it in any court, it would be treated as a nullity. A captain or a corporal in any regiment could make as good a deed of manumission, for any legal effect that it would have.

The notion, that General Fremont's declaration of martial law gives him the power as military chief to do what seemeth him good, would present a curious phase if he should happen to sell a free negro or a free white man into slavery. And yet he could do this with quite as much authority as he could free a slave. Martial Law is a sounding phrase, but it means only the temporary substitution of a military power for the operation of police laws, and it does not suspend the great principles of law which govern property.

In this question, which we prophesied on Tuesday morning would be raised, if the proclamation of General Fremont were to be adopted as the "way to carry on the war," we recognize the difficulty which the President is determined to avoid. There is a party at the North who would prefer to see the South plunged into hopeless destruction at the end of a long and expensive war, rather than have them lay down their arms to-day under the old Constitution. This is the party which continues to circulate weekly in Boston its motto, that "*the United States Constitution is a covenant with death and an agreement with hell.*" These gentry would gladly have freedom to the slaves of all rebels proclaimed as the law of the land, and when the Constitution was pleaded as the protection of all property not confiscated by due and regular process of law, would appeal to this motto, which they have flaunted in our faces through all these times of trial and battle for the Constitution, and tell us that we had by our own acts admitted its truth. For they have all along contended that the right of the slave to his freedom overrides Constitution and law.

General Fremont made a great mistake in his proclamation. It was not so much his own error as that of his friends, who urged him to this declaration of emancipation, and promised him the united voice of a great party in the North to sustain him. It has resulted in a more serious embarrassment to the Administration than any event since the battle of Manassas; and those persons who sustain the Fremont proclamation against the President's letter of modification, are opening a division in the ranks of the defenders of the Union which will be of terrible width. The President is not in the rear of his Major-General, as one of our contemporaries has intimated, but decidedly in advance, with his eyes open, and we earnestly recommend all good men to follow their leader.—*Journal of Commerce.*

THE ABOLITION WAIL. The doleful wailings of the abolition prints over Mr. Lincoln's letter to Gen. Fremont develop fully their sufferings. It has another effect among prints which pretend to be strongly for the Union, while they would really make the suppression of rebellion a war for emancipation—which would destroy the Union. The fact is, Mr. Lincoln's letter is a complete solvent of the roily materials hitherto afloat in the community. It has cleared public sentiment of many doubts and hesitations entertained by many honest men to find that only honest purposes were entertained by the administration—it will bring *ten times the courage and strength to the support of the government*, and it has precipitated the emancipation element to the bottom. It will be more and more dangerous to attempt to mix it in the pending conflicts again.—*Boston Courier.*

☞ Let the Abolition journals denounce Mr. Lincoln; he will gain ten supporters for every one he loses by showing his resolute determination to stand by the Constitution and the Laws to the greatest practicable extent. As we stated, on Monday, the President has, thus far, given no aid or comfort to the emancipationists. The avowal of any such policy would be instantly destructive to all hope of restoring the Union. No army could be kept to fight for emancipation.—*Buffalo Courier.*

Selections.

THE WAR IN AMERICA IN ITS RELATIONS TO SLAVERY.

The official instructions issued by the Washington Secretary of War, regarding the manner in which military officers are to deal with fugitive slaves during the civil war between the Northern and Southern sections of the American Union, are sufficient, even were there no other evidence, to prove that the idea that the Northern States, either directly or indirectly, fight for the abolition of slavery, is a perverse and wilful delusion. Both in the general principle or doctrine on which it proceeds, and in the practical rules it lays down, the document displays the fact that the Washington Government regards slavery as a thing to be kept as uninjured as possible during the war, and, where unavoidably injured, to be redintegrated on the restoration of peace. The word "slave," indeed, is never used, the usual preference being given to the euphony first introduced by the Constitution of 1787, of "persons held to service"; but, throughout, the said person is referred to, not as a man having any natural rights or feelings, but as a chattel, to be dealt with solely according to the merits or demerits, not of itself, but of its owner. The desire of the President is that "all existing rights in all the States be fully respected and maintained"—the preservation of the Union, and of "all constitutional rights of States," being indeed proclaimed as the one object of the war. "Hence," continues the Secretary of War, "no question can arise as to fugitives from service within the States and Territories in which the authority of the Union is fully acknowledged." In other words, the Northern army is not only to "respect and maintain" slavery where it exists, but also to respect and maintain that law or article of the Constitution which enacts the seizure and restoration of slaves flying for freedom to places where slavery does *not* exist. The only exception made to this rule is the unavoidable one of cases where, owing to insurrection, the laws of the Union as to slavery and fugitive slaves "cannot be effectually enforced"—in which case, it is declared to be "obvious that the rights dependent upon the execution of those laws must *temporarily* fall." Therefore, fugitive slaves from States in insurrection are to be received into the service of the Federal Government, and a record is to be kept of each case, particularly of the fact whether the owner of the fugitive was "loyal or disloyal," with a view to some ultimate arrangement, the nature of which is not stated. In addition, the army is instructed by no means to prevent "the return of any fugitive to the service from which he may have escaped," and "not in any way to encourage such servants to leave the lawful service of their masters." How can such a war be called, in any sense or degree, a war for the abolition of slavery? It would be incomparably more easy to prove it a war for the protection and maintenance of slavery—for that institution, with all its accessories, is to be enforced wherever Northern arms prevail, and to be relaxed and endangered wherever Northern arms fail. Slaves escaping from South Carolina, where the Federal Government has no authority, will be free—at least, until the peace; slaves escaping from Maryland, where the Federal Government is supreme, will be forced back into slavery. Slave-owners remaining loyal to the Federal Government are to be rewarded by having their fugitive slaves returned; slave-owners disloyal to the Federal Government are to be punished by their fugitive slaves being made free—so that the more support the Federal Government receives in the South, the less emancipation, and the less support the more emancipation. Of the slaves themselves, no account is made; but it is by the maintenance of slavery, or the retention of their slaves, that both districts and individuals are to be rewarded for supporting a government which is yet declared to be fighting for the abolition of the very system, by support of which it thus offers to pay for support of itself.

It is probable enough that even this additional and apparently conclusive piece of evidence, as to the position occupied by the Federal Government on the question of slavery, will not be accepted by those who choose, under one motive or another, to represent this unhappy war as having for its object the abolition, or at least restriction, of slavery; for the truth has before been often or always as plainly manifested, both by facts and by the explicit and official words of those on whom this compliment is forced, alike without warrant and without welcome. All that has been said, and all that has been done—every speech made by any man of office or authority—every State paper, from the original Constitution down to the latest President's Message—go towards proving that neither in pretence nor in practical tendency is this a war against slavery—nay, that slavery has been promoted by the political system for which the Federal Government is fighting, more than it could have been promoted under any other system, and would be incomparably more injured and endangered by the failure than by the success of that Government. It is very natural and right, looking merely at the fact that the Northern States are free and the Southern States slaveholding, to feel sympathy for the Northerns; but, before concluding that the free States are fighting with any intention of abolishing or even impairing slavery, we are bound to look at the facts, or at least to listen to what they themselves say—in which case it may be found that the Northerns must, on their own confession, be held not only as not fighting against slavery, but as fighting for a renewal of their own participation in a sin from which the violence and disloyalty of their Southern neighbors had luckily set them free.

What is the most popular and compendious form in which the Northerners themselves state the object of their fighting? That they fight for "the Constitution of the United States." In two consecutive sentences, Mr. Bright lately said that the Northerns fought for the Constitution, and virtually for the abolition of slavery. Well, what does the Constitution of the United States say about slavery? Does it prohibit or abolish, or even restrict or discourage, that "institution"? On the contrary, it assumes its existence, its continuance, and its moral lawfulness. It mentions it, though but by a euphonism, only to protect it, and to make every inch of United States territory, and every citizen of the United States, more or less a participator in the system, without any power of choosing or refusing that participation. On the question of fugitive slaves, the Constitution is perfectly explicit. There have been fierce disputes as to the machinery by which the recapture of fugitive slaves should be accomplished within certain of the free States; but there is no dispute at all as to the fact that the Constitution imposes the duty of recapture or restoral on every State and every citizen. The words are—"No person held to labor or service in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor is due." Though the powers of separate action retained by each State were, in all departments but that of foreign relations, almost nothing short of sovereign, the Constitution made one exception—no State was allowed to make any law practically repudiating slavery, or even refusing to become an actual sharer in its guilt. This is a Constitution from which, it might be thought, opponents of slavery would fight to get free, not to maintain and enforce. By the secession of the slave States, the Northern States became both able and entitled to slip their neck from the yoke, and to become as free of connection with slavery as is Canada or New Brunswick; but they prefer going into a fratricidal war, in order that they may continue slave-hunters and kidnappers by constitutional compact.

It may, however, be said or supposed that, though the Constitution for which the Northerns are fighting is a Constitution which sanctions and perpetuates slavery, it is or was the object of the Federal Government, or of the party it represents, to alter or modify the Constitution in a sense adverse to slavery, or perhaps to proceed adversely to slavery in spite of the Constitution. Again, the facts are just to the opposite effect. President Buchanan, who initiated the war on the part of the Federal Government, proposed, among his last official acts, certain "Explanatory Amendments on the Constitution," to the effect of making the whole States formally renew their recognition of slavery, and engage to take more effective measures than heretofore for its protection and perpetuation. But Mr. Buchanan, though strongly condemning the secession of the South, and meeting it by force, was, it will be said, a member of that American party which looked most favorably on "the peculiar institution." Well, then, what said the present President, Mr. Lincoln, whose election was the more immediate cause of the Southern secession? Neither in his messages, nor in any other document, has he ever said a word indicating that he desired to lay the lightest touch upon slavery or any of its accessories or buttresses—which of itself would be enough for the present purpose. But, moreover, he indicated a good deal quite to the contrary effect. In his Inaugural Message on the 4th March, his first anxiety was to say again, as he claimed to have often said before, "I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it exists," and to point out that the party who chose him as their candidate had accepted the same declaration as "their platform, and as a law to themselves and to me." He reminded all concerned that there was a constitutional obligation to restore fugitive slaves, and suggested that that obligation ought to be carried out by the most effective means. Finally, he approved of a proposed amendment to the Constitution, "to the effect that the Federal Government shall never interfere with the domestic institutions of States, including that of persons held to service"; adding, "I have no objection to that being made express and irrevocable." In the face of such deeds, it is in vain to say that this unhappy war is for any such noble object as the abolition of slavery, or for anything better than to maintain by force a Union which has ceased to exist by consent, and during the existence of which slavery has grown and prevailed more than under any other political system that the world ever saw. At the time of the Declaration of Independence, the number of slaves in North America was not greatly above half a million: it is now four millions. If the free States of the Union, great in wealth, intelligence, and physical and moral strength, had been as unimplicated and untrammelled in the matter of slavery as is Canada or any other separate country, we should have seen no such growth—the untying of the hand and tongue of the North by separation would, in all human probability, be among the most effective means of causing that growth to stop, and the whole Upas tree to rot and totter.—*Edinburgh Scotsman.*

AMERICA.

In the total absence of any exciting political topic at home, we may once more refer to affairs across the Atlantic.

The recent disaster to the Northern army, magnified as it has been by the *Times* paper, cannot in the least change the original features of the war. The broad facts still remain, that the Southern States rebelled without provocation or even cause: that they have been most shamefully aided and abetted by Lord John Russell, under the poor plea of neutrality: that dignifying the rebels with the preposterous title of a belligerent power, he has recognized their right to hire hundreds of blood-thirsty pirates who infest the Atlantic and the Gulf of Mexico, with free leave and license from the Southern traitors to kill, burn, and destroy. American papers say that Lord John Russell invited the Rebel Commissioners to dine with him; and, further, that both Lord Palmerston and Lord John have admitted to the American Ambassador, that they committed a serious error in acknowledging the Rebel States as a belligerent power. Of course, they were wrong; but the nuisance is, that their apology does not set matters right. We knew they were wrong at the time, and said so. They evidently regarded the cotton interest as all-important: but we shall have cotton, whether the Northern States quell the rebellion at once, or not. Lord John's unhappy and unwise abetting of American treason has merely prolonged the warfare. The Northern men, who are mainly Anglo-Saxons, will never yield to the French, Spanish, and Creole blood of the South; and the rebellion never could have attained its present height, but for the moral support given to it by Lord John Russell.

As to the recent fight at Bull's Run, according to the most reliable information, both parties were retreating from each other at the same time. We hear that very little of the *Times's* statements can be relied upon. The sympathy of Mr. Russell with slavery and the South is apparent in nearly every line he writes; and its effect is to annoy and exasperate the Northern people, who have enough on their hands at present without having a fresh crop of ill-feeling against England forced upon them. There seems to have been a sad want of personal courage exhibited on both sides. The state of military discipline is evidently also most fearfully bad, and the fact of regiments marching off a field of battle because their three months was up, and being received with enthusiasm on arriving home, is to us most unaccountable. If this state of things is to continue, the contest may be prolonged for many years. In the meantime, the sympathy of the English people is with the North. What under-plotting there may be for making a separate nation of the South, and putting a Bonaparte to rule over it, we know not; and, notwithstanding Mr. Russell and the *Times*, it is pretty certain that neither Queen Victoria nor the people of England would allow an English prince to reign over a slave country.—*Buckinghamshire Advertiser, (England,) August 20th, 1861.*

A POLITICAL CATECHISM FOR CHILDREN.

It is the boast of the United States that our children imbibe political knowledge almost with their mother's milk, and that our boys at school possess an experience of political affairs which is not surpassed by that of average citizens of most foreign countries. We are not surprised, therefore, that we have received the following Political Catechism, which appears to have been prepared by some very sensible American matron for the sake of her boys, and we commend it to the perusal of young men of all ages:

Question—What is a Democrat, mamma?

Answer—A Democrat, my dear, is a defunct species, of which you will find a finely preserved stuffed specimen at Lancaster, Pennsylvania. In their day, Democrats were hearty patriots who sought the good of the whole country. These Democrats have now gone to the wars, and are fighting the battles of the country against traitors. Nobody calls himself a Democrat now-a-days except broken down politicians who have no honest means of living, and who assume that title in the hope of being able to cheat and steal.

Question—What is a Republican, mamma?

Answer—Republicans, my dear, were people who sought to prevent slavery entering the national territories. As the question of slavery in the territories (and other places besides, perhaps,) has been pretty thoroughly settled by the great rebellion of the slaveholders under Jeff. Davis and other traitors, there are no Republicans left now, except a few persons who desire places in the Custom House.

Question—What is a Democratic State Committee, mamma?

Answer—The Democratic State Committee, my dear, is composed of dead bodies which are so offensive in the sight of God and man, that no one has had the charity to bury them. In November next, this unpleasant job will be done by the people at large.

Question—What is a Breckinridge Democrat?

Answer—A Breckinridge Democrat is a person who desires to see this Union overthrown, and the rebellion of Jeff. Davis successful.

Question—What do the Breckinridge Democrats want, mamma?

Answer—A very natural question, my dear. Some of them want offices under Jeff. Davis; one wants licenses to sell Southern lottery tickets; another owns slaves, and wants to bring them to New York; others have money owing them at the South, and would like to get it; but most of them are mere vagabonds who want to see anarchy established, in the hope of making something out of it.

Question—What is coercion, mamma?

Answer—Coercion is resisting a robber who tries to plunder you.

Question—What is compromise?

Answer—Compromise is giving the robber your purse, your watch, your coat, and your boots, on condition that he leaves you your shirt collar.

Question—What is a fratricidal war?

Answer—A fratricidal war is putting down thieves and traitors who happen to be your fellow-countrymen. The United States engaged in a fratricidal war when they chased and caught the traitor Burr; and they would have undertaken a fratricidal war against the traitor Arnold in uncommonly short order, if they could have got at him.

Question—What is the liberty of the press?

Answer—The liberty of the press, as understood by the framers of the Constitution, is the right of publishing what you will, provided no one is injured thereby; but the liberty of the press, as understood by the friends of Jeff. Davis, is the right of playing the sneak-thief when one has not the courage to play the burglar.

Question—What is State sovereignty?

Answer—State sovereignty, my dear, is a fine phrase under which bad men choose the laws which they will obey, and the laws which they will break. It is anarchy raised into a system.

Q.—What is neutrality, mamma?

A.—Neutrality, my dear, is meanly shirking your your duty as a citizen, and helping the enemy in a cowardly, underhand way. A man who stands and sees a poor fellow beaten to death by a rowdy is a neutral, and the model of those who are neutral in the present war.

Q.—What is the cause of the present war?

A.—This war, my dear, is the last dying struggle of slavery as a political power. If you have read history aright, you must have learned that all great and powerful systems or bodies die hard. The Roman Catholic hierarchy, the divine right monarchies, the feudal oligarchies, all struggled very hard before they gave way to common sense and the rights of the people. Just so slavery, as an element of political power, is now making its last dying struggle, and you may depend upon it, it will fight to the last. But if you have read your Bible right, and have the true instincts of a free-born American boy in you, you cannot doubt how the contest will end.—*Harper's Weekly.*

WHAT SHALL WE DO WITH IT?

Slavery is the fountain of our national troubles. No subterfuge can evade this self-evident proposition. Known to be the sum of all villanies, it has heretofore been treated, even at the North, as if there were a peculiar sanctity belonging to it, which none should dare to invade.

Its history for the last sixty years shows that it has reduced the whole region where it exists to barbarism, and caused Northern men to be treated, habitually, with a savage brutality, which the aborigines would have regarded with abhorrence.

The same spirit is now manifested by them upon the battle-field toward the wounded and prisoners. It causes one's blood to boil in his veins to read of the horrible atrocities perpetrated upon disarmed, defenceless, and wounded men. Hell itself seems to be let loose when these chivalric bloodhounds, trained in the school of Slavery, have the chance to gorge their hate upon the prostrate bodies of fallen men. At the recital of their doings after the battle of Bull Run, indignation burns in our breast, and our involuntary exclamation is, "Let these atrocities be avenged."

Without stopping to inquire how far this spirit is justifiable in war, beyond the present exhibition of diabolical malice, and ascertain whether these things are not the necessary outgrowth from existing institutions; and so whether we ought not, in the interests of humanity, to expunge the cause, rather than exhaust our energies upon a mere transitory incident.

Slavery exists: its teachings, its example, its influence, its animating spirit have produced, as legitimate fruits, an utter demoralization, in life, in religion, and in social duties, among all classes at the South. A reckless contempt of justice; murders without number among themselves; denial of the rights of property and persons of strangers; and, finally, the present war, and all the atrocious cruelties which mark its progress.

Now it is very certain that ever so severe punishment, inflicted upon the monsters who, upon the deserted field in Virginia, made themselves a loathing, a detestation and a stench in the nostrils of humanity, will not correct the evil. We have borne with it and its hideous fruits for sixty years, with a patience, forbearance, and sympathy, which on the surface would seem justified, rather by the maxims of Christianity than by those of patriotism; but which, on examination, will be found at war alike with both.

Slavery has begotten all our national calamities, and upon *that* should our vengeance fall. We are in a state of actual war. It is the solemn duty of Congress to provide for the general welfare; and few will question their right to strike at the root of the deadly Upas, whose poisonous fruits have already blasted our prosperity, and filled our land with lamentation and mourning and woe. Slavery has no right under heaven, save the right of the strongest; but at this moment it is used with prodigious energy to strengthen the strongholds of rebellion, and to cripple the authority of our constituted Government. The war power should be summoned into active exercise; and Congress, nerving itself with the firmness of right and patriotism, without a moment's delay, should decree by a solemn edict that Slavery is abolished on this North American Continent, from this time henceforth and forever.

The people all seem prepared for such an event. Nine out of ten will tell you "it must come to that at last." Now is the time for the glorious consummation. If some provision must be made for the true men in the loyal States, let it be done; but "when the hour of emancipation shall have struck," the Secessionists of 1860 will not probably speak of their right to indemnity; *they have just given acquittance of it in cannon balls.*

But let no lion obstruct the way; let no cowardice or squeamishness about one man's right to another man's blood and muscle unnerve the hand of the patriot.

High above and beyond these surface reasons for such a course of policy, which commend themselves to every man's conscience, others rise of surpassing national importance.

First: The fact stands out in bold relief, undeniable, that whether the United States constitute one, two, or half a dozen governments, no solid peace can ever revisit us, or shed its benignant [illegible] on our unhappy land, while slavery endures with them, and it is a simple but tremendously significant question whether we shall protect and foster this spawn of the cocatrice to dishonor our country, paralyze every noble and generous sentiment, and dye the green fields and crystal waters of our beloved land with fraternal blood for generations yet to come; or by one sublime and illustrious act, challenging the admiration of the world, wipe out the desolating and damning scourge at once and forever.

And, Second: In this war, waged only in the interests of slavery with savage barbarity, no weapon, no armies, no navies, no blockades, no victories, no compromises, no hollow conventions, can be a hundredth part so effective in securing an early, solid, and lasting peace, and a united country, as the emancipation of the slaves.

Third: Let a decree for that emancipation go forth, and no other country on earth can recognize the independence of the South *with slavery*, without fastening upon itself the execration of all the civilized world.

Fourth: Such an edict would effectually [illegible] ate that blood-red stain upon humanity and civilization—the slave trade.

And, Fifth: It will redound to our everlasting glory, and to the enduring welfare of our whole country, both North and South.—*New York Tribune.*

SEQUESTRATION AT THE SOUTH.

The Richmond *Examiner* of Monday gives an abstract of a very important bill passed by the Southern Congress, shortly before its adjournment, for the sequestration of all Northern property found in the South. The following is the principal legislative clause:—

"*Be it enacted by the Congress of the Confederate States:*—That all and every the lands, tenements and hereditaments, goods and chattels, rights and credits within these Confederate States, and every right and interest therein held, owned, possessed, or enjoyed by or for any alien enemy since the twenty-first day of May, 1861, except such debts due to an alien enemy as may have been paid into the Treasury of any one of the Confederate States prior to the passage of this law, be and the same are hereby sequestrated by the Confederate States of America, and shall be held for the full indemnity of any true and loyal citizen, a resident of these Confederate States, or other person aiding said Confederate States in the prosecution of the present war between said Confederate States and the United States of America, and for which he may suffer any loss or injury under the act of the United States to which this act is retaliatory, or under any other act of the United States, or of any State thereof, authorizing the seizure or confiscation of the property of citizens or residents of the Confederate States, or other person aiding said Confederate States, and the same shall be seized and disposed of as provided for in this act: *Provided, however*, When the estate, property, or rights to be affected by this act were or are within some State of this Confederacy, which has become such since said twenty-first day of May, then this act shall operate upon and as to such estate, property, or rights, and all persons claiming the same from and after the day such State became a member of this Confederacy, and not before: *Provided, further*, That the provisions of this act shall not extend to the stocks or other public securities of the Confederate Government, or of any of the States of this Confederacy, held or owned by an alien enemy, or to any debt, obligation, or sum due from the Confederate Government or any of the States to such alien enemy. *And provided, also*, That the provisions of this act shall not embrace the property of citizens or residents of either of the States of Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, Missouri, or the District of Columbia, or the Territories of New Mexico, Arizona, or the Indian Territory south of Kansas, except such of said citizens or residents as shall commit actual hostilities against the Confederate States, or aid or abet the United States in the existing war against the Confederate States."

Sections, 2 to 13, provide for the appointment of receivers in each county, and impose a penalty of $2,000 on all who may endeavor to conceal the ownership of property belonging to alien enemies. Section 14 provides for the appointment of three commissioners to take charge of the sequestration fund, and to hear and decide on all claims against it.

TWO THOUSAND CONTRABAND SLAVES. General Wool has sent to Washington for instructions touching the course to be pursued with contraband slaves, two thousand of whom are now at Fortress Monroe. He is ordered to send to Washington all whom he can spare, the men to be set to work on intrenchments, the women to be employed in the camp kitchens, and paid for their services.

ISRAEL SMITTEN AT AI.

BY LIEUT. GENERAL T. PERRONET THOMPSON.

That all which is written is written for our instruction, is as true in one department of history as in another.

Among those records which tell of the first movements among mankind towards purer manners and more rational belief, are things profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness and in military tactics. The boldest of partisans may take a lesson from the generalship of Gideon, and the craftiest of dabblers with the accursed thing a warning from the discomfiture at Ai.

Here were men, who, in spite of light and knowledge, chose to fight without a cause, or with repudiation of the cause which had carried their forefathers through events wonderful and great. Of course, there were varieties among the sinners. Some only thought it was not worth while to go to war for existing differences, and lived in hope that a snug compromise of some kind might return them to the flesh-pots where their souls would be. And some, perhaps, had the downright love of strange women in their hearts, and grieved to lose the pleasant foraging there would be among the daughters of the Philistines.

And so, to it they went, and came beaten away. Waiving, for the present, the question of what might be the miraculous part, they were men committing the earthly folly of going the half-witted way to work. It is not on record whether they had newspapers that set them on; but it certainly was not Joshua, except as be weakly gave way to the men who pretended to have "viewed Ai." It is an excellent piece of advice, whether in Montecuculi or in Marshal Saxe, that a commander-in-chief should see things with his own eyes.

But there have been later lessons and wider. When Napoleon went to Moscow, he might have carried all before him, even after difficulties began to press upon him, if he could have found in his heart to declare the reëstablishment of Poland, and the abolition of serfdom in Russia; in other words, if he would have made himself a cause. But be preferred the destruction of his army and the trampling of France under the hoofs of her enemies. And for why? He would have been called "humanitarian and abolitionist"—and who can stand being called "humanitarian and abolitionist"? He thought deeply on the mortifications and sufferings which might have been brought on aristocratic serf-owners; and the sufferings of French grenadiers, buried by myriads in the snow, were as nothing in the balance.

A second time the man was doomed to make the same mistake. If, on his return from Elba, he had indited five lines in recognition of liberal principles of government, which would have sent 40,000 National Guards on a holiday excursion to the Vendée, and liberated 30,000 regulars there shut up, be might have won at Waterloo; but he would not, and so went to St. Helena. *All games are lost by higgling on the terms.* Bellona is the last of the goddesses to be flirted with; the chances are too dreadful to allow of throwing up the sure card to try our fortune upon the worse.

Or, suppose the English, at the time of their Revolution, had refused to acknowledge the assistance of a Dutch fleet and army; or the Americans abnegated Lafayette, and the fleet that brought him. We had rather win the battle without, might some wiseacres say;—but could you be sure to win the battle? Or if the French, when threatened with all manner of Brunswick vengeances, had thought it beneath them to take advantage of the feeling in favor of themselves and principles, which existed among their enemies' population;—or the English, in antipathy of races to the Gael, had refused the aid of the anti-Stuart clans, who, under the command, if I make no mistake, of the grandfather of the present Sir John M'Neil, threw down a garden-wall in their front, and fell in on the enemy's flank at Culloden, with great effect upon the fortunes of the day; if any of these had happened, there would have been no miracle, but only the natural result of men trying how not to do it.

See, in the present case, the lesson which has been bequeathed to posterity. It was the doing neither of the soldiers nor the statesmen; it was the battle of kites and crows, which is directed by ignorance and self-conceit. It would have been a pusillanimous caution to have alarmed the enemy for his rear. There wanted but a move and a word, and his whole rear was your own. It was thought better to fight him with one arm tied up; and the result was suitable. It is improper to fight an enemy with both arms, when you have the option of fighting with one. It takes away the merit of success, and is directly contrary to the maxims of that patriarch of the military art, who let his enemies' two armies unite, that he might beat them both at once. War should be a tournament, a game for the amusement of spec[illegible], and not a struggle for objects to wh[illegible]en's souls and bodies are attached. [illegible]re are four millions in your enemy's rear [illegible]re holding him in fear, do not commit the baseness of taking advantage of it. What good would you have had of your victory, if it had been gained on such grounds? True, that

> "You bad by this possess'd the towers of Gath";

but what good would the towers of Gath have been to you if so possessed? Better give up your own children to the slaughter; and comfort yourselves that you have buried your friends and your good name, but you have saved slavery.

And, now, for what is to come of it? It is in the course of nature that such a misfortune should be only a whet in the way of appetite to try again. But do not try again till you have got a cause. And when you try, remember the ancient maxim, that flights begin in the rear. The Romans, senior sophs in their day, ever put their veterans in third line. Do not go probing for "masked batteries" to run your heads against, but *make a movement towards the four millions of allies you have behind.* Utter the one word which would make the walls "fall down flat, so that the people went up into the city, every man straight before him." Or, if the people will not shout when the priests blow, then give the world a grand specimen of self-denial, and submit with a grace to the martyrdoms a victorious Slave Power may in its tenderness impose!

Eliot Vale, Blackheath, England.

THE BARBARISM OF SLAVERY.

BY REV. JOHN S. C. ABBOTT.

Seldom in the history of the world has there been a record of more unmitigated barbarism than the Southerners have displayed during the progress of this rebellion. Every mail comes laden with stories of outrages, which are almost without a parallel in Christendom. Merely for the expression of an opinion that slavery is impolitic, or that the Constitution of the United States deserves respect, women are insulted, imprisoned, scourged. Men have their heads shaven, are smeared with tar, mutilated at the whipping post, and hung. It is said that there are more than two hundred well authenticated cases of these savage executions at the South, within the last year. It is the spirit of slavery which has thus converted men to demons.

There are, doubtless, some exaggerated or unfounded rumors. The following facts are reliable. A gentleman recently escaped from Georgia to New York. The writer saw him. He was a merchant at the South. The only way he could save himself from all the horrors of lynch violence was to assume that he was one of the most fierce of the Secessionists. He was drafted into the army to fight in support of a rebellion he detested, and against a government he revered. By feigning important business in New York, and by leaving every dollar of his property without the slightest protection, he so far disarmed suspicion as to escape—but utterly ruined—beggared.

Two Northern gentlemen were conversing at the South. A Southerner came up and said to one, "*You are a damned Yankee, and the Yankees are damned Abolitionists,*" and with his revolver shot him through the heart. No more attention was paid to the outrage than if he had shot a mad dog.

A Northern lady was at a breakfast table in New Orleans. "What is the news?" some one inquired. "None," was the reply, "except that a party of men last night took another fort, driving out the United States soldiers." "Is it not treason," inquired the Northern lady, very innocently, "to attack a fort of the United States?" Louisiana had not then seceded. A man of large wealth, and prominent in the community, broke out upon her in the coarsest language which could be framed of profane and vulgar vituperation, threatening to hold her husband answerable for her sentiments. The lady, terrified in view of the insults and death she had probably brought upon her husband, said, "Will you accept the apology of a lady, when I assure you that I intended no offence?" "Yes," was the reply of the wretch, "I will accept the apology of a *lady*; but *you* are no lady; and when I meet your husband, I will wring his nose for him." Such is slaveholding chivalry. Not one at the table interposed to protect the lady.

An old man from the West was seized in Savannah, for the crime of loving the Union. One half of his head was shaved, and then his whole head and face were daubed with tar and covered with cotton. In this plight, he was put into the cars, to be sent out of the Southern Confederacy. When he reached Atlanta, Georgia, a telegram to the chivalry there had announced his arrival. The dispatch was concluded with the words, "*If you catch him, give him hell.*" The wretches were on hand. They tore him from the cars as he was piteously begging for his life, and imploring that he might be permitted to return home to his family. Amidst fiendish yells, he was borne off to torture, and, doubtless, to death, for the poor old man has not been heard from since. A gentleman of Cincinnati, escaping himself, in disguise, from this reign of terror, witnessed this scene.

In Augusta, Georgia, some gentlemen were sitting together discussing public affairs. One, who was from the North, said, in reply to contemptuous allusions to the cowardice of the North, "Gentlemen, we must not underrate the strength of the enemy." It was a treasonable remark. The mob were set upon him. His explanations were of no avail. He was seized; his head was shaved; his head and face were daubed with tar; he was whipped, on the bare back, till the blood dripped to his feet, and was then allowed twelve hours to leave the city, if he would escape hanging.

We might fill pages with such narratives, well authenticated. The Southern Confederacy has sunk into a barbarism which is a disgrace to Christendom. Every American must be overwhelmed with shame to think that such deeds can be perpetrated in the United States, in this, the nineteenth century. But it is the natural result of the barbarism which slavery engenders. Men who pursue their brothers with bloodhounds, who sell maidens at auction, who flog naked women and girls, as regardless of their persons as if they were dogs, who practise all the inhumanities of manacles, whippings, and burning at the stake, which are necessary to keep in subjection a brutalized and crushed race, must become barbarian. They and their children, of necessity, lapse into a semi-civilized state. The fact is undeniable that the slaveholding States, taken as a whole, are but a half civilized community. "The South is a decaying race. Within its own bosom lie the seeds of certain ruin." Accustomed to tyrannize over the helpless, becoming brutal by cruelty, with consciences seared by the constant violation of every principle of right, and ever inflamed with vile whiskey, a Southern mob display attributes of incarnate fiends, such as can scarcely be found in heathendom.—*Congregationalist.*

THE VIEWS OF CALEB CUSHING.

In a public address delivered at Salisbury, Mass., last week, Hon. Caleb Cushing expressed himself as follows in reference to the war:—

There is no man or woman who does not deplore civil war, but whatever may have been our antecedents, there is no uncertainty as to the duty of every citizen of the United States. We are in formal war, war declared by the insurgents—war declared and accepted by the loyal Government of the United States. In the eye of the law, the duty which devolves upon the citizen is clear and unmistakable. It is to accept the constitutional fact of the war. I know it as well as any other man, and from the secession of the Southern States, I have abstained from sympathy, countenance and intercourse with them. In time of war, each subject owes to the Government (who has the right to demand it of him) his body, his wealth and his thoughts; his body to defend the government, his means to sustain the government, his moral allegiance to support the government and the Constitution. I do not state these things more deeply than I feel them. Would to God that all would feel it their duty to support the administration in this hour of trial! I opposed the President in the last election, and others of us did the same, honestly, openly, but from the part of us who would be supposed his political enemies come no such vituperation against the administration as I have seen in some of the leading journals of the party which elected him. I have been carried back by these malignant inuendoes of inefficiency and other grave faults, to the days of the administration of Mr. Pierce. Now, much as I resisted the present administration as it was coming into power, I here declare, that whatsoever has been said of me or thought of me to the contrary, I have from the 4th of March, 1861, sunk all opposition. And let me tell you on this 17th day of September, that but one thing remains to the United States, and that is to conquer victory.

In such a time as this, to talk of political parties is not the thing. Party now is but the dust in the balance, the foam on the wave in comparison with Union and victory. When peace shall again revisit us, then, and not till then, will I criticise. When 250,000 of my fellow citizens are in arms for the defence of the government and the country, I will not do it. We must have victory to ensure respect from the South, to dictate proper terms of peace, and to stand up in the face of the world, friendly or opposed, to have their profound regard. I have been called disunionist, secessionist and traitor, but I believe I can truly say that no man in Massachusetts has lost more and sacrificed more than I have in friends, certainly in political power. I speak of my party, and for the moment the loss of country. Are any so absurd, so malicious, as to suppose that I would have made these sacrifices for nothing? I forgive them. I have for thirty years, from the time when I perceived the clouds of the coming storm, gathering in the North, and above all in the South, done all that I could in more than one party, to avoid it for my country.

I will not undertake to foretell coming events, for I have had many accusations in this respect, but I will say one word on the military position. This war must be pursued for twenty years, if need be, to have victory.

Much fault has been found with our officers and soldiers in regard to the battle before Manassas—that it ought not to have been fought. But that battle was a *necessity*. If it had not been fought that week, Washington would now be in the power of the enemy. If it had been delayed, the 75,000 three months volunteers would have been withdrawn. In that battle, New England showed herself true. The 2nd R. I. regiment, the 2nd New Hampshire and two Massachusetts regiments were in the thickest of that hot fight. We have proved that we, of New England, had the true metal. And it is the duty of New England still to show that we have not only brains to think, and mechanical ability to manufacture for the country, but that we have brave hands and stout hearts to battle for our native land, and stand up for our rights as did our fathers of the revolution. And let us now in this great temple of nature—by the music of this sounding Ocean, swear to be faithful to the Government of the United States, and to restore the Constitution of our country

GENERAL FREMONT'S PROCLAMATION.

There is scarcely a paper which is honestly and earnestly in favor of a vigorous prosecution of the war, that does not approve of the proclamation of Gen. Fremont. The Baltimore *Patriot*, located where the full effects of a policy so vigorous can be understood, thus speaks of it:—

"Those among our contemporaries who, friendly to the cause of the Union, yet question the course of Major General Fremont, ought to reflect upon the consequences, now upon us all, of *indecisive*, or, if they please to call them, moderate and conciliatory measures. The situation of affairs in Missouri calls aloud for the most vigorous procedure. And it is most fortunate for the Union cause that its destiny there is confided to bold and energetic hands. These are no times for half measures. A daring operator is not necessarily less skilful or less cautious. The hour demands resolution and promptitude, as well as courage. We have had enough of attempts to soothe, to conciliate and compromise with traitors bearing arms in their hands; and *we know what we have suffered therefrom.* They must be put down. We rejoice at and heartily approve of Gen. Fremont's action. A course, similar in its decisive coping with treason, open or covert, but modified by the peculiar circumstances of each locality, might be adopted elsewhere with the greatest advantage."

Immense indignation is felt and expressed at the West, at the letter of President Lincoln to General Fremont, respecting his recent proclamation. The people are strongly with the "Pathfinder."

The Liberator.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, SEPT. 27, 1861.

MEMORIAL OF THE PEOPLE TO CONGRESS.

"PROCLAIM LIBERTY THROUGHOUT ALL THE LAND, TO ALL THE INHABITANTS THEREOF."

To the Congress of the United States:

The undersigned, citizens of   , State of   , respectfully submit—

That as the present formidable rebellion against the General Government manifestly finds its root and nourishment in the system of chattel slavery at the South; as the leading conspirators are slaveholders, who constitute an oligarchy avowedly hostile to all free institutions; and as, in the nature of things, no solid peace can be maintained while the cause of this treasonable revolt is permitted to exist; your honorably body is urgently implored to lose no time in enacting, under the war power, the total abolition of slavery throughout the country—liberating unconditionally the slaves of all who are rebels, and, while not recognizing the right of property in man, allowing for the emancipated slaves of such as are loyal to the government a fair pecuniary award, as a conciliatory measure, and to facilitate an amicable adjustment of difficulties; and thus to bring the war to a speedy and beneficent termination, and indissolubly to unite all sections and all interests of the country upon the enduring basis of universal freedom.

A FINAL REPLY TO "J. W."

We give another rejoinder from "J. W." in our present number. Who our correspondent is, we are still ignorant; nor are we curious to know. The discussion is one that concerns principles, not persons. As, in his first letter, he speaks of his return from abroad, after forty-five years' absence from his native city of Boston, and as, in his second letter, he claims to have been "an associate of Daniel Webster of the Free Trade party in 1822," we presume that he is much our senior in years. A long life, however, seems to have been spent to little purpose, so far as relates to the development of his moral faculties, judging from the manner in which he treats the case of the millions who are held in unrighteous and degrading bondage in our land, and from his views of the present controversy between the Southern conspirators and the Government.

We do not perceive the utility of protracting this discussion. "J. W." can see no difference, in principle or in right, between the ground assumed by our revolutionary fathers, in their Declaration of Independence, and that occupied by the Southern secessionists! The reason is, obviously, that he is himself a secessionist in disguise, and doing what in him lies to overthrow or to dismember the Government. He assumes that Jefferson Davis and his treasonable crew are only the echoes of Washington, Jefferson, and their patriotic associates! He denies that the course pursued by the latter has received the sanction of any country, much less that of the whole civilized world! He thinks they were not roused to resistance in consequence of taxation without representation, so much as by "the apprehension of an Established Church as in England"! He reveals his propensity for unobstructed and successful slave-hunting in all the free States, to the overthrow of all the barriers for the protection of personal freedom, in his branding as treasonable measures the adoption of Personal Liberty Laws by the several States named in his category. That subject has long since been exhausted in our columns, as every where else, and we are not disposed to reopen it here. We simply deny the charge that those laws "nullify laws warranted by the Constitution," and assert both their rightfulness and necessity under that instrument. They deny to no slaveholder his fugitive slave, but concede the validity of his claim, provided he can satisfy by the evidence he adduces a jury of twelve men. They are specially designed to protect free colored citizens of the State against prowling kidnappers, simply interposing as a shield the jury trial, and prohibiting active co-operation in the business of slave-catching. They are all the more necessary, because all complexional distinctions have ceased among the victims of the slave plantations, and white slaves are as readily purchased as black ones, and "no questions asked." Hence the families of the poorer classes of the North, though of white complexion, are in special danger of being made desolate by unprincipled kidnappers, and the laws for their protection cannot be too strongly made. The pretence, that the rebellion is mainly owing to the passage of the Personal Liberty Laws aforesaid, is one that the rebels themselves laugh to scorn. For thirty years they have been concocting their treason, which finds its root in a hatred of democratic institutions. In the language of the Richmond *Examiner*, they "hate every thing with the prefix FREE to it; especially FREE SCHOOLS, the source of all the damnable *isms* at the North." They have aimed at the universal and permanent subjugation of the North to their slave-driving supremacy; but the growing spirit of freedom, through the quickening power of the Anti-Slavery movement, is at last more than a match for all their cunning, knavery, mobocratic violence, bullying, perfidy, and villany in every form and to any extent. Conscious that they have irretrievably lost their despotic control, and treacherously refusing to submit to an administration not of their own choosing, they have made war upon the government for its overthrow, and for the basest purposes dissolved the Union which they had sworn to defend, and in which they had always had the lion's share of power and emolument. Our description of their character is not, of course, at all to the taste of "J. W."; but we have no epithet to soften, no accusation to modify. We believe in "great plainness of speech," and in "calling things by their right names."

The persistent attempt of "J. W." to make the idea of popular government, as expressed in the Declaration of Independence, identical with that entertained and acted upon by the Southern rebels, is exceedingly disingenuous. Between these rebels and our revolutionary fathers, there is no point of agreement or resemblance, either in the abstract or in the concrete; and to make the uprising of the latter against British despotism a cover or a precedent for the atrocious behavior of the former, is an insult to reason and sound morality.

"J. W." says that his "rules of political economy are scarcely answered by the *Liberator*." We believe that "righteousness exalteth a nation"; he takes the opposite ground. We believe that God is a better paymaster than the devil; he does not. We believe that to rob the poor and the needy—to keep back the hire of the laborer—to destroy all motive for industry and economy—to substitute violence and fraud for justice and good faith—is not productive of prosperity in any direction; he differs from us in this opinion, and thereby indicates his line of action, provided he reduces his theory to practice!

Commenting upon an admission we made, he exclaims, "Aha! then the North does, after all, derive increasing wealth from using the raw material of cotton"—and asks, "If this be so, has not the North a large interest in *slave labor*?" We answer, no; she has a large interest in *cotton*, which will be greatly enhanced by *free labor*, whether performed by blacks or whites. Even "J. W." says—"We all admit *the evil of slavery as we have it.*" Using language honestly, what "interest," large or small, has the North in any "evil"?

"As to the 58th chapter of Isaiah," we referred to it because it is based upon the reason of things, upon everlasting truth, upon the nature of man, and the law of the living God, so far as it relates to oppression. If there be anything in "the 25th chapter of Leviticus" contrary to it, then it is no "offset," but only a cool assumption on the part of our correspondent that what is right in one instance, is nullified by what is wrong in another!

THE PRESIDENT'S FAST.

On the very day on which this paper is printed, comes a new proof of the hollowness of the popular religion, and the unfaithfulness of its clergy. By way of striving to obtain the favor of God for an eminently guilty nation, its chief magistrate calls upon its people to pass a day in ceremonial observances, (one part of which is going without their dinners,) while at the same time he is actively opposing the reformation of that people, and counteracting the movements made by some among them towards the abolition of their great sin. Even supposing the simultaneous observance, by this whole nation, of private fasting and public prayer, separate from the performance of actual duties and the forsaking of actual sins, to be a good thing in itself, would a hundred *such* Fast-days compensate for the harm the President has done in limiting Fremont's just and admirable Proclamation?

The half-civilized Jews had many fastings incorporated with their system of bloody sacrifice, ritual purification and vicarious atonement, for these things grow on the same tree, and properly belong together. People who expected to get rid of a sin by killing a sheep, might easily be made to believe that they could expedite the process by going hungry through the day; and the priest, who had the sheep for his own dinner, was ready enough to favor this theory, and insist upon its observance as a religious duty. But some, even among these Jews, had light enough imparted to them from on high to see the truth which should come in place of these superstitions, and to teach a better system. Isaiah, speaking in the name of Jehovah, plainly exposes the false doctrines that had previously been taught in that name, and shows that sin is to be combated by a faithful doing of the antagonistic righteousness. He says, in direct opposition to the popular belief, and to the priestly representations of God's character and requisitions—"I delight *not* in the blood of bullocks, or of lambs, or of he-goats! Who hath required this at your hand? Bring no more vain oblations! Incense is an abomination to me! Your new moons and your appointed feasts my soul hateth! When ye spread forth your hands, I will hide mine eyes from you! When ye make many prayers, I will not hear! Your hands are full of blood! Wash you, make you clean! Put away the evil of your doings! Cease to do evil! Learn to do well! Seek judgment, relieve the oppressed!"

Here are three great truths taught by a Jewish prophet, to the understanding of which our nation, calling itself Christian, has not yet attained. 1st, Ritual observances do *not* please God. 2d, The way to get rid of sin is to leave off doing the sin. 3d, The repentant sinner should set himself at once to undoing the wrong that he has done. Elsewhere, the same great teacher of true religion applies the same truth to the popular practice of fasting; again declaring, in the name of God, first what is *not*, and next what *is*, the right way to serve and please Him:—

> "Is it *such* a fast that I have chosen? a day for a man to afflict his soul? Is it to bow down his head as a bulrush, and to spread sackcloth and ashes under him? Wilt thou call *this* a fast, and an acceptable day to the Lord?
>
> Is not *this* the fast that I have chosen? To loose the hands of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens, and to let the oppressed go free, and that ye break every yoke?"

In spite of these just and true precepts of a Jew, and in spite of the similar truth embodied in the later teachings of Jesus, our chief magistrate deliberately disregards both points of this instruction. He refuses to break the yoke, and let the oppressed go free; he stops this process when commenced by one of his subordinates; and he volunteers the appointment of a day for "humiliation, prayer and fasting"!

"Humiliation." No doubt this people needs it. We are at once an unjust and oppressive nation, and a proud, conceited, bragging nation. We ought to be, and to show ourselves, humiliated. But is this to be a mere form, a show before the eyes of men, a bowing down the head like a bulrush? Will not true humiliation be better secured, and very efficiently secured, by setting ourselves to undo the vicious work which we have been doing for the last hundred years? By purifying that Constitution which we have been boasting of as already perfect? By altering our sham Democracy into a system adapted to secure the rights of each man, woman and child? By humbly admitting that we began wrong, and that we must turn about and amend? There will be no want of humiliation, considering what our past language and action have been, if we now, President and people, army and navy, parson and parish, Congress and constituency, set ourselves heartily to effect the entire eradication of slavery! This will be genuine humiliation; "very salt, and bitter, and good."

"Prayer." Prayer is the soul's sincere desire! If we wish to make open confession of our sin, this desire can in no way be so plainly shown as by setting ourselves immediately to the work of undoing that sin. We know what Fremont's "sincere desire" is, by the manner in which be administers his office. We know, also, by the manner in which President Lincoln administers his office, that *his* sincere desire is *not* that liberty should be proclaimed throughout this land, unto all the inhabitants thereof! And while his action continues as at present, this disposition of the heart will continue apparent, though he should dispense with a dozen dinners, and go through the form of prayer in a dozen meeting-houses!

Let us understand this, which seems not difficult to understand. When the thing is done, the *form* of the thing of course goes with it. If we really turn away from our sins by righteousness, we shall secure the form and the substance also. While we keep our sin, hold it fast, plead Constitutional warrant for it, and oppose those who begin the work of reformation, compliance with the form of Humiliation, Prayer, and Fasting, is *nothing but* a form! It is a new sin added to the old score. When a mere form is thus deliberately offered to God as a substitute for the substance, as a means of evading the duty manifestly due, must He not necessarily say—may we not rightfully say—"It is iniquity, even the solemn meeting"?—C. K. W.

DIALOGUE BETWEEN PHARAOH AND MOSES.

The following, published some years ago, was never more appropriate than at the present time. It is respectfully submitted to the attention of Pres. Lincoln.

Moses. The Lord God, who made heaven and earth, and all that in them is, hath seen the afflictions of His people whom thou keepest in bondage, and hath sent me to command thee to let them go, that they may serve Him.

Pharaoh. Who art thou, that presumest to interfere with matters of government? Know you not that I make laws, and it is for the people to obey them?

Moses. Yea, verily; but God, in whose hand thy life is, saith unto thee, Let my people go!

Pharaoh. I did not bring these people hither. I found them here when I took the throne.

Moses. It matters not how or when they came. The Lord God saith, Let them go!

Pharaoh. When I took the crown, it was understood that these men were slaves. If it was so great a crime, why did not thy God see to it before? I will not let them go.

Moses. Surely, thou knowest it is wrong to keep men in chains when they are guilty of no crime. Change thy laws, Pharaoh, and save thyself and the nation.

Pharaoh. Why do you trouble me about this matter, thou disturber of the national peace? We are all in favor of liberty, of course; but this subject must not be meddled with. It excites some of my people. I tell you I will not let them go.

Exit, in great haste.

Moses (alone). Oh, Lord my God! Thou seest the hardness of the king's heart. What am I to do?

A Voice from Above. Go again unto Pharaoh, and say unto him, The Lord God commandeth thee to let these people go.

REJOINDER FROM "J. W."

NEW YORK, Sept. 18, 1861.

The *Liberator*, in its issue of Aug. 23d, makes some comments on an article of J. W. in the same paper; but it was not deemed necessary to reply to the same, especially as the *Liberator* seemed to be overrun with communications. And, indeed, it is a matter of no little difficulty to know how to speak safely in such times. But, in the *Liberator* of Sept. 13, there is an article, entitled "The War for the Union of Liberty with Slavery," that so nearly approaches the doctrine that J. W. has advocated, that he is tempted to notice both articles in a brief way.

The first question the *Liberator* asks is as to the Colonists and Great Britain: "Were the former extremists, and so unable to come to a fair decision respecting their alleged grievances? or did they not make a just issue, so just that the whole civilized world, Great Britain included, has since recognized?" &c. No, indeed! they believed they had a just issue, but no other country sustained the opinion. Nor has Great Britain ever admitted it. She regrets only that she did not make a compromise, or let the Colonists depart peaceably, (as I fear we shall one day do with our seceders,) as a matter of good policy. France took part with us to damage England, not in approval of our principles, and never ceased to regret that she did so. Moreover, if what the *Liberator* says were fact, it only damages its argument, because if England admitted the wrong of coercion, of men who declared "that all government was by consent of the governed," it is an example to us to avoid the same thing. The comparison, then, becomes a question of merit. With the Colonies, "taxation without representation" was the sore point (and it had been wise in Great Britain to have granted it); but they had really no right to expect such a concession; it had been unknown to any Colonies since the world began; it was no actual grievance instituted *for the first time.* Nor was it the actual cause of the Revolution; but a leading one was, the apprehension of an *Established Church* as in England, and every Puritan minister in the North moved, in consequence, to promote separation.

Now, then, on the other hand, what grievances had (or supposed they had) the South? Was the Constitution violated by the Government? No, never; the *Government* always kept within it. By whom, then? who firstly violated it? Let us look at the Personal Liberty laws passed—thus:—

Pennsylvania,	3 months imprisonment,	$1000	fine.
Michigan,	10 years "	1000	"
Indiana,	14 " "	5000	"
Massachusetts,	5 " "	5000	"
Wisconsin,	2 " "	1000	"
Iowa,	5 " "	1000	"
Maine,	5 " "	1000	"
Connecticut,	5 " "	5000	"
Vermont,	15 " "	15,000	"

Now is it treason, or not, to pass laws nullifying laws warranted by the Constitution, however bad or unjust they may be morally? and was it no cause of complaint to the South, even though the *Government* had kept faith with it, that nine States had violated its rights and broken the Constitution? Was it wrong in fearing, that when such States controlled the Government, the latter would also violate the Constitution? Had it greater or less cause, then, than the Colonies, on such control occurring, to seek a separation from such Northern States?

The South, however, *did* participate in a legal election and organization of the new government; and, having done so, it became its duty to await the result, and see if the *Government* followed the example of the States named, or still gave protection under the Constitution to Southern rights. That is the reason why J. W. has disapproved of secession; but its general right under a Constitution that neither grants nor denies it, is another matter, before commented upon. Nor, although the *Liberator* has kept aloof from politics a quarter of a century, (as has J. W.) does it render it free from prejudice, for it naturally "sees through a glass *darkly*." Where slavery exists, every thing must be wrong—sectional, social, political rights; every thing takes the same color in the mind of one idea. "No language of impeachment or condemnation is too severe to apply to the rebels. Theirs is perjured villany, colossal criminality, unmatched diabolism." This is the freedom from partizanship of the *Liberator*! How would it sound in the mouth of a judge, who in law was trying a criminal? Would it be impartiality?

The *Liberator* next proceeds to quote the Declaration of Independence, to show that J. W. was wrong as to the naked principle of "all just government being by consent of the governed," and to prove it, to show that there was a list of injuries suffered from Great Britain. But that has nothing to do with the principle of self-government as laid down; that is direct and universal. The injuries recited are only to justify the Colonies (as *they* think) in acting upon this established principle. The right, as before observed, was never allowed by any but themselves; nor were the injuries. Great Britain has regretted not heeding and amending the alleged complaints, right or wrong, as a matter of humanity and wise policy, not as right. "To prove this, (tyranny, &c.) let facts be submitted to a candid world," quotes the *Liberator*, as the conclusion of the Declaration: *which is just the position taken by the South.* But what is the "candid world"? Certainly, not the excited North, any more than the raging South. If it is the world outside of these, that world varies materially in its opinion of secessionary right. But it varies far less in its opinion of the expediency and humanity of a peaceable separation, if reunion be impossible. Nay, those people abroad, hating slavery most, see in its separation and isolation a far better chance of emancipation, than in its restoration to the Union, with all past and many future guarantees for its security, and a continuation of the enormous profits the North has made out of it. Great Britain says, "Let them go, as *we* ought to have done with our Colonies, and waive the question of right." If wisdom in her case, why not in ours?

J. W.'s rules of political economy are scarcely answered by the *Liberator*. He cannot be "laboring under a delusion" as to facts against opinions. "Does he think that slave-owning and slave-driving can produce wealth, or even make both ends meet? that the South were not driving to bankruptcy? which is not altered by the fact of the North deriving increasing wealth, &c., from using the raw material." Aha! then the North does, after all, derive increasing wealth out of slave labor! The *Liberator* admits it. That was what J. W. contended for. And if this be so, has not the North a large interest in slave labor? O, but, says the *Liberator*, "every branch of Northern industry would be greatly benefitted by the abolition of slavery." How, master *Liberator*? This is only an assertion; and if it were so, it is no proof that it is not greatly benefitted now. One thousand ships are required to export cotton alone. It is not a tendency of the South to bankruptcy J. W. touched upon; he only said that "the North had the kernel, the South the shell" of slavery. Why, the declaration of the *Liberator* proves it. But it goes too far—quadrupled productions and labor in forty years do not show a tendency to bankruptcy, though they may not absolutely enrich.

As to the 58th chapter of Isaiah, the *Liberator* may offset it with Leviticus, chap. 25, ver. 45, 46; but we are not discussing religious aspects. We all admit the evil of slavery as we have it. A feasible plan of abatement or emancipation is what is needed. Where is the wisdom that can form it? J. W.

P. S. The *Liberator* says, "No prosperity by the fiat of Almighty God can be the natural product of 'the sum of all villanies.'" Is there not daily in Wall Street and State Street continued prosperity founded upon a basis as culpable in the eye of God as "the sum of all villanies"? Are not the wicked of every sort allowed to prosper? Nay, is prosperity more usually the result of vice than virtue? Prosperity or adversity is no evidence of the "fiat of Almighty God," Mr. *Liberator*, in true theology; that is, as respects justice and right.

DEATH OF BARCLAY COPPIC.

WASHINGTON, (D. C.,) Sept. 17, 1861.

EDITOR LIBERATOR—The telegraph, to-night, brings me sad, sad news, in the record it makes of the assassination of an endeared and much-loved friend. It also bears its weight of sadness for all friends of impartial freedom, in the common bereavement it brings us in the death of the young, modest, brave and chivalric hero whose passage into the spirit land is recorded by the following paragraph:—

> "ST. LOUIS, Sept. 16, 1861.
>
> THE LITTLE PLATTE BRIDGE DISASTER. Among the killed by the Little Platte Bridge disaster was Barclay Coppic, of John Brown raid notoriety, together with five or six men with him, *en route* to join Montgomery's Kansas regiment."

I ask permission to briefly recount some incidents in this young martyr's life, that I may thereby aid in keeping a pure spirit of unselfish sacrifice fresh and fragrant in the minds of men.

BARCLAY COPPIC was not more than 22 years of age when he fell a victim to the malignity of that system, to overthrow which he had pledged his life—his all. It is now nearly two years since the nation was roused by a deed which woke the century from its guilty slumbers, and, by its simple grandeur, its height of moral heroism, and unsurpassed courage in the holiest of causes—that of the enfranchisement of the lowly—restored our fast waning faith in the larger humanhood whereof the times seemed deficient. Among the twenty young men who followed John Brown, and formed the "forlorn hope of freedom" then, were two brothers, born in Salem, Ohio, descendants of a God-fearing, man-honoring Quaker stock, from whom the spirit of George Fox had not fled. One was but twenty-four years of age, and the other was four years his junior. Their names were Edwin and Barclay Coppic. The fate of the first will not soon be forgotten. All through those terrible hours in the engine house at Harper's Ferry, he bore himself with undaunted courage; and throughout the weeks of endurance that followed, till he stood hand-in-hand with his friend, John E. Cook, on a Virginia scaffold, his manly tenderness and simple faith won even the hearts of the pirates who hung his body. It lies buried at Salem, Ohio: his soul watches the glorious vindication of the acts of that band which events write so swiftly in History's pages.

The younger brother, Barclay, was one of the party left by Capt. Brown to guard the Kennedy Farm; and, with Owen Brown, Cook, Merriam and Tidd, made his escape into Pennsylvania. The history of that terrible mountain travel, in the depth of winter, amid a population more fierce and inhospitable than the elements and surroundings, has yet to be written. When it shall be, even in the modest words of the survivors, history will point to it in admiration. Capt. Cook was taken soon after entering Pennsylvania; Mr. Merriam took the cars at or near Chambersburg, and reached Boston, and subsequently Canada, in safety. Owen Brown, C. P. Tidd, (now, I am told, serving in Kansas under Gen. Lane,) and Barclay Coppic continued their flight across Pennsylvania. They avoided all persons until they found themselves in the western part of the State, where friends aided them to get to Canada. Barclay, the youngest of the party, feeble in health and burdened in soul, bore his share of the fatigues and dangers of those weeks in the same quiet spirit of endurance which marked the conduct of the whole enterprize. Those who have ever seen our brother will not soon forget his pale face of suffering and resolve, nor the sadly tender eyes wherewith it was lit, in whose depths seemed forever to dwell the shadows of that blow for liberty, and mingled gloom of mountain escape and Virginia scaffold, where a brother died the death of the good. There are those in Boston, especially of the Fraternity, who will remember the guest of the picnic of 1860. Nor idly was the time employed, since his escape from Harper's Ferry. Though in poor health, being afflicted with the asthma, Barclay Coppic found time and strength, in the summer of 1860, to leave his home in Springdale, Iowa, and visit Kansas, where he assisted in clearing the Southern border counties of that State of the gang of man-hunters who allowed no peace therein to the bewrayed fugitive. The gang was broken up—several having met a deserved death. When the war broke out, Barclay, like many of those who believed that by the sword slavery must die, waited until he saw that, virtually, the battle was waged in behalf of those in bondage. When assured of that, he entered zealously into the strife, and assisted in raising a company in Ashtabula county, Ohio, (the home of John Brown, Jr.,) of which he became first lieutenant. With this party, he joined Col. Montgomery in Kansas, some two months since. How he met his death is now known. The filthy scum and draff, which the advancing waves of civilization fling out so profusely on our western borders, have inaugurated an atrocious system of warfare, which could only have been conceived by the lust-sodden brains and demoniac hearts of such a population as a slavery-ridden and ruffian democracy alone can breed. Yet the "county court lawyer," who presides in the White House, by his action declares, virtually, that martial law shall not be proclaimed against them. When will men in high places stop seeking to conserve the interests of slavery, and seek, at least, to preserve those of the people who elected them?

But it was not my intention to write a political essay, but to lay this humble tribute on the tomb of one whose memory shall live, because of the manly life it holds. Well may we say of him, that his life, few though its years, was yet

> "Built of tears and sacred flames,
> And virtues reaching to its aims;
> Built of furtherance and pursuing,
> *Not of spent deeds, but of doing.*"

Truly do we "see the sunsets of the martyrs." For the mourning homestead in Iowa, now twice desolated, and for the noble matron, who thus has given her well-beloved to death, hearts reach out to clasp them around in holiest sympathy. God be with her in this affliction! Yet we know that she mourneth not as those do who know not sacrifice.

Farewell! brave heart, heroic in thought and deed; faithful friend, brother and son, you lived long enough to be immortal as one of Freedom's elect, and long enough to see its dawn lighting all the broad continent, for whose redemption all you had was given. Surely, America is blessed in such souls. Thanks be to the Eternal, we know these deaths are not fruitless. The sunlight is abroad, and the glorious angel of enfranchisement stirs the dark pools. Oh! not in vain, but for the truth, the contest rolls its crimson tide. We give our dead—our glorious dead—that our country may be free indeed!

> "Who dies in vain
> Upon his country's war-fields and within
> The shadows of her altars? Feeble heart!
> I tell thee that the voice of patriot blood,
> Thus poured for faith and freedom, hath a tone
> Which, from the night of ages, from the gulf
> Of death shall burst, and make its high appeal
> Sound unto earth and heaven!"

R. J. HINTON.

UNION MEN. How can the vast army of three hundred thousand men, from a population of not over twelve hundred thousand of the same age and sex, be any way coerced into an argument of a great Union sentiment at the South? Another success like that at Bull Run would bring out half as many more to their standard. As we have under-estimated their military forces, have we not over-estimated their Union population? Besides, how many of the Union men are slaveholders to any amount? Then, again, the non-slaveholding Union men understand, as well as we, that slavery is the enemy of the Union. Their common sense is similar to ours, and comprehends the same demonstrative arguments that we do. Of course, if they are sincerely for the Union as a paramount and permanent object, they go for removing the cause of its danger, and the enemy of their tranquillity and stability. They cannot be against emancipation, if they prefer the Union to slavery.

COMMON SENSE.

DECLARATORY RESOLUTIONS

Of the Hopedale Community, with reference to the existing civil war, reaffirming their original principles, positions and testimonies, unanimously adopted, Sept. 15th, 1861.

Whereas, a great and deplorable civil war has broken out between the Northern and Southern sections of the United States of America, and the people of the southern section are in organized revolutionary insurrection against the constitutional government of the Federal Union; and, whereas, we, the members of the Hopedale Community, are peaceable subjects of said constitutional government, though for reasons of conscience not participants therein, nor martial combatants in any behalf; and, whereas, in the present momentous crisis, our peculiar principles and positions ought to be distinctly understood; therefore, we, the members of said community, in regular meeting assembled, do adopt and publish the following declaratory Resolutions, viz:—

1. Resolved, That we unanimously adhere with unwavering firmness to our fundamental religious principles, as originally set forth by solemn Declaration in the year 1841, in the published Constitution of our Community, and as again set forth, with some enlargement, by like solemn Declaration, in the year 1854, in the published Constitution of *The Practical Christian Republic*, whereof we are also members.

2. Resolved, That we unanimously adhere with unwavering firmness to the declared fundamental objects, positions and policy set forth in the two said Constitutions, and especially in respect to the governments under which we live, as peaceable subjects thereof, yet non-participants therein; being conscientiously scrupulous against all chattel slavery, death penalties, injurious force, war, and dernier resorts to carnal weapons.

3. Resolved, That we regard human governments, not as special divine institutions prescribing supreme moral laws to mankind, nor as spiritual and religious agencies designed to regenerate, reform and purify the world, but as societary institutions naturally formed, modified and characterized by those more subtle influences behind them, which work through the will of peoples and their leaders. Hence, they are of the world as it *is*, restraining and regulating it by all available forces as it *is*, controlling the masses of society as they *are*, according to the dictates of worldly expediency for the present time; and, being agencies of this nature, always adapted to the deep-felt necessities of their constituents, they are continually overruled in the providence of God for the prevention of greater evils than they inflict, and thus for the universal good.

Therefore, the eternal laws of order require that the highest and best minds, who themselves are immediately governed by divine principles, and who have risen spiritually above all these human governments, should so far respect them in their place as to be their peaceable subjects in temporal things, to approve whatever is really good in them, to testify considerately yet faithfully against what is evil, to enjoy quietly all innocent rights and privileges accorded by them, and when obliged for conscience sake to disobey any of their requirements, to submit meekly to their inflictions as martyrs, never resisting them by physical violence, and thus, in all these ways, using the most effectual means of reforming them.

4. Resolved, That we understand Jesus Christ to be at the head of the highest and best human minds, set forth by the Father as their model, their leader, and their continual strengthener:

That while always a peaceable subject of the human governments under which he lived, as indicated in the preceding resolution, he stood spiritually above them on the plane of absolute divine principles:

That he instituted his Church on that high spiritual plane, and called his disciples to stand together in voluntary association with him thereon, as the pioneers of human regeneration:

And, therefore, that he said to and of them—"Ye are the salt of the earth"—"Ye are the light of the world"—"Behold I send you forth as sheep in the midst of wolves; be ye wise as serpents and harmless as doves"—"He that taketh not his cross, and followeth after me, is not worthy of me"—"They are not of the world, even as I am not of the world"—"That they all may be one, as thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee, that they also may be one in us; that the world may believe that thou hast sent me."

5. Resolved, That when the professed disciples of Christ attach themselves to human governments which are far below the true Christian plane, pay them their highest allegiance, make themselves responsible for their constitutional administration, fight their battles, and help execute their death-penalties, it is no longer true of them that they are "the salt of the earth," or "the light of the world," or "are as sheep in the midst of wolves—wise as serpents and harmless as doves," or "follow" their acknowledged Master, or are the pioneers of human regeneration and progress, or are "*not* of the world, even as he was not of the world," or are *one* with him and each other.

But it is then true of them, that they descend to a level with the world as it *is*; they follow its dim light; they are *of* the world, acting with and like the wolves of the world; being divided asunder from each other, conterworking each other in politics, devoting themselves to hostile flags, slaughtering each other on the battle-field, praying and fasting for God's help in destroying each other, and mocking the all-perfect Father with thanksgivings for murderous victories.

Thus, instead of enlightening, purifying and elevating the world, its societies and governments, they darken and corrupt them, in the same degree that they apostatize from Christ, and desert the high plane of his true Church. And that all this is essentially true of every class of philanthropists, reformers and moralists, who profess to lead the human race in progress.

6. Resolved, That though we ourselves are deeply sensible of our unworthiness to be called disciples of Christ, yet we humbly desire to be such, and are endeavoring, by divine assistance, to occupy his luminous plane, and to follow him in the work of human regeneration. Therefore, we must persistently testify against every pretended form of Christianity which makes itself "of the world" as it *is*, or acts as the supple handmaid of human governments, performing services therein contrary to the supreme law of universal good will, which forbids us to kill, injure, harm or hate any human being, even our worst enemy. And we cannot ourselves do less than perpetually acknowledge it to be our bounden duty to obey that supreme law in all things, however short we may sometimes fall of it, through human weakness.

7. Resolved, That, in the light of the foregoing resolutions, our first and highest allegiance is due to the sovereignty of divine principles, as illustrated by Jesus Christ:

That our first and highest attachment must be to the glorious white banner of his kingdom, with the cross of self-sacrifice in its centre, radiating a benignant halo in all directions, with a dove surmounting that cross, spreading her wings and bearing in her mouth an olive branch, and with a wolf and a lamb at its foot harmlessly resting together:

That we cannot aid even the best existing governments on earth in destroying human life, though our refusal should subject us to the bitterest martyrdom:

That we are bound by our religious principles to be orderly, peaceable, inoffensive subjects of the governments under which we live, and to relieve the sufferings of our fellow-creatures around us to the utmost extent of a reasonable charity:

That we can neither excite nor encourage any mob, riot, rebellion, insurrection, or warlike revolution, even for an ostensibly good object—much less such an abhorrent insurrection as the one now raging at the South for the extension and perpetuation of human slavery:

That while we deeply deplore the war itself now in process, we deplore still more the sinful causes which have rendered this great calamity inevitable under the eternal laws of divine order, as a just retribution for national transgressions—to wit, lust of wealth, lust of power, and lust of sensual pleasures, all culminating in the persistent upholding, by law and force, of the gigantic institution of Africo-chattel slavery:

That though we have no moral sympathy whatever with the insurrectionists, but much with the Federal government and its loyal adherents; and though we see that the loyalists, on their own worldly plane of moral action, must conquer the rebels by overwhelming deadly force, or ignominiously abandon their constitutional government, and falsify their solemn obligations of allegiance; yet we feel none the less bound to abide with Christ on his high plane of peaceful righteousness, and thereby endeavor, however gradually, to leaven the minds of mankind with those benignant principles which alone can put an end to all disorder and violence:

That, in the meantime, we should be unfaithful to our convictions of truth and duty, if we recognized this as a war for the emancipation of our down-trodden American bondmen, whatever may chance to be its actual results, and if we did not unequivocally reiterate our testimony against the fore-mentioned great national sins, especially the upholding of slavery both by the North and South, which has brought on our country this calamitous scourge, and if also we did not earnestly entreat the people of all parties concerned to hasten their repentance, and make all possible reparation to the injured millions whose cries are still going up into the ears of the infinite Father for redress:

That we do not deem ourselves in any wise responsible for this terrible conflict, having done what we could in our humble way, by warning and example, to prevent it, and to avert the storm of retributive sufferings with which it comes down on the nation; so that nothing now remains for us in relation to it, but to abstain from all complicity with it, to bear patiently our portion of its ills, to relieve where we can the distresses of its victims, and to look forward with unwavering confidence in the all-wise providence of God to better days, when he shall have overruled all its wrath and woes for ultimate good:

And, finally, that we deem it our proper mission, under Jesus Christ, to bear such testimonies and lead such lives as will tend to regenerate mankind, elevate them to the true Christian plane, conform all human governments to the divine, abolish all dernier resorts to carnal weapons, supersede all deadly forces with beneficent ones, and thus consummate the reign of universal love and peace.

WM. S. HAYWOOD, *President*.
CYRUS BRADBURY, *Recorder*.

HOW THEY FEEL IN ENGLAND.

☞ The following ingenuous and interesting letter, written only for private perusal, very satisfactorily indicates what is the general tone of sentiment in England, respecting the struggle now going on between the American Government and the Southern rebels. The gentleman to whom it was sent kindly allows us to publish it in the *Liberator*:—

BIRMINGHAM, (Eng.,) Aug. 8, 1861.

DEAR SIR,—We received your letter to the old meeting Sunday school teachers; and as one of the superintendents, I answer it. I am glad of the opportunity of giving you my ideas at the present time, when the news has just come of your temporary defeat at Manassas.

I shall divide what I say into three parts:—1st. The Government. 2d. The Press. 3d. The People. You complain of our Government not treating the rebels as pirates. I do not see that they could have done so, without breaking the neutrality they wish to observe. By recognizing them as belligerents, they have only done as they did in Italy. You may rest assured there is no disposition on the part of the English Government to assist the South, nor would any government exist long in this country, that interfered to assist the South.

I am surprised that you take any notice of what the *Times* says. You must have known it before guilty of wilful misrepresentation of facts. You would not like to stand by all that the New York *Herald* says, nor do we agree with what the *Times* says. It is lamentable that a newspaper, having the circulation it does, should degrade itself by showing up the errors of the respective countries. The tone of the English press is in full sympathy with the North; and in many of them, to-day, are articles condemnatory of the language of the *Times*.

Of course, in a country like this, made up of so many diverse elements, we have every possible shade of opinion on every possible question. There are some who would justify the South, or would uphold slavery, but they are so few as not to count for anything. From the first outburst of the rebellion, the people here instinctively sympathized with the North.

For many years, it has been a source of regret that the North did not make a stand against the increasing aggressions of the pro-slavery party. The difficulties the Abolitionist had to contend with, and the aid the South received from the Democratic party, were a source of sorrow here. The progress of Republicans, and the nomination of an anti-slavery candidate in the person of Fremont, gave us hope, and we looked forward with interest to the results of the last Presidential election.

I will give you an instance of the feeling here. Last summer, Mr. John B. Gough, the Temperance orator, gave a lecture to Sunday school teachers. There were about five thousand in the Town Hall. In the course of his remarks, he spoke of Harper's Ferry, and said the anti-slavery candidate would be elected President. Round after round of cheers greeted the announcement, showing how deep was the interest felt.

You wonder that we, of anti-slavery tendencies, do not sympathize more with the North, and express the fear that cotton and other trade considerations will weigh in favor of the South. Rest assured that, whatever may appear on the surface, the hearts of the English people and the people of the North are as one. If we are not demonstrative, it is from the uncertainty and difficulty with which the question has been surrounded. The long time the Government permitted treason, the actual acknowledgment of the rebels by Buchanan, the caution of Lincoln in dealing with the slavery question, raised doubts in our minds as to the intentions of the North. I should have liked to see stronger means to suppress the sedition at first. No doubt you have learned that liberty may become license. A democrat myself, republican in principle, I look with great interest to the development of the Republic of the United States; but I love order, and have regretted that some of your citizens have abused the privileges they have had. If the North will fairly raise the issue—and I think there are signs it will be so, judging from Mr. Sumner's and others' propositions—of FREEDOM *versus* SLAVERY, and proclaim that slavery shall no longer exist in the United States, there would be no lack of sympathy in this country.

I look with disgust on the conduct of the Southerners: their defiance of all constitutional principles makes me doubt their sincerity, and wish their punishment. No people are entitled to respect, who, having constitutional means of obtaining redress, resort to force. America is bound, by all the means in her power, to maintain the Union. To discuss the results is idle at present.

We have this week had the news of the disaster at Manassas. The general opinion here is, that the military authorities have allowed their judgment to be warped by the impatience of the press, which is always calling out for action. Far better would it be to stay a few months to discipline the troops, and perfect other arrangements, than to rush prematurely into the fight. That the South will fight well, no one doubts; but that the North will win, if she will only have patience, and remain true and united, there is no room to doubt. Her cause will be strengthened in proportion as she has a fixed, definite principle to fight for. The maintenance of the Union may be the first battle-call; but the slavery question is the cause of the disruption, and the sooner the North can agree what shall be done with it, the better. Much as we dislike war, there are few here but would sooner see the war go on, than that there should be another of those compromises, by which the slaveholder gets all the advantages.

Let me again ask you not to be misled by the *Times*, respecting public opinion. The *Star*, an influential daily paper, is a far better exponent of the liberals of this country.

Undoubtedly, our trade will suffer, but none wish for a disgraceful peace. I must refer you to a speech of Mr. Bright, in reference to the cotton question. You will see anxiety for cotton does not deter him from wishing success to the North.

We believe that the people of America entertain kindly feelings towards England, in spite of the incessant attacks of the New York *Herald*. We hope, when you see attacks on America in English papers, you will think it is the individual, not the country that speaks. We both have our faults, and a little criticism does good, if honestly meant.

Wishing success to your cause, and that slavery may be *scotched*, if not abolished, I remain,

Yours, respectfully,
HENRY PARKER,
Superintendent of Old Meeting School.

GIVE US THE EVIDENCE.

MR. GARRISON,—I find in the last communication of David Lee Child, on the "Contraband of War" doctrine, the following statements:—

"Citizens of free States, in the service of the United States, endeavoring to take on board the steamer Star of the West some of the troops betrayed by the black traitor Twiggs, and afterwards captured in their unarmed state, contrary to capitulation, and their safeguard violated by the blacker traitor Van Dorn, were seized by the rebels, and sold at public auction as slaves! These unhappy men . . . were marched off by their purchasers to life-long servitude in the interior, nobody can tell where, and nobody thus far seems to care! That no circumstance of aggravation and insult might be wanting, they were carried a thousand miles from Indianola to Montgomery, that they might be put upon the block, and knocked off under the nose of Jeff. Davis."

I have never before seen this statement, that I remember, in any number of the *Liberator* that I have received, nor in any other paper; for I could not have forgotten it. I have never heard it referred to; the public don't know it—perhaps would not care if they did; I doubt if it is known to most of the readers of the *Liberator*. What is the evidence of this fact?

Another statement, equally new to me, and of which I want evidence,—although from the character of the Slave Power, I have no doubt of it,—is the following:

"Repeatedly provoking wars of extermination against those simple and upright peoples, [Indians,] *by disguising themselves as Indians*, murdering whole families of their white neighbors, and then summoning in well-feigned terror the ready ruffians of the frontier, and the nearest garrisons of the army, to the harvest of death."

A heavy charge this, to be made against the vilest fiends of hell!

And the following requires explanation as to whether it is meant to refer to Jeff. Davis and Stephens, or to some former Presidents of the United States—and if so, who?

"Corrupting and subverting, by fraud and force, the vital prerogative of the elective franchise, and thereby foisting into the highest dignity of the republic, and, as we have proudly boasted, the highest upon earth, two false and usurping, to the exclusion of two legally elected Presidents."

I suppose this to refer to the President and Vice President of the Confederate States; but it is obscurely expressed. Is that the meaning?

There are some other inquiries I would like to make, and some thoughts I feel disposed to suggest, but the crowded state of your columns warns me to forbear. D. S. GRANDIN.

NOT WELL POSTED.

Our indefatigable coadjutor, PARKER P[illegible], writing from Newburg, Geauga County, O[illegible] says:

"My meetings, hitherto, have been large, and generally undisturbed, the last always much larger than the first. The people are astonished at the disclosures I make. They came near mobbing me for telling them that Washington was not out of danger; that Beauregard's force on the Potomac was greater than ours; that Government was not up to the exigencies of the hour; and that they themselves, and all the people, must thunder in the ears of Lincoln and Cameron, what should be done, and done now.

The very next morning came the order from Washington, summoning all regiments, and parts of regiments, uniformed, ununiformed, officered or unofficered, naked, ragged and barefoot, to report before the capital! Then the wonder grew,

"That one small head could carry all I knew"

about it, while they knew nothing after all their reading, but supposed the troops were only in the way, and trod on one another, while the South were without means and men. On several things I have enlightened or warned them in this way, to their surprise. Few seem to know that while our men are shot, imprisoned, drummed out of camp, sent to die among the snakes, scorpions and malaria of the Tortugas, and outraged in a thousand other ways, not a traitor, spy or pirate has yet been shot or hung! And when told how many slaves are sent back to bondage by our officers, they cannot believe, unless I read them facts and particulars: and when, last Sunday night, I told who and how many of the Richmond prisoners had been sent away down to South Carolina, and that others were to be sent to New Orleans, where they sell refractory slaves, a tempest of surprise and wrath was wakened, that is not often seen. And now we have Lincoln's loathsome avoirdupoise thrown across the pathway of the great "*Pathfinder*," as they once so proudly called General Fremont; and the twenty-five thousand slaves, freed by his Proclamation, are by Executive decision re-doomed to hopeless bondage! Such are some of my texts.

It does seem to me that the infatuation of our Government is only paralleled by that of those abolitionists who believe that our mission, as abolitionists, is ended. To my apprehension, it would be far more rational to consider ourselves rather the prophets of the anti-slavery millennium, than its heroes, to wear its laurels, or be the theme of its songs."

AN OPPRESSIVE LANDLORD.

An instance of outrageous oppression practised by a landlord has lately come to my knowledge, which I think ought to be published.

Two very worthy elderly sisters, Mrs. Hartford and Mrs. Folsom, occupied some rooms at No. 43, Billerica street, in this city, as monthly tenants. After they had been there for some time, James Hayes hired the building, so that they became tenants under him. He wished them to pay weekly, but they desired to pay monthly, according to their previous practice. He then brought a suit in the Police Court to get possession of the rooms, the writ being returnable June 29.

After the suit was brought, the ladies, some time before June 29, paid him rent, partly in advance, up to July 1, he agreeing to let them remain as tenants. The suit being thus settled *before the time for entry had arrived*, they thought no more about it, until some weeks after, when an officer called, and told them that Hayes had got judgment against them in the suit, and a writ of possession, and that, unless they removed by a certain day, they would be turned out, and their furniture placed in the street. This threat was executed to the letter, and these aged ladies, one of them very sick, were actually turned into the street, and their furniture placed on the sidewalk.

The wickedness of this man in getting a judgment, after he had settled the case, and in using this fraudulent judgment to turn these unfortunate women into the street, deserves to be held up to public indignation. When a man commits a great crime, those who deal with him ought to be made acquainted with the fact. Perhaps the publication of such a record may deter others from similar offences. X.

SONG FOR THE NATIONAL FAST.

TUNE—*God save the King.*

My country! 'tis for thee,
Dark land of Slavery,
For thee I weep.
The land where slaves have sighed,
Where they have toiled and died,
To serve a tyrant's pride,—
For thee I weep.

My native land, for thee,
Land of the noble free,
Of Liberty,
For thee, dear land, I weep.
A Fast in sorrow keep!
The stain is foul and deep
Of Slavery.

From every mountain's side,
Upon the ocean's tide,
They call on thee.
Amid thy rocks and rills,
Thy woods and templed hills,
I hear a voice that thrills—
Let all go free!

Arise! and break the band!
Sound loud throughout this land,
Sweet Freedom's song!
Let all that breathe partake!
No groans the song to break,
While Slaves the echoes wake,
The sounds prolong!

Our fathers' God! to Thee,
Giver of Liberty!
To Thee we pray!
Soon may our land be pure!
The rights of all secure!
And Freedom's light endure,
Beneath our sway!

—*Bangor Mechanic.*

A PROPHETIC SONG.

The following song (says *Zion's Herald*) was written by John G. Whittier, the Quaker poet, during the Fremont campaign, five years ago. Since the recent proclamation in Missouri, it has occurred to us that the words were prophetic of the present state of affairs. We give the song as correctly as we can from memory, and our readers may judge for themselves:—

All hail to Fremont! swell the lofty acclaim,
Like winds from the mountains, like prairies aflame;
Once more the Pathfinder is forth on his hunt;
Clear the way for Free Soil, Free Men and Fremont.

We'll spurn every fetter, we'll break every rod,
And our country shall bloom as the garden of God,
As we plant the white banner of freedom upon't,
And cry, To the rescue, Free Men and Fremont!

The land that we love shall be sacred from slaves,
From the tyrant's misrule, and the plunder of knaves;
We'll baptize the nation at Liberty's font,
And the faith of our fathers shall live with Fremont.

Then, East, West and North, swell the lofty acclaim,
Like winds from the mountains, like prairies aflame;
Clear the way! the Pathfinder moves on in our front,
And our hearts shall keep time to the march of Fremont.

☞ The following spirited verses by John G. Whittier (says a correspondent of the *Transcript*) were originally published in the *National Era* in 1856. Their purpose then was to direct public attention to FREMONT as a fit leader of the nation towards so much of freedom as was included in the Republican platform, namely, the "non-extension of slavery." Though the praise bestowed in these verses upon the discoverer, the explorer, the indomitable leader, was well-deserved, some persons thought that Fremont's career had not then quite authorized the designation of him in the closing stanzas as pre-eminently the Man for the Hour—the Leader towards Freedom. Now, however, his position justifies this high eulogy. Let Fremont be now not only admired and applauded, but *supported*. Let the voice of the people everywhere echo the noble movement he has made; and let the liberty-loving conductors of the press everywhere copy these lines of Whittier.

THE PASS OF THE SIERRA.

All night above their rocky bed
They saw the stars march slow;
The wild Sierra overhead,
The desert's death below.

The Indian from his lodge of bark,
The gray bear from his den,
Beyond their camp-fire's wall of dark,
Glared on the mountain men.

Still upward turned, with anxious strain,
Their leader's sleepless eye,
Where splinters of the mountain chain
Stood black against the sky.

The night waned slow; at last, a glow,
A gleam of sudden fire,
Shot up behind the walls of snow,
And tipped each icy spire.

"Up, men!" he cried; "yon rocky comb,
To-day, please God, we'll pass,
And look from Winter's frozen home
On Summer's flowers and grass!"

They set their faces to the blast,
They trod th' eternal snow,
And, faint, worn, bleeding, hailed at last
The promised land below.

Behind, they saw the snow-cloud tossed
By many an icy horn;
Below, warm valleys, wood-embossed,
And green with vines and corn.

They left the winter at their backs,
To flap his baffled wing,
And downward, with the cataracts,
Leaped to the lap of Spring.

Strong leader of that mountain band!
Another task remains,
To break from Slavery's desert land
A path to Freedom's plains.

The winds are wild, the way is drear,
Yet, flashing through the night,
Lo! icy ridge and rocky spear
Blaze out in morning light!

Rise up, FREMONT! and go before;
The Hour must have its Man;
Put on the hunting-shirt once more,
And lead in Freedom's van!

FREMONT'S DEED OF MANUMISSION. The following is the text of General Fremont's deed of manumission for the slaves of Thomas L. Snead:—

"Whereas, Thomas L. Snead, of the city and country of St. Louis, State of Missouri, has been taking an active part with the enemies of the United States, in the present insurrectionary movement against the government of the United States. Now, therefore, I, John Charles Fremont, Major General Commanding the Western Department of the Army of the United States, by authority of law and the power vested in me as such commanding General, declare Hiram Reed, heretofore held to service or labor, by Thomas L. Snead, to be *free*, and forever discharged from the bonds of servitude, giving him full right and authority to have, use, and control his own labor or service as to him may seem proper, without any accountability whatever to said Thomas L. Snead, or any one to claim by, through, or under him.

"And this deed of manumission shall be respected and treated by all persons, and in all Courts of Justice, as the full and complete evidence of the freedom of said Hiram Reed.

"In testimony whereof, this act is done at headquarters of the Western Department of the Army of the United States, in the city of St. Louis, State of Missouri, on this 12th day of September, A. D. eighteen hundred and sixty-one, as is evidenced by the departmental seal hereto affixed by my order.

"J. C. FREMONT,
"Major-General Commanding."

NEGROES "DECLARED FREE MEN" UNDER FREMONT'S PROCLAMATION. Fremont's proclamation is bearing fruit. Twelve negroes, all young men, have arrived here, rescued from slavery by their master's treason and the proclamation. The traitor lives at Independence, Mo., and is a leading secessionist. He had 22 or 23 slaves in all, of whom 10 or 11 were women and children, who were unable to leave.

The twelve fled from Independence, but were seized by the rebel pickets. Before they could be sent back, however, their captors had a brush with pickets of the Kansas City Union force, which resulted in the capture of the rebels and negroes. This was on Friday. The master having been ascertained to be a traitor, the slaves were set at liberty, and have come up here.—*Leavenworth (Kansas) Conservative, Sept. 10th.*

A QUESTION OF LAW. Fremont having once proclaimed martial law in Missouri, as it is admitted he had a right to do, and having also, by his powers as military chief, and under the construction of the law of nations, given by John Quincy Adams in his speech of 1842, liberated the slaves of rebels, can his act be annulled by himself, or even modified by any other authority? In other words, can men once declared free be again reduced to slavery by any color of law? The question is profoundly interesting, as it affects the condition of all the slaves of rebel owners, now within the military jurisdiction of Gen. Fremont.

A St. Louis correspondent of the N. Y. *Post* remarks:

"If the Government commits the blunder of removing Fremont, our cause in the West is as good as lost. I care not what interested and corrupt politicians and swindling army contractors may clamor for. The people are with General Fremont.

General Fremont has made some mistakes—as who would not, coming here under similar circumstances?—but in the main he has done admirably well, and the people and soldiers have confidence in him. That is a very great deal more than can be said of some who I suspect would like to fill his place."

FREEING THE SLAVES IN MISSOURI. The manumission of two slaves by General Fremont has already been announced. But another important movement has since occurred. Before the President's modification of the terms of Fremont's proclamation had been dispatched, an expedition was sent out by Fremont to break up various nests of secessionists in the vicinity of the towns of Benton and Commerce. A correspondent of the St. Louis *Republican*, who accompanied this expedition, writes a long and very interesting account of its operations. The commander was Col. Smith, and the number of men was six hundred. The secessionists in Benton were first visited, and then the traitors of the town of Commerce were dealt with. The expedition *freed twenty-five slaves*, who were taken to St. Louis.

The following extracts from the correspondent's letter state some curious facts:

"All the farms along the route, owned by aiders and abettors of treason, were visited, the owners, if at home, taken prisoners or made to swear allegiance, and at the places of several who were holding rank in the secession army, their slaves (what few were left), in accordance with Fremont's proclamation, taken away. A more perfect picture of desolation and ruin than that portion of Missouri presented would be hard to imagine. Almost every house was deserted by the male inhabitants, and everything of value removed. At not one residence in ten was there any but women present, except occasionally an old man whose white hair rendered him unfit for duty and sacred from violence. The slaves were also women, or aged and decrepid—those capable of service being with their masters in the secession army. Horses, mules, and cattle were also all taken, either with or without the wishes of the owners.

All along the route evidences of smothered secession were numerous, and in some localities even the peaches by the wayside were poisoned, in hopes of destroying the troops. This latter attempt displayed a diabolical ingenuity worthy of a darker age. *The fruit, while hanging on the tree, had been plugged, some kind of liquid poison introduced, and the plug replaced.* Fortunately the soldiers were warned in time to escape, but a small pig, to which one of the poisoned peaches was given, died in half an hour.

The total results of the expedition were twenty-five negroes, and the same number of horses and mules, and half a dozen prisoners."

LOUISVILLE, Ky., Sept. 21.

The following proclamation has just been issued:

KENTUCKIANS:—Called by the Legislature of this my native State, I hereby assume command of this department. I come to enforce, not to make, laws; and, God willing, to protect your property and your lives. The enemies of the country have dared to invade our soil. Kentucky is in danger. She has vainly striven to keep peace with her neighbors. Our State is now invaded by those who professed to be her friends, but who now seek to conquer her. No true son of Kentucky can longer hesitate as to his duty to his State and country. The invaders must, and, God willing, will be expelled. The leader of the hostile forces, who now approaches, is, I regret to say, a Kentuckian, making war on Kentucky and Kentuckians. Let all past differences of opinion be overlooked. Every one who rallies to the support of our Union and our State is a friend. Rally, then, my countrymen, around the flag our fathers loved, and which has shielded us so long. I call you to arms for self-defence and for the protection of all that is dear to freemen. Let us trust in God and do our duty, as did our fathers.

(Signed) ROBERT ANDERSON,
Brigadier General, U. S. A.

ST. LOUIS, Sept. 21. Two fights occurred at Blue Mills Landing on the 17th inst. The first was between 500 of the 3d Iowa Regiment, with one piece of artillery, under Lieut. Scott, and about 4000 rebels. After a desperate fight of an hour's duration, in which Scott lost 120 in killed and wounded, and all his horses, he retreated slowly half a mile, drawing his cannon by hand.

He subsequently took a position with his howitzer on an eminence, and awaited for the enemy to renew the attack, but he did not pursue. Not long afterwards, Col. Smith's command, with four pieces of artillery, approached Blue Mills by another route, and engaged and routed the rebels as they were about crossing the river.

LEAVENWORTH, KANSAS, Sept. 20. The Times learns that a fight took place at Mariatown, Mo., Tuesday, between 600 Federals under Cols. Montgomery and Johnson, and 400 rebels, in which the latter were completely routed, with a loss of seven killed and 100 horses, and all their tents and supplies captured.

Our force lost two privates killed and six wounded. Col. Johnson, while riding at the head of his command, was pierced with nine bullets. He died urging his men to fight for the Stars and Stripes.

NEW YORK, Sept. 24. The Herald has an interesting letter from Fortress Monroe, dated the 22d, with advices from Hatteras Inlet of the evening previous. The expedition had destroyed the Fort on Beacon Island, Ocracoke Inlet. The fort was found deserted, but the rebels had succeeded previously in removing two heavy guns to Newbern. All the guns, numbering eighteen long 32 pounders and four 8 inch navy guns, were destroyed and the fort entirely burnt up. The Lighthouse on the Island was also burnt. Two heavy guns were also destroyed at Portsmouth, which village and that of Ocracoke were visited.

In both places the Union feeling was found to be pretty strong. Great complaints were made of the plundering propensities of the rebels. Unfortunately, Col. Hawkins had not men enough to hold the fort, thus the necessity of its destruction.

The recently released prisoners from Richmond represent that the Union soldiers there, who are wounded, are most infamously maltreated by the rebel surgeons, who perform amputations and capital operations, where there is not the slightest need, nearly all resulting fatally. The only persons showing any humanity towards the prisoners are the Georgians and Louisianians.

The treatment of Virginia Unionists is stated to be infamous, neither age nor sex being respected.

Sixteen officers, including one colonel, and forty privates, had escaped. Four hundred prisoners were to be sent to Baton Rouge this week, and it is intended to send them all South to prevent them from escaping.

Many are suffering for want of clothing, and Gen. Scott is to send them some.

OUR COUNTRY FIRST AND ALWAYS. The statesman never lived (says the *Post*) who was more tender of the liberty of the citizens than Thomas Jefferson; and after his illustrious public life was closed, and amidst the classic shades of Monticello, he wrote, September 20, 1810:

"A strict observance of the written laws is, doubtless, one of the high duties of a good citizen, but it is not the highest. The laws of necessity, of self-preservation, of saving our country when in danger, are of higher obligation. To lose our country by a scrupulous adherence to written laws, would be to lose the law itself, with life, liberty, property, and all those who are enjoying them with us; thus absurdly sacrificing the end to the means."

COMPLIMENT TO GOV. ANDREW. A number of influential parties in California, admiring the noble and patriotic course pursued by Gov. Andrew in the present conflict, have sent to Boston for a portrait of his Excellency for the purpose of having a life-size likeness executed by one of their best native artists. The picture is designed for one of the public institutions of San Francisco.

ANOTHER FUGITIVE SLAVE CASE IN THE MASSACHUSETTS FIRST. Another slave case has occurred in the Massachusetts First, but this time the claimant, a Union man, was armed with the necessary legal documents, and accompanied by the Provost Marshal, so that the Massachusetts boys, with heavy hearts, allowed the law to take its course.

☞ Further developments of the recent railroad disaster at Platte bridge, Mo., show that the rebels not only weakened the bridge, but that some sixty or seventy men standing on the opposite bank of Platte river saw the train go down, and when the wail arose from the wounded they broke and ran, but afterwards returned and robbed the dead of their revolvers, watches and other valuables.

NEW YORK, Sept. 23. An attempt was discovered last night to destroy the train due from Albany on the Hudson River Railroad between 102d and 118th streets. Heavy rocks were piled upon the inside tracks, extending a long distance. The police removed the stones. The train was said to be a special one, conveying a regiment from the interior. It came through safely. There is no clue as yet to the fiends.

☞ The town of Humboldt, Allen County, Kansas, has been sacked by a party of secessionists and Indians, who took away property worth about $3000, and kidnapped eight negroes.

☞ After a long protracted and severe struggle, Lexington, Missouri, has been captured by the rebels.

THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY, for October, appears with its usual punctuality, and with a literary "bill of fare" suited to a great variety of tastes. It is thus summed up by the Boston *Journal*:—

'The present number, by its well-balanced array of pertinent, lively and instructive articles, speaks highly for the editorship of Mr. Fields. It is, indeed, a capital number, and will commend itself to all classes of readers. It opens with a tourist's sketch by Hawthorne, entitled "Near Oxford," that reminds one of the finest chapters in Irving's "Sketch Book." We trust this is the beginning of a series. "Cyril Wilde" is the narrative of a tragic event in Kentucky, graphically told. Mrs. Howe contributes a spirited poem on "Crawford's Statues at Richmond." The interesting "Journal of a Privateersman" is continued, as is Mrs. Stowe's "Agnes of Sorrento." The "Country Parson" gives one of his finest essays, "Concerning People of whom More might have been Made"—a suggestive subject, truly. "A Night in a Wherry," by Sidney Willard, is quite entertaining. "A Story of To-day" is the beginning of a tale by the authoress of the powerful story, "Life in the Iron Mills," and promises to rival that thrilling production. "What We are Coming to," by Walter Mitchell, is an able discussion of some of the features of the present rebellion which have been comparatively overlooked. Mr. Hazewell draws on his unsurpassed historical stores for the illustration of the subject of "Panic Terror." Under the title of "The Wormwood Cordial of History," Dr. Holmes expatiates in his inimitable way on the lessons of the crisis, ending up with a capital fable. Two or three fair pieces of poetry complete the number.'

SIGNIFICANT NAMES.—In company C, now encamped at Camp Wayne, Ohio, there are three soldiers bearing respectively the following christian names: Benjamin Lundy, Charles Burleigh, and Gerrit Smith, rather unwelcome names for Dixie.

☞ The *Liberator* prints President Lincoln's letter to Gen. Fremont between black lines. That letter's appearance made most of us feel very blue, and created a general green and yellow melancholy.—*Traveller.*

☞ MERCY B. JACKSON, M. D., having had fifteen years' experience in the Homœopathic treatment of diseases, offers her professional services to the Ladies and Children of Boston and vicinity.

References.—David Thayer, M. D.; Luther Clark, M. D.; John M. Tarball, M. D., Boston. Eliphalet Clark, M. D., Portland, Me.

Rooms No. 20 Bulfinch street. Office hours from 2 to P. M.

☞ BESSIE S. LOCKWOOD, M. D., *No. 34 Auburn Street, Boston.* Particular attention paid to the Diagnosis and Treatment of Chronic Diseases.

OFFICE HOURS from 11, A. M., till 2, P. M. Nov. 23.

☞ A. T. FOSS, an Agent of the American A. S. Society, will speak on "The War," at

W. Brookfield,, Vt.,		Sunday, Sept. 29.
Northfield,	"	Tuesday, Oct. 1.
Barre,	"	Wednesday, P.M. and eve'g, Oct. 2.
Montpelier,	"	Thursday, Oct. 3.
Gaysville,	"	Friday, " 4.
Peacham,	"	Sunday, " 6.
Danville,	"	Tuesday, " 8.
St. Johnsbury,	"	Wednes., " 9.
L. Waterford,	"	Friday, " 11.
McIndoes Falls,	"	Sat. eve'g, " 12, and Sunday, 13.
S. Ryegate,	"	Tuesday, " 15.
Topsham,	"	Wednes., " 16.
Washington,	"	Thursday, " 17.
Newbury,	"	Friday, " 18.
Bradford,	"	Sunday, " 20.
Windsor,	"	Wednes., " 23.
Cornish,	N. H.	Thursday, " 24.
Cornish Flat,	"	Friday, " 25.
Springfield,	"	Sunday, " 27.
Dublin,	"	Friday, Nov. 1.
Keene,	"	Sunday, " 3.

$40 PARKER $40

Sewing Machines,

PRICE FORTY DOLLARS.

THIS is a new style, first class, double thread, Family Machine, made [illegible] used under the patents of Howe, Wheeler & Wilson, and Grover & Baker, and its construction is the best combination of the various patents owned and used by these parties, and the patents of the Parker Sewing Company. They were awarded a *Silver Medal* at the last Fair of the Mechanics' Charitable Association, and are the best finished and most substantially made Family Machines now in the market.

☞ *Sales Room*, 188 Washington street.

GEO. E. LEONARD, *Agent*.

Agents wanted everywhere.

All kinds of Sewing Machine work done at short notice.

Boston, Jan. 18, 1861. 3m.

IMPORTANT TESTIMONY.

Report of the Judges of the last Fair of the Mas[illegible] Charitable Mechanic Association.

"FOUR PARKER'S SEWING MACHINES. This Machine is so constructed that it embraces the combinations of the various patents owned and used by Elias Howe, Jr., Wheeler & Wilson, and Grover & Baker, for which these parties pay tribute. These, together with Parker's improvements, make it a beautiful Machine. They are sold from $40 to $120 each. They are very perfect in their mechanism, being adjusted before leaving the manufactory, in such a manner that they cannot get deranged. The feed, which is a very essential point in a good Machine, is simple, positive and complete. The apparatus for guaging the length of stitch is very simple and effective. The tension, as well as other parts, is well arranged. There is another feature which strikes your committee favorably, viz: there is no wheel below the table between the standards, to come in contact with the dress of the operator, and therefore no danger from oil or dirt. This machine makes the double lock-stitch, but is so arranged that it lays the ridge upon the back quite flat and smooth, doing away, in a great measure, with the objection sometimes urged on that account."

NOW READY,

SERMONS AND SPEECHES BY GERRIT SMITH: containing his Six Sermons on the Religion of Reason, and three of his recent Speeches—one of them delivered lately, on the War. Price 50 cents.

For sale by ROSS & TOUSEY,
July 19.—4t No. 121 Nassau street, N. Y.

TRANSIENT BOARDERS.

THE subscriber has just opened house No. 77 Myrtle st., for the accommodation of transient Boarders. The location is a pleasant one, within a few minutes' walk of the most central portions of the city. Every exertion will be made for the comfort of those who may favor the house with a call. Rooms furnished with or without board. Terms moderate.

Boston, Jan. 7. S. NEWELL.

IMPROVEMENT IN
Champooing and Hair Dyeing,
"WITHOUT SMUTTING."

MADAME CARTEAUX BANNISTER

WOULD inform the public that she has removed from 223 Washington Street, to

No. 31 WINTER STREET,

where she will attend to all diseases of the Hair.

She is sure to cure in nine cases out of ten, as she has for many years made the hair her study, and is sure there are none to excel her in producing a new growth of hair.

Her Restorative differs from that of any one else, being made from the roots and herbs of the forest.

She Champoos with a bark which does not grow in this country, and which is highly beneficial to the hair before using the Restorative, and will prevent the hair from turning grey.

She also has another for restoring grey hair to its natural color in nearly all cases. She is not afraid to speak of her Restoratives in any part of the world, as they are used in every city in the country. They are also packed for her customers to take to Europe with them, enough to last two or three years, as they often say they can get nothing abroad like them.

Call and see some of the best references in the country. No charge for information.

MADAME CARTEAUX BANNISTER,
No. 31 Winter Street, Boston.
June 14. tf

JUST PUBLISHED,

And for sale at the Anti-Slavery Office, 221 Washington Street,

AN elaborate Work, entitled "Relation of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions to Slavery. By Charles K. Whipple,"—a volume of nearly 250 pages. In cloth, 37 cents—in paper covers, 25 cents.

Aug. 30.

Poetry.

For the Liberator.

THE BRODMAN'S PRAYER.

Hear yo not that wall of anguish,
Hear yo not that smothered cry,
Heme to us on evening breezes,
Wafted by the cool winds sigh?
Hear it, oh, ye sons and daughters;
Hear it, oh, ye fathers bold;
Hear it, mothers, as your darlings
Yo embrace with closer fold?

"Blessed Father, must we always
Wear Oppression's galling yoke?
Must we always wringe and blubber
Neath the tyrant's saddiest stroke?
Must our cries as earth be ever
Blunkered by fiend Slavery's power?
Must the clouds of bondage always
Our our pathway darkly lower?

"Must our hopes be always shattered,
All our dreams of bliss destroyed,
All our plans for future comfort
With this poison be alloyed?
Must the little ones thus grow up,
Always from our arms to turn,
And we same each bitter snapped,
Further in our hearts we burn?

"Must our minds be kept in darkness,
All thy heaven-born gifts to earth
Without utility, and our souls
Are intelligence be hid?
Know yo not, O Father, Father?
Kept from or sweet hopes of heaven,
For this only earthly reason,
Darkie shine is so very green!

"Send deliverance, oh, our Father!
Bend these bonds, and set us free;
Free to breathe the air of heaven,
With no master here but Thee!
Let no sleep our children sleep,
Knowing this is power but thine
Free shall wrest our darlings from us.
One day let us Freedom's cries."

Millville, N. J., Sept. 14. ABION C. HOLT.

ODE

Written for the Celebration of the Birthday of Theodore Parker, at Hebron (N.H.) Boarding School, Friday Evening, Aug. 22.

BY F. A. BABBOUR.

No more for Thee shall summer bring
This day well-marked years;
Nor, whirling round his yearly ring,
The sun of August bars.
Another spheres hence by Thee
Thou art welcome here,—
Our days and months begotten be
In Heaven's unchanging year.

But we with rites of love will keep
The day thy birth gave Thee birth,
Though far away thine soken sleep
In free lost foreign earth.
The life shall thy pupils gauge
Our never wholly die,—
For still thy spirit speaks to man,
And still our hearts reply.

God's truth, by Thee so long proclaimed,
Spreads wider, day by day,
And they that shrink, afraid or shamed,
Sect now the better way:
While half the land, to anger stung
By deeds by Thee devised,
Remembers how by fearless tongue
Rebuked and prayed of old.

Then, since the weak and base who would,
Cannot forget thy face,
Let us, who once beside Thee stood,
With honor crown thy grave.
While reverence and gratitude shall
And love are not forgotten,
Thy memory as day goes round
Shall live in speech and song.

From the Atlantic Monthly for September.

"UNDER THE CLOUD, AND THROUGH THE SEA."

So moved they, when Silas Pharaoh's legion pressed,
Christ's and heroes following furiously.—
Sons of old Israel, at their God's behest,
Under the cloud, and through the sea-way.

So passed they, fearless, where the parted waves,
Woven green spearing from the sand,—
Hedged in their children, a grace
Rolled to the beckoning of Jehovah's hand.

So fell to them, in fancied careless greed,
In bold delirium, with set teeth and eye,
Go, to the borders of that Promised Land,
Wherein their birthright of glory lay.

And Jordan passed, and King Og's rocky bed,
And Amorite spears flashed keen and fearfully;
Still the same pathway meet their footsteps tread,—
Under the cloud, and through the thundering sea.

God works not otherwise. No mighty birth
But comes by throes of mortal agony;
No man—child among nations of the earth
But finileth baptism in a stormy sea.

Some of the faints who faced their Jordan-flood
In Sacred Scriptures unstreaking verse,
Who, by the Red Sea of their glorious blood,
Reached to the Promised Land, and lost shall never!

O Countrymen! God's day is not yet done!
He knoweth not his people utterly!
Under the cloud, and through the sea,
Beneath the Cloud, and through the crimson Sea!

FREEDOM.

I.

No blots on the banner of Light!
No slaves in the land of the Free!
No wrong to be conquer where all should be Right,
No man that is shackled to me!
America, show the wide world, in thy strength,
How slavery detestedest then art,
To set free the left, in its breadth and its length,
The cooker that gnaws at thy heart.

II.

Upraise thee! and swear by thy Might
This evil no longer shall be!
For all men are brothers, this block as the white,
And sons of one Father are we!
America, arise to the perilous time
Wise, calm, yet fully nerved
To ridding the heart of old habits of crime,
And simply repelling hatred.

III.

Away to the lists and the shame
With the lash, and the gaol, and the chains!
Away with the buying and selling of souls,
And slavery, killing in pain!
America, this is thy chance, now or laught,
Of creating, while crumbling to thee,
Thou rebels and shackledom, slaves to thy strength,
The curse and contempt of the Free.

Boston, July 27, 1861. MARIE F. TUPPER.

KEEP THE HEART YOUNG.

Keep the heart young—never let it grow gray hair—
Keep the heart young, and you'll never despair;
Hopeful and young, let the old frame decay—
Who cares for the rind when the pearl's away?

Keep the heart young, with full trust in God's might
To anchor you safely, but follow the right;
Keep the heart young, and the merry and gay,
Give care to the winds, and be cheerful alway.

Keep the heart young, and be tender and true;
As loving to others as they are to you;
Keep the heart young, and don't fy in a rage
If any one mentions your mellow old age.

Keep the heart young, and let old Time appear,
He'll gide on so gently you'll scarce feel his near;
A friend—and so he—bringing peace and delight;
Keep the heart young, and you'll always be right.

The Liberator.

LETTER FROM HENRY C. WRIGHT.

St. Mary's Lake—St. Mary's Water-Cure—St. Mary's Saw-mill—Cause and Cure of the War—Man down in Incidents—An Inhuman Religion.

ST. MARY'S LAKE, RAPIDS CREEK, MICH., Sept. 10, 1861.

MR. EDITOR GARRISON:

Such is the name of the beautiful cottage home of Henry Willis, close on the shore of St. Mary's Lake. You have been here; you have seen the place. It would be difficult to select a more beautiful, more conveniently planned, or more perfectly located for purposes of beauty, health and comfort. Apples, peaches, pears, cherries, plums, nectarines, strawberries, grapes, melons, all perfect and abundant, each in their season. The sweet, bright flowers that adorn the front yard, and the ornamental trees, add beauty to the home. But the brightest and most perfect gem in this whole picture, is the lake, that at this moment sparkles so brightly and smiles so encharingly to the bright, clear moon, as she shines down upon its peaceful bosom. The Indians dwelt on the adorn its shores nearly the entire circle of the lake, and in the distance can be seen the Indian home. St. Mary's Lake it may well be called. The calm, bright face of the Indiana could scarcely express the glory of the Indian. The Indian and the Nature more perfectly than does the face of this picture of Nature's own designing.

But St. Mary's Water-Cure, here as well as a lake, and she has Josephine Griffing to preside over it as Matron, and Hiram and Emma Freeman as Physicians. The Water-Cure is located on the shore of the lake, and supplied with soft, healing water from its clear depths. In St. Mary can accommodate seventy-five of the sick and suffering with health and life to body and soul, on reasonable terms; provide large are willing to work for their board, and the boxes all her efforts in behalf of the diseased on the principle that, not money, but health and life are at stake; and that there is no escape from hell to heaven without a determined, persevering effort; that men and women must work out their salvation from the hell of drunkenness, of slavery, and of war, especially of drunkenness and war, and with the spirit of Christ with bold, decided, energetic action in the right direction—such as Freeman is now putting forth. St. Mary has all the elements of success in her, and success is her aim. Her sick there are to be cured by

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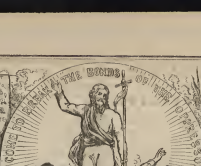
☞ All remittances are to be made, and all letters relating to the pecuniary affairs of the paper are to be directed (POST PAID) to the General Agent.

☞ Advertisements inserted at the rate of five cents per line.

☞ The Agents of the American, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Michigan Anti-Slavery Societies are authorized to receive subscriptions for THE LIBERATOR.

☞ The following gentlemen constitute the FINANCIAL COMMITTEE, but are not responsible for any debts of the paper, viz.—FRANCIS JACKSON, EDMUND QUINCY, EDMUND JACKSON, and WENDELL PHILLIPS.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.



Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind.

J. B. YERRINTON & SON, Printers.

VOL. XXXI NO. 40. BOSTON, FRIDAY, OCTOBER 4, 1861. WHOLE NO. 1606.

Refuge of Oppression.

THE ADMINISTRATION AND SLAVERY.

We are gratified, in common with a vast portion of the people of the North, at the course taken by the President in the treatment of Gen. Fremont's proclamation. When we wrote last week that we were apprehensive that the President would side with the President, that the Administration must regret the course of the Western General, our view was received with considerable distrust, and even an slight expression of doubt from the practice adopted by one of the ablest and most trusted of our home people regarded as an interference with the prerogatives of the War Department. It appeared plainly now, and we record it with satisfaction, that a headlong precipitation in the matter was not adopted by Major Generals, is quite as likely to be an interference with the designs of the President in his cabinet, as a judicious expression of opinion against them. Those of our correspondents who in their haste applauded the proclamation of General Fremont as "the way to carry on the war," find that way is not the Administration way, and that in proving it they have added to the embarrassment it has caused the Administration, while the President, as firm today as ever in his resistance to the Abolition pressure which has been brought to bear on him. Upon this slavery question, we are convinced, as we have before said, that the President has no conception one constant and consistent idea, and that he may be relied on to pursue the course which he always expressed. The question has been magnified into one of great importance by the constant efforts to involve the Government in one of the consequences, and enlist the army in a crusade against slavery. There is really no great difficulty whatever in the treatment of slavery by the army, according to the ordinary practice in war as the common rules of war. As to making our soldiers slave-catchers, we apprehend that no one expects it, North or South; and as to affording shelter to fugitives, we are sorry that persons in our camps, if they are to be treated differently from poor persons of any other color or position in the places where they may be located. An obtrusive army will assuredly make what use it can of all property of rebels in arms, and in doing so will, without any intentional process of courts, seize and consume provisions, transport their own uses and appropriate the services of war, horses, wagons, and available goods, and will of course make the most of the property of the rebels, and if they cannot, will let them look out for themselves. This would effect, in regard to the freedom of many slaves, nor do we see how a people in arms can escape from any other result than this in immediate localities where the war is carried on. But this, which may be called an accidental effect of the war, is a very different matter from the seizure of property, as that phrase is ordinarily and properly understood, in the prosecution of a war, proceeding in necessary, involving a conviction for treason, or a conviction of confiscation on a decree, by a competent court.

When the war is over, rights shall be over, the condition of slaves thus in that State will become, as before, a matter of State law and regulation, which those who have been forcibly conveyed, or who have escaped into other States, will be subject to the provisions of the laws of those States. The question and freedom, under the act of Congress, of any who have been adopted into the army, in the proper, suitable purposes, may then be pleaded in behalf of such as have been freed therein, and the Government will recognize all decrees of other courts which shall have been made on that subject.

No possible course could be devised more likely to offer the slaves a permanent home, and to put to rest the yond the freedom of any man, then the introduction of the principle contended for, that all slaves of rebels engaged in rebellion shall be free and secure at once on be released from. This declaration, originated over the Northern States, while it could do no possible good, would make the minds of the entire South against the North the war to the end, and to no purpose. It would hold up before every man and woman in the South, the immediate and immediate declaration of the freedom of all slaves, and would be by Northern Abolitionists, and the freedom should be secured by the Government, and a future in the South, and their consequence, from which humanity shrinks with horror.

As to any possible good to be derived from it, it would be supposed that the experience of the present part was enough to dispel forever any such idea.

Although the proclamation of the Slave, which was one of the elements in many men's calculations that perhaps had been given to the Government, is not the Constitution. The principle that the regulation of slave property is a State matter, only to be interfered with by its local authorities, and by its laws, or by disturbed by legal conditions, is the main ground of the President's action, in which the President intends that the control shall be conducted, not by the Government, by proclamations which shall be so general in their operation, or in the entire States, the rebellious of the people that they may lay down their arms, and surrender their property, at any moment when a general amnesty shall be proclaimed. If such a proclamation could operate as a legal amnesty, it would be in very plain that no future proclamation could suspend its effect, or deprive slaves of the rights to which they had become entitled by its terms. So that, without discussing its illegality, it has been found, if legal and of force, it would forever overthrow the foundations of society in the South, and which would greatly increase the Abolitionists indirectly more than a speedy and peaceable submission to the laws, and obedience to the war.

We trust that the firm course of the President in the case of General Fremont's proclamation will be the end of the attempt to coerce the Administration into Abolitionism. We cannot but regard the firmness as one of the most important which has taken place since the beginning of the war, and we are fully assured that it will not only strengthen the Administration in the estimation of the entire North, but give great encouragement to the Union men in the border and Southern States, whose hopes and prospects of the future now depends.—*Journal of Commerce.*

MASSACHUSETTS SOLDIERS IN MARYLAND. A letter from Carroll county, Maryland, speaking of the recent expedition to Lower Maryland, says the presence of Col. Cowdin's Massachusetts Regiment has convinced the secesh that our Massachusetts men could march through our county without interfering with the slaves. "I know of several instances," the letter continues, "where anyone seeking their camp were WHIPPED AND SENT HOME!!"

Selections

WHAT TO DO WITH AGITATORS.

In answer to the closure of one of our local newspapers (*Intelligencer*) we quote from our sole of language.) that certain Abolition editors and clerical agitators should be incarcerated in Fort Lafayette, the Boston *Courier* offers a few practical suggestions. The editor says—

"Surely, those newspapers and reverend parsons, with their confederates, stand on the very outer edge of that rubicon, and, indeed, they are so interesting free of anything possible to be called a Union of the States as the most irreconcilable secessionists, because they openly declare they will have Union, except on terms which are not in the power of the question. It is evident that the time must come when something must be done with them—but the question is, what shall be done?

In our judgment, nothing would tend so much to the public welfare, by the concurrent public opinion, as the prosecution of those pestilent newspapers and parsons. We desire to see neither such low nor any arbitrary proceedings applied to them. We are firmly for freedom of speech and of the press, according to the fundamental principles of the Constitution, and because anything short of this is totally inconsistent with the whole theory and practice of public and private life in this country. We know that liberty of speech and of writing shall not become licentious, it is necessary to define it, and keep it within the bounds of justice and reason. In a free country, of all others, this is most necessary, because there is the constant temptation to licentiousness and opportunity for it. There is a most numerous class of the community who are ever ready to abuse the vows which belong to the most held under wholesome restraint.

We have suffered amazingly in this country for want of a sounder public sentiment on this subject. Nothing could regulate this so well as actions and broad judicial decisions. We have, therefore, that the parties in question be properly indicted and brought to trial—after the usual proceedings and conducts, as the case may be, or as distorters of the public peace and safety. We have seen the agitation of the true principles of republican institutions at the bar, and by the ablest lawyers, and in a learned bench, let the case of these culprits be determined. As the result, if found guilty, be a sufficient fine and suitable imprisonment be awarded—enough to make them effectually, and to check others inclined in like manner to offend. We should thus soon put men of more discretion and of higher tone in the management of the press—which would then be so beneficial, as it is now too often mischievous—setting dangerous would divide those affairs of their proper vocation of the store of souls, instead of bewildering Christians and others in politics, and thus public sentiment and public conduct would be soon well regulated, raised and refined.—*N. Y. Journal of Commerce.*

INCENDIARY PARSONS.

To deal leniently with reverend incendiaries like Cheever and Beecher at such a time is to inspirit our enemies. Any man, who will take the lead in the treatment of those, who, to gratify their fanatical or selfish passions, would destroy the Union, or the *bloody extinction of slavery*, from the absence of any law, any *rule*, any *power* for its protection.

From the New York Herald, April 22.

By land and water, if she places herself in the attitude of rebellion, Maryland may be overrun and subdued in a single week, without the sacrifice of *slavery within her own borders*, for war makes no terms.

We are less concerned about Washington than about Maryland. It is not the mere, rise & profitably sells, regrows and sell, disloyal to the Union, and to the Constitution, and the country, and the very. Let her stand by the Union, and the Union will protect and respect her property, and their property in slaves on Border Hill?

From the New York Herald, April 22.

Accordingly, let old Virginia begin to put her house in order, and *set up her own property and half million of slaves*, for fear of the impending storm which has burst on her, and only a speedy penitance will save her from being dashed to pieces among the rocks and surging billows of this desolating rebellion.

From the New York Herald, April 22.

Virginia, next to Maryland, will be subjected to this test. She has already, in fact, gone, and probably risk the breaking of every bone in her body. If so, we fear that the Union, if it survive, will be broken, INCLUDING THEIR SACRIFICE OF SLAVERY. For the sake of our friends, the Union men of the revolted States will be asked to come to the relief of their misguided brethren, or otherwise, the war which they have chosen to secure their interests, and their property, will be spent in WITHOUT RIGHT OF EXISTENCE.

From the New York Herald, April 24.

In advance of our troops, Gen. Scott and Lincoln should issue his proclamation, guaranteeing the complete protection of all the property, real and property, but warning the enemies of the Government against the dangers of confiscation, *supposed inclusive*, if Virginia should be overrun by our troops, and, considering *her large slave population*, which *will other* property, and the property of our loyal men in their masters.

From the New York Herald, April 25.

That we are to have a fight, that Virginia and Maryland will form the battle-ground, that the *North*, on behalf of the Union, and the South, on behalf of slavery, is beyond permutation. They have already been drawn into the battle ground by the sole power of plunder held out by some of their leaders, and will not be satisfied unless THEY HAVE A FAIR AND A SLIGHT SACK. THERE IS NO SORT OF PRONUNCIATION AMONG THESE STATESMEN, AS THE PEOPLE OF THE BORDER STATES WILL HAVE ASCERTAIN TO THEIR COST. The character of the contest, which is now to be fought, is, of a bloody and merciless beyond parallel in ancient or modern history.

From the New York Herald, April 29.

The class of population which is growing in our large cities—the regiments forming for service in behalf of the Union, can never be permanently wasted. THEY WILL POUR DOWN FROM THE VALLEYS AND CITIES OF VIRGINIA AND MARYLAND, AND THEY WILL DRIVE THE REBELS BACK, and attempt terror in whatever vanity they approach.

From the New York Herald, April 29.

It will be idle for Tennessee and Kentucky to attempt to escape from the issue, and to remain at peace, while the remainder of the country is at war. Neutrality will be considered opposition, and the result of a general frontier war will be, that *slavery, as a domestic institution of the United States, will be utterly annihilated.*

These are a few, and only a few, of the "incendiary" appeals daily made by the *Herald* to the people of the North. Yet this is the paper which now invokes public wrath on other journals, upon a false imputation of using language infinitely less frenzied than that with which its own columns are filled.

FEELINGS OF AMERICANS ABROAD.

We take the following stirring passage from an elegant Discourse delivered in Harvard Street Baptist Church, Boston, August 11, 1861, on the occasion of the Pastor from Syria, by Rev. Daniel C. Eddy, D. D.—(published by John M. Hewes, 83 Cornhill, Boston.)

I return to you in the midst of civil war. Liberal hostile armies traversing our country. I find a country torn to the very heart with bleeding wounds and shudders at the prospect yet before us. I revisit it to my sixth anniversary, and, behold, merciless war was never entered upon. The rebels raised a banner against David, his royal sire, his mother, and his sweetest sister. Rebellion does not approach the enormity of this sanguinary conflict. The Spirit of God, in Isaiah, was not as unknowable as this war against the Federal Government by Satan, and his Madmen, who have gone forsaken we have defended, whose dishes we have paid, whose insults we have forgiven, whose injuries we have borne, and, alas!—God forgive us,—whose slaves we have caught and returned. Never, since God made the world, has a brighter and more beautiful Union been exhibited in a divisor sell than that which fell pierced with wounds in the arms of Rebellion; never has treason worked to a meaner purpose, and with more villainous treachery, than that which had South Carolina nullification for its hydra-head, and the Montgomery politics for its eleven foot and fetlock tail. The name of Arnold, which has been used as a synonym for treason, shall to glow with lurid light, in comparison with those in which Jefferson Davis, Beauregard, and the Hessian Cabinet looks sunk-blue, compared with those of the men who have planted the exile of this generation, and who, to conceal their crime, have been willing to drench their land in innocent blood.

The first intelligence we received of the commencement of hostilities was in Syria. We told that eight thousand christians men had overpowered a hundred thousand Turkish soldiers, and divided the immortal honor of the exploit between them; that Mussulmans were seeking refuge in the pavements of Baltimore; that the American flag, which so sovereign in Europe would dare insult, had been hooted by a mob—pelted with stones, trampled under foot, and rent to pieces; that an attempt to hoist it over Fort Sumter, had been put down the banner, every star, and stripe, and thread, and field of which was dyed with treason, and put up a bastard ensign, a practical insignia, in which the stripes of Southern Secession, were the ribs of the ship, the cloak of chains, and the groans of the crew.

And that was all we heard! The account was meager, and did not tell us how such treason was to be met, how such rebellion was to be subdued, and how such a government was to be preserved. A few days more, and we thought we knew what we could hear again. It was a week of harrowing suspense, and I assure you that, if you have sons, or brothers, your suspense could not have been in dreadful as mine. The news from Syria grew more eloquent with forebodings and fears. We questioned. How long the rebellion had been in preparation? Has the love of liberty fled from Plymouth Rock to such a long time? Has the Union been, in fact, the dwendeans of the men of Lexington, and Bunker Hill, and Valley Forge all dead? Will the organs not be found sufficiently sound, the circulation and vitalities the flag, or will the freedom of the North prove too enervated to do the work of that true, Palestine rig float once the capital, that successful, Revolutionary Government, that Washington, Lafayette, Franklin, Hancock, Adams, St. Lawrence, and that arrogant Georgian fell the boat be sinked, and the Union, and the Union, and slaves on Bunker Hill?

I was at Boston when I was afraid of the North, or New England, and especially of Boston. I knew that the North had a conscience, but I also knew that it was weak and sometimes, it was easy to impose it into stories high. I knew that New England had a heart, but I knew that it was also a heart all covered up with bales of cotton, bones of whose and corpses of which the Southern Cotton Lords could not cast off the mighty incubus.

The week dragged on, full of suspense, and we held our breath with pain. We had reason to fear that the nation was sleeping, and, if so, we knew that was shimmering before my eyes, when I called, was that disgraceful notice in Tremont Temple, where, a meeting had come together to hear Wendell Phillips speech was crowded down and by blocking in the door. The list sounds like fiction in the air were the echoes of those compromise speeches made in Faneuil Hall, respectfully and to be read in old Virginia.

The week expired, and behind the bar of the Ottoman Bank in Beyroot, tea of so gathered over the pile of English Government Consuls, and letters by unopened before us. Wives and children were forgetting, and leaving country was alone remembered. The intelligence was all in one direction. It told us that the Pilgrim spirit was yet alive; that every where at home and abroad, Americans are enkindled; that party lies were all sundered, and every interest of dignity and life, was gathered and run round to arms, and our old sun had blessed them as they went forth to battle, and children were making gaunts, banners and cents for the soldiers; that the enemies were hurled back, and the Gulf-Stripes and Stars—God bless it! that from the Northern and Eastern to the gulfies of the West, the people were rising to trample the traitors down; that Sumter, God's day, had been taken to its God's rest; that country, government, and flag, were no less dead and dumb while all this mischief was growing, and coming to the front of the day, shouting, "The word of the Lord and of Washington," and a long procession of Pilgrims, Puritans, Cavaliers, and cast on the great waves of popular might upon the broad gulfs of revenge, Spain, Spain, Spain, borne by ten thousand hands, was to gratify all the rebellious hopes of the Rebel up upon the Federal capital, and were there in the sight of all nations, the symbol of Constitutional Government and human rights, until treason was overturned and slavery was extinct.

Yes, we knew enough! Never, since the day when God forgave my sins and made me a new creature, have I felt so well assured of the fact, and so sincerely, "Lord, now letest thou thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation." We read those columns down with shouted utterance and sobbing voices. The tears streamed down our cheeks, while clerks and bankers looked on astonished, we grasped the hands of each other; we laughed and wept by turns, and rushed out to make the French crazy, close by, and through which we rolled, on our way to Damascus, sing with one national anthem:—

"*My country, 'tis of thee,*
Sweet land of liberty,
Of thee I sing:
Land where my fathers died,
Land of the Pilgrims' pride,
From every mountain side,
Let freedom ring!"

You know what has transpired since. You have lived an age, within these four months; events have been crowded into the staple of time; have been written in letters of blood on the pages of history. When posterity reads what a chapter it will be! Treason for dirty years working in the Cabinet, in the Army, and in Congress; fraud planning the national treasury and the public arsenals; treasonable assaults with eight thousand men, and eighty thousand still behind, to the heart of our country; men in Congress, men murdering southern Union men, and men in Congress, who are not important or so active in aiding this great treason; men who, in Congress, refuse to vote for the fight, while the slaves do the work. If this be true, why the country, the Union, and protect the slave property of the rebels, while all the Union men are massacred? Are we, if we meet a black regiment in the field, to rebels in Congress? Are we, if we find Davis, Beauregard or Leo may have "a person held to service or labor" in our ranks? Must we still take slaves, although they are in open rebellion against the Government? Are we, if we see a crawling, timid waiters upon the mighty oligarchy who have lost their hold, to take them in our face? Will we never cease to be politicians, and to bow at the bidding of the slaveocracy? Recent events give us great cause for doubt on this subject.—*Ibid.*

THE PROCLAMATION OF GEN. FREMONT.

Events move towards war. Three months ago the nation would not have assented, or let the great general shrug, so sweeping an act as that which the Western General has done, and yet he has obeyed in Missouri. And yet at the present time it is generally believed that the President will not decline to declare a whole State under martial law, and which is the proclamation, and the proclamation act of Congress, is at all in advance of popular opinion, and which what of the Union's rebellion, and for what of the rebellion, and for what purpose, if not in one way, then in another, and it is not likely to be long before the question of the propriety of this or that measure will be in the field and successful. Whether slavery is or is not abolished in any particular State, is not the minds of the majority of the people entirely subordinate to another question, whether the government shall be abolished. They are willing to give a large latitude of discretion to the generals and to the Federal Generals, and for the prudent exercise of that discretion they will be ready, in subsequent events, to hold them to a strict account.

Although the proclamation of Gen. Fremont appears at first sight to dissolve the relations of master and slave over a large portion of the State of Missouri, yet it is not certain that it is not conceivable that it is a statement of a result which was but already accomplished, rather than the proclamation of one which is new and prospective. Slavery is practically dissolved in Western Missouri with such actual authority, and it is a more or less question whether it is worth while to recognize and those which are least natural and most relative, and which are sure to feel its effects. Owners run away from their slaves, but slaves run away from their owners, in the presence of an invading army. Slaves have run away in Western Missouri, we have perceived that the institution of slavery could but be practically and virtually impaired if it was not completely destroyed during the progress of this rebellion, although the contest was begun with the aim of the government. It is impossible that the march of events should not, in some way, reach the South States, can be reconciled with the safety of the popular institutions." The South, in taking up arms to extend the area of slavery, has caused to the process most of all calculated to ultimately destroy it, and the process is now in operation. The loss will be its power to resist its ultimate effects.—*Ibid.*

FREMONT AND THE PRESIDENT.

The country has learned with anxiety and regret the disagreement between the President and the government at Washington. So far as these have to do with administration, we do not think that the people does not know the circumstances, and is not prepared to decide upon the responsibility. We see the who is to blame in this respect, and doubtless regret the cause of the difficulty. We do not, however, for greater matter, of the difference as regards the course of policy to be pursued towards the rebels, the great policy of the Government, we do not regret, but will insist upon having and expressing its opinion.

One thing, we think, is entirely obvious. This is, that no document of the country, since the war has been received so favorably as the proclamation of Gen. Fremont. It has been received with joy, and exulting the duties of those in arms against the rebellion, and the measure has been taken by the inspire public confidence—to convince our people that the Government means in earnest in its war with traitors, and is determined in its war with the rebellion to put down. It emphatically marks the spirit of the North, and the spirit of the present struggle. It indicates the point where the gloom of disaster and hesitation, and fear, and doubt, the light of hope and confidence. Every man breathed freer after its issue. We all felt instinctively that the proclamation was at last stiffened up to the energy which the people demanded and the people felt that it was by no means confined to the radical class in the country. Indeed, the conservative organs of public opinion welcomed its appearance as well. The Boston *Republican*, the Boston *Pilot*, the Boston *Post*, contained the proclamation, and the Boston *Courier* applauded its usage.

All the abolitionists, whose and other papers, we have regretted it as the most wise in design and statury effect of all the proclamations of the campaign. And it has been with peculiar satisfaction that we have seen the resolutions of the Abolitionists, and those which are least natural and most relative, and which are sure to feel its effects. Owners run away from their slaves, but slaves run away from their owners, in the presence of an invading army. Slaves have run away in Western Missouri, we have perceived that the institution of slavery could but be practically and virtually impaired if it was not completely destroyed during the progress of this rebellion, although the contest was begun with the aim of the government. It is impossible that the march of events should not, in some way, reach the South States, can be reconciled with the safety of the popular institutions." The South, in taking up arms to extend the area of slavery, has caused to the process most of all calculated to ultimately destroy it, and the process is now in operation. The loss will be its power to resist its ultimate effects.—*Ibid.*

THE GOVERNMENT OFFERING A BOUNTY FOR CONFEDERATE SOLDIERS.

The Government of the United States presents the most extraordinary spectacle on earth, where a government at war offered a bounty to enemies, to soldiers to join the ranks of its enemies. The bait is the Constitution, which the Government, in 1861, does exactly that thing. The fourth section reads as follows:

"SECT. 4. *And be it further enacted*, That whenever any person shall be convicted of treason against the Government of the United States, or of any other crime against the United States, or of any State shall be required or permitted by the laws of the United States, or of any State, to be set free, or by the lawful agent of such person, to take up arms against the United States, or be discharged from service or labor claimed to be due, or, when held, such a person to be employed in or upon any fort, navy-yard, dock, arsenal, or other place, or in any vessel, in any service whatever, against the Government and laws of the United States, or against the laws of any State such case, the person to whom such labor is claimed to be due, or who may claim such service or labor, or the person who claims such service or labor is claimed had been employed, or who claims such employment, or the Government of the United States, contrary to the provisions of this act.

It has been the custom of slaveholders, whenever any great service had been performed by a slave—by a slave in the war, finally saved for a chattel—any remarkably meritorious act performed by "person held to service or labor" to grind such slave in freedom as a reward of great merit. Liberty is the Government's gift to a slave who has done the service upon man. It is the high premium offered to the slave who has done the service upon man. *If they will take up arms against the Government.* All the slaveholders of slaves have to do, to abolish themselves from all legal obligation to their slaves, is to take up arms, *and hail all the Union men they can find.* The Government will do the rest. By becoming armed rebels against the Government, they become free. The Government, bought free by Union men before they were armed—FOUR MEN! By arming themselves against the Government, they become *citizens*, they are converted from chattels into men, "according to an act of Congress." The Government will take to give the slaves the requisite information of their new rights, and the proclamation of Fremont's Proclamation by the President has made it also easy for slaves to find out, or to make, the proper application. The President has put upon his proclamation the stamp of the Confederate Act.—*Charles Cowley (Pa.) Times.*

☞ What order of men under the most absolute of monarchies, or the most aristocratic of republics, was ever invested with such an office and unjust privileges as that of the separate and exclusive representation of less than half a million *persons of slaves*, in the Hall of this House, in the chair of the Senate, and in the Presidential mansion? This investment of power in the caterer of one species of property, placed in the highest authorities of the nation, and disseminated through thirteen of the twenty-six States of the Union, constitutes a privileged order of men in the community, more adverse to the rights of all, and more pernicious to the interests of the whole, than any order of nobility ever known. To any government that constituted a Democracy to install the undeadling of nobility . . . It is frankly hacked with the infection of riches and of slavery. There is no name in the language of political jurisprudence that can define the model in the records of ancient history, or in the political theories of Aristotle, with which it can be likened. It was reserved for the Slaveocracy of the United States by an equivocation—a representation of property under the name of persons, to fabricate a model, and to fix an exception from the Free States imagine or foresee what a sacrifice to Moloch was hidden under the mask of this ancient Sphinx.—JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

sive. It was not so much by the strict terms of Fremont's proclamation that the country was inspirited, not chiefly that we expected, or even hoped for, a general emancipation of the bondmen of Missouri as its effect. It was because it showed the leaders of our country's cause to be in earnest in the nation's struggle. It was because it was an evidence that we had at last plunged with all our power into the contest—that we had thrown to the winds all idea of compromise with rebellion, and were determined to fight it to the bitter end with all the means that God and Nature had put into our hands. It was because it indicated that the day of squeamishness and false toleration had gone by, and there was no legitimate weapon of warfare which would not be turned against the traitors in arms. This gave the nation confidence. This roused the despondent patriotism of the masses. This increased the eagerness of the patriot to devote his energies to the Government's service. It was this which improved so perceptibly the tone of the press and the people—which quickened the enlistments, and revived the business of our manufactories and marts of trade. Men saw the evidence of vigor, activity and earnestness which they had all along felt themselves, and yearned to see displayed in the government, and the public pulse beat quickly in hopeful response.

It is just this feeling which President Lincoln's letter comes in to dampen. The letter is another of those discouraging and deplorable symptoms of *hanging back* which have cursed our cause from the beginning. There is no doubt, as this most unfortunate letter says, that Fremont *has* gone beyond the limits of the law in his proclamation. But do not the circumstances justify him in this? Has not the country sustained him, as it did at an earlier day the President himself, when he suspended the writ of Habeas Corpus and put in force other extra-constitutional measures? Fremont's proclamation places the State under martial law—which, thanks to the halting policy of the government in allowing it to be overrun by rebels, is the only law which meets the requirements of its condition. When the present danger is removed, and the authority of the government is re-established in its borders, it will be time enough to insist on the scrupulous observance of the letter of the law of Congress. The martyred Lyon saved the State once, in spite of the administration, from relapsing into the present condition of Virginia. Fremont is straining every nerve to rescue it from the same danger a second time. In this he ought not to be interfered with. If he cannot do it within the limits of the United States laws, he must do as the President did in a similar exigency—exceed them. To require him to do otherwise, is as absurd as to ask a man whose house is on fire to consult the Revised Statutes to see if the law allows him to play upon it through pipes of India-Rubber only, or if he may take gutta percha. The alarming necessity is to put out the flames. It is absurd to waste thought upon technicalities in its presence. —*Roxbury Journal.*

"DOWN WITH HIM!"

We must say we are surprised at the extent and fierceness of the clamor which the press has so suddenly raised against Gen. Fremont, even though much of what has been said of his military management should prove to be true. In quarters where he was an idol two weeks ago, he is now represented as little better than a mischievous imbecile; and the variety of charges now generally brought to bear against him would, if as generally credited, break him down and sweep him into hopeless ignominy. Why is all this? Because Colonel Mulligan was compelled to surrender at Lexington—an event about which we are not sure that we have the most obvious incidents, such as the killed and wounded, in a reliable shape. We do not know whether Col. Mulligan was not ordered and expected to vacate Lexington, instead of making any stand; nor why Gen. Sturgis did not reach him; nor why Gen. Lane did not traverse his reported forty miles distance in four days; nor why the steamboats, with reinforcements, which were sent by Fremont with the expectation that they would arrive on the morning of the day in which Mulligan surrendered in the afternoon, did not appear in season; nor many other particulars which are absolutely essential to a fair understanding of the case.

And yet in advance of this understanding, a great many journals are clamoring for the immediate punishment of Gen. Fremont, some even insisting that he shall be prevented from taking a personal share in the effort to recover Lexington and capture Price's army. He has blundered—off with his head! Such is the policy now pursued toward the commander of the Department of the West. It seems to pass for nothing with his new detractors that Gen. Fremont was dropped, a few weeks ago, into a sphere where a mighty army had to be created out of nothing, at hand, neither men, money, equipments, ammunition, transportation, of any kind, nor popular interest. Since then, Fremont has worked eighteen hours a day, has gathered immense military stores, built railroads and made soldiers, after attracting them from the people by his own popularity. The Government has now thousands of good troops on the Potomac that it could not have had anywhere but for the attractive influence of Fremont.

But he has failed once—that is, granting (which *we* certainly shall not do at present) these new charges to be true in substance, for many of them in their specific shapes are so contradictory as to be evident falsehoods. Have we then had such brilliant and invariable success on the part of all our other officers, politicians and public advisers in general, during this crisis, that Fremont must be condemned unheard? We submit this is no way to treat those on whom we are to depend for arduous service in this great struggle. We say it not only in the interest of Gen. Fremont, but of Gen. Butler, who has already had a series of the same ups and downs, of Gen. Rosecrans, of Gen. McClellan himself, who may need public forbearance to-morrow equal to the adulation which he enjoys to-day. Let Fremont's course have a fair and thorough examination, and let him have a fair chance to show in the field whether his incontestable merits are so impaired by any defects that he is to be thrown aside as useless in this campaign. Having not altogether approved his course when the press in general was glorifying him, and not having hesitated to criticise it in some important particulars, we now think it is right to say thus much in behalf of Gen. Fremont.—*Boston Journal.*

LETTER TO GENERAL FREMONT.

The following letter, signed by several pastors of different denominations in one of the principal towns of De Kalb County, Ill., has been sent to Gen. Fremont:—

Major General Fremont:

HONORED AND DEAR SIR,—The undersigned ministers of the gospel, representing, as we believe, the unanimous and enthusiastic sentiment in this part of Illinois, the sentiment we trust of twenty millions of loyal citizens of the *United* States, desire hereby to declare to you our unspeakable satisfaction with, and gratitude to God for the position taken in your proclamation of martial law in Missouri, and especially for those words destined we trust to become historic and immortal by their fulfillment, viz: "*Their slaves, if any they have, are hereby declared free men.*"

We trust, dear sir, it will be grateful to your feelings to be assured, that in closet, family and Church, with millions of fellow supplicants, we daily cry to the Lord of Hosts, that He will be your "help and shield" (115 Psalm), to gird you and your army with strength from on high to carry those glorious words into speedy and complete effect, so that traitors and tyrants may fall before you, and the hallelujahs of "vassals long enslaved," transformed into "*free men,*" mingling with the music of the Star Spangled Banner, may cheer your triumphant pathway to the Gulf, and give you an immortal name by the side of a Moses, a Cyrus, a Cromwell, a Washington, as a liberator of mankind and a conservator of human freedom.

With prayers to God and hymns of freedom, we send our Christian brethren to your army, and look to see the history of the old "Ironsides" and their noble "Protector," reenacted in this great valley.

FREMONT. A long string of stalwart fellows were marching gaily down the street yesterday afternoon. They all looked jolly, and nearly all had carpet bags. We inquired: "Which way, boys?" And the reply was the single word "FREMONT!" There is music in the name. The boys go to him with a will, and more recruits can be obtained for his Department than for any other. Companies recruited for his army leave here nearly every day. Ask almost any squad of sturdy young men who are evidently off for the wars, where they are bound, and you hear the name "FREMONT," given with a hearty emphasis and a glitter of the eye that tells how the gallant little man, with nerves of steel, lives in the hearts of the people.—*Cincinnati Commercial.*

LETTER OF GENERAL FREMONT.

ST. LOUIS, Sept. 27. The following will appear in the *Democrat* of to-morrow: Just before leaving the city, Gen. Fremont wrote this letter to a friend in New York:—

ST. LOUIS, Sept. 26.

MY DEAR SIR,—I leave at eight o'clock in the morning, and send you this hurried note in the midst of my last arrangements before starting. We have to contend with an enemy having no posts to garrison and no lines of transportation to defend or guard; whose whole force can be turned at will to any one point, while we have Leavenworth and from Fort Scott to Paducah to keep protected. I wish to say to you, that though the position is difficult, I am competent to it, and also to the enemy in the field. I am not able at the same time to attend to the enemy at home. It is a shame to the country, that an officer going to the field, having his life in his hands, solely actuated by a desire to serve his country and win for himself its good opinion, and with no other object, should be destroyed by a system of concentrated attacks utterly without foundation. Charges are spoken of when there are none to be made.

What is the object of the repetition of these falsehoods, except to familiarize the public mind to the idea that something is wrong? Already our credit, which was good, is shaken in consequence of the newspaper intimations of my being removed. Money is demanded by those furnishing supplies. To defend myself would require the time that is necessary, and belongs to my duty against the enemy. If permitted by the country, this state of things will not fail to bring on disorder. I am an exponent of a part of the force of the nation directed against the enemy of the country. Everything that is directed against me is directed against it, and gives its enemy aid and comfort.

My private character comes in only incidentally. I defend it because naturally his reputation is dear to any man; but only incidentally. This is the foundation of many of my acts, and will be if I stay here. Everything that hurts, impedes or embarrasses the work entrusted to me, I strike at without hesitation. I take the consequences. The worst that can ever happen to me is relief from great labor.

Yours truly,

JOHN C. FREMONT.

COMPOUNDING FELONY.

BY LIEUT. GENERAL T. PERRONET THOMPSON.

It is amusing to see the different shades and gradations by which men make up their minds to befriend an avowed felony, like that which stole an African from his native land, and keeps him when stolen. And, besides this, it is a fine study, as throwing light on the construction of those human hearts, which, if not always desperately wicked, maintain a fair claim to the minor charge of being deceitful above all things.

Now, who could have supposed, that, when there was a fair and unmistakable opening for putting down the greatest existing blot on human society—an opportunity which small exercise of the faculties of a politician or the soldier must have told them would, according to all present odds, speedily be successful—that, with all this staring them in the face, there should have been such a bold stand, to the utmost limits practicable, made in England for keeping down the national movement against Slavery, and holding out all manner of comfort, solace, and encouragement to its supporters, and dabs of cold water in the faces of its opponents?

And first, why "on this most unhappy subject does it become us to abstain from whatever might be deemed to indicate an opinion upon the merits of the controversy"? Do men do so in any other instance? There might be situations where prudent men would not bring up a controversy foreign to the questions before the court. But would they seize that moment to introduce the subject for the purpose of saying it would be very improper to indicate an opinion? The mere fact of doing so is indicating an opinion in the strongest form. It is seizing the opportunity to say everything on the plea of saying nothing. This may be all very proper, and within the duties of an advocate. But it leaves no doubt of what the advocacy is. It may be in Quinctilian or not, but the practical bearing is clear. There are those of us who call it "a most *happy* subject," and sing their "*Gloria in excelsis*" with heart and outstretched voice.

Another form of persuasion to open our mouths, as the children say, and see what Heaven will send us ([illegible] to before), is the "nameless horror" bugbear. Do not put down felony, for there will be nameless horrors. You have no notion what terrible fellows the honest men are when relieved from felony, and what "nameless horrors" are inflicted by them on the defenceless of the felons! For goodness' sake, stand up between the felons, and the results of putting felons down! As said before, the true answer to this foolish and indecent plea will be, when the white women of the South petition against the right of buying yellow mistresses on the auction-block.

A milder form of the same devotion to the interests of humanity is in the question of "What is to become of the Negroes?" Think of their condition when there is no master to flog them into the right way, or keep them from those perilous acquirements of A, B, C, to which there is so strong a propensity in human kind! Or perhaps the objectors will stand on less romantic points. How are they to be fed, if they are not to have the "herring with one eye"? By what possible process can four millions of open mouths be filled, if you do not continue the present feeds from the head ostler or overseer?

Feeble specimen of things that walk in doublet and hose, did it never occur to you that they were to be fed as the negroes in the British West Indies were fed, *by working for wages instead of the provender of cattle?* Once let the military superiority of the North be fairly established—as in all reason would be done in one campaign, if there was not the idiotic resolution to do without the native allies—and see how the Southerners would flock like crows to the carcase, to pray for remission of their estates forfeited by unsuccessful rebellion, on condition of entering heartily into carrying on their cultivation as before, only by means of the negro with wages less than was the cost of keeping him before. There might be difficulties, as there are in eating an artichoke, which Gen. Scott would soon settle. Men must be blinded with a judicial pinch of snuff in their organs of vision, who can be led astray on this ground. But it is astonishing how hard an ill thing dies; how it twists and wriggles, and shows itself in forms which might deceive even the elect.

One more "last words" there is of the dying serpent, which is expressed in the hope that, at all events, the Northerners will pay the market price for the negroes. A decent suggestion and a comely, where rebellion has been tried and failed. Fancy it applied in any other case; though there is none in which it would not be needful to apologize for the opprobrious comparison. But fancy that in any case the imagination may select, after a defeated rebellion the victorious party was asked to come forward with an offer to buy up the *casus belli.* *Before* the trial, there might be something said for an offer to buy up the stakes. But *after,* do there exist men so lost to all sense of what is honest or of good report as to push their neighbor on such an expedient—save and except, always, those who have some lurking bias, whether they know it themselves or not, to counselling a course so stamped with unprofitable imbecility?

Perhaps a light way may be thrown upon the present policy of the thing. It is to distract attention from the plain, straightforward course, by suggesting something else. It may carry with it some shallow show of followers, but they will neither be many nor strong. The hope of all men who have the ordinary share of brains or hearts is that the days of slavery are numbered; and happy is he who can tread down a snare on one side the Atlantic, though he cannot do more towards advancing the truth on the other!

The British ministry is already buffeted by the honest conservatives, for having most shamefully aided and abetted the Southern States under the poor plea of neutrality, and "dignifying the rebels with the preposterous title of a belligerent power, thus recognizing their right to hire hundreds of blood-thirsty pirates who infest the Atlantic and the Gulf of Mexico." To which may be added, the studied insult of sending reinforcements to Canada in the "Great Ship," instead of sending quietly *a fur et a mesure* as well disposed people would have done; and which the papers say is to be repeated. All this only points to the necessity we English are under, of getting up a ministry when we can, which shall be independent of the two stock channels in which government has been supposed to run.—*London Elector, Sept. 7th.*

The Liberator.

No Union with Slaveholders!

BOSTON, FRIDAY, OCT. 4, 1861.

☞ The following Memorial to the next Congress has been prepared for universal circulation, with the belief that it will readily be adopted by all but those who are in favor of eternizing the accursed system of slavery—who, while pretending to be on the side of the Government, are secretly in hearty sympathy with the Southern traitors—and who would prefer to see the Federal forces every where defeated, the blood and substance of the people expended to no purpose, and the rule of the Southern Confederacy victorious over the whole country, rather than have the oppressed set free under law, even though a satisfactory adjustment is proposed in the case of the so-called loyal slaveholders. Let the most active measures be at once taken to procure the signatures of men and women, voters and non-voters, to this Memorial, in every city, town and village. A MILLION such can be easily obtained by energetic and concerted action. Forward!

MEMORIAL OF THE PEOPLE TO CONGRESS.

"PROCLAIM LIBERTY THROUGHOUT ALL THE LAND, TO ALL THE INHABITANTS THEREOF."

To the Congress of the United States:

The undersigned, citizens of ______________, State of ______________, respectfully submit—

That as the present formidable rebellion against the General Government manifestly finds its root and nourishment in the system of chattel slavery at the South; as the leading conspirators are slaveholders, who constitute an oligarchy avowedly hostile to all free institutions; and as, in the nature of things, no solid peace can be maintained while the cause of this treasonable revolt is permitted to exist; your honorable body is urgently implored to lose no time in enacting, under the war power, the total abolition of slavery throughout the country—liberating unconditionally the slaves of all who are rebels, and, while not recognizing the right of property in man, allowing for the emancipated slaves of such as are loyal to the government a fair pecuniary award, in order to facilitate an amicable adjustment of difficulties; and thus to bring the war to a speedy and beneficent termination, and indissolubly to unite all sections and all interests of the country upon the enduring basis of universal freedom.

☞ *Editors of newspapers are requested to give this Memorial one or more insertions in their columns.*

RE-STATEMENT OF THE PRINCIPLES, MEASURES AND OBJECT OF THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

In the month of December, 1833, a National Convention of the Friends of Impartial Liberty was held in Philadelphia, resulting in the formation of the AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, and the promulgation of a "DECLARATION OF SENTIMENTS," signed by the members of that Convention, in which these doctrines were set forth:—

"That no man has a right to enslave or imbrute his brother—to hold or acknowledge him, for one moment, as a piece of merchandise—to keep back his hire by fraud—or to brutalize his mind by denying him the means of intellectual, social, and moral improvement:"—and,

"That all those laws which are now in force, admitting the right of slavery, are therefore before God utterly null and void; being an audacious assumption of the Divine prerogative, a daring infringement on the law of nature, a base overthrow of the very foundations of the social compact, a complete extinction of all the relations, endearments and obligations of mankind, and a presumptuous transgression of all the holy commandments."

The plan agreed upon to effect the overthrow of this great iniquity was—

"To organize Anti-Slavery Societies, if possible, in every city, town and village in our land; to send forth lecturers to lift up the voice of remonstrance, of warning, of entreaty, and of rebuke; to circulate, unsparingly, Anti-Slavery tracts and periodicals; to enlist the pulpit and the press in the cause of the suffering and the dumb; to aid at a purification of the churches from all participation in the guilt of slavery; and to spare no exertions to bring the whole nation to speedy repentance."

The animating spirit of the movement was declared to be—

"Such only as the opposition of moral purity to moral corruption, the destruction of error by the potency of truth, the overthrow of prejudice by the power of love, and the abolition of slavery by the spirit of repentance."

From the hour of its organization to the present time, the American Anti-Slavery Society has sacredly adhered to its principles and measures, as here laid down, which transcend all creeds and parties, all sectional rivalries and geographical divisions, and are based upon absolute morality, immutable justice, the divine law, and human nature itself. Nevertheless, during that long period, the Society has been persistently branded and assailed, in every part of the country, by all that is powerful in the State, and by the concurrent action of the Church, by the press and by the pulpit alike, as a fanatical and disorganizing combination, undeserving of any sympathy or encouragement. Had its object been avowedly to encourage highway robbery, piracy or murder, it could not have elicited more indignation, nor led to a more determined resistance! So thoroughly had the nation become demoralized in its spirit, poisoned in its blood, and crazed in its reason, by the all-pervading virus of slavery in the body politic! Yet, four years after the formation of the Society, DANIEL WEBSTER, in a speech delivered by him at Niblo's Garden, New York, recognized the potency of its moral agitation as follows:—

"On the general question of Slavery, a great portion of the community is already strongly excited. The question has not only attracted attention as a question of politics, but it has struck a far deeper chord. IT HAS ARRESTED THE RELIGIOUS FEELING OF THE COUNTRY; IT HAS TAKEN STRONG HOLD OF THE CONSCIENCES OF MEN. *He is a rash man, indeed, little conversant with human nature, and especially has he a very erroneous estimate of the character of the people of this country, who supposes that a feeling of this kind is to be trifled with or despised.* IT WILL ASSUREDLY CAUSE ITSELF TO BE RESPECTED. It may be reasoned with:—but, *to coerce it into silence—to endeavor to restrain its free expression—to seek to compress and confine it, warm as it is, and more heated as such endeavors would inevitably render it*—should all this be attempted, I KNOW OF NOTHING IN THE CONSTITUTION, OR IN THE UNION ITSELF, WHICH WOULD NOT BE ENDANGERED BY THE EXPLOSION WHICH MIGHT FOLLOW."

Well had it been for the nation if it had heeded this truthful representation and solemn warning! Well had it been for the character and fame of Mr. Webster himself if he had subsequently acted upon these well-founded convictions!

For the first ten years of its existence, the American Anti-Slavery Society was chiefly occupied in organizing auxiliary societies, vindicating the safety and duty of immediate emancipation, revealing the horrors of the slave system, exposing and condemning the subtle scheme of African colonization, printing and circulating tracts, petitioning Congress for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, and making strenuous efforts to secure the coöperation of the various religious bodies in the land. It is true that, in the "DECLARATION OF SENTIMENTS" adopted at the period of its formation, it was said:—

"The people of the free States are now living under a pledge of their tremendous physical force to fasten the galling fetters of tyranny upon the limbs of millions in the Southern States: they are liable to be called upon at any moment to suppress a general insurrection of the slaves; they authorize the slave-owner to vote for three-fifths of his slaves as property, and thus enable him to perpetuate his oppression: they support a standing army at the South for its protection, and they seize the slave who has escaped into their territories, and send him back to be tortured by an enraged master or brutal driver. This relation to slavery is criminal: IT MUST BE BROKEN UP."

It was not, however, till its anniversary in 1844, that, after long deliberation and discussion, the Society decided, by a nearly unanimous vote, that

"Fidelity to the cause of human freedom, hatred of oppression, sympathy for those who are held in chains and slavery in this republic, and allegiance to God, require that the existing national compact should be instantly dissolved; and that the motto inscribed on the banner of freedom should be, NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS."

As ample justification for this procedure, it was said—

"As citizens of the United States, we are treated as outlaws in one half of the country, and the National Government consents to our destruction. We are denied the right of locomotion, freedom of speech, the right of petition, the liberty of the press, the right peaceably to assemble together to protest against oppression and plead for liberty—at least in thirteen States of the Union. If we venture, as avowed and unflinching Abolitionists, to travel south of Mason and Dixon's line, we do so at the peril of our lives. If we would escape torture and death, on visiting any of the slave States, we must stifle our conscientious convictions, hear no testimony against cruelty and tyranny, suppress the struggling emotions of humanity, divest ourselves of all letters and papers of an anti-slavery character, and do homage to the slaveholding power, or run the risk of a cruel martyrdom. These are appalling and undeniable facts."

But, worse than this:—

"Three millions of the American people are crushed under the American Union! They are held as slaves, trafficked as merchandise, registered as goods and chattels! The government gives them no protection; the government is their enemy; the government keeps them in chains! Where they lie bleeding, we are prostrate by their side; in their sorrows and sufferings we participate; their stripes are inflicted on our bodies, their shackles are fastened on our limbs; their cause is ours."

It was said, further, in regard to the all-controlling body of slaveholders at the South:—

"We separate from them, not in anger, not in malice, not for a selfish purpose, not to do them an injury, not to cease warning, exhorting, reproving them for their crimes, not to leave the perishing bondman to his fate—O, no! But to clear our skirts of innocent blood; to give the oppressor no countenance; to signify our abhorrence of injustice and cruelty; to testify against an ungodly compact; and to hasten the downfall of slavery in America and throughout the world."

The conclusion being—

"We believe that the effect of this movement will be,—First, to create discussion and agitation throughout the North; and these will lead to a general perception of its grandeur and importance.

Secondly, to convulse the slumbering South like an earthquake, and to convince her that her only alternative is, to abolish slavery, or be abandoned by that power on which she now relies for safety.

Thirdly, to attack the Slave Power in its most vulnerable point, and to carry the battle to the gate.

Fourthly, to exalt the moral sense, increase the moral power, and invigorate the moral constitution of all who heartily espouse it."

It will be seen by these extracts, that the grounds for Disunion, as advocated by the American Anti-Slavery Society, were:—(1) *Moral and religious*—the iniquity of the national compact, in certain of its provisions. (2) *Personal*—relating to individual conviction of duty, and withdrawal from complicity with oppression. (3) *Relative*—concerning the doom of the enslaved, with the Union as their enemy. (4) *Patriotic*—the friends of liberty being treated as outlaws throughout the South for their Anti-Slavery sentiments, and thus warranted by the Declaration of Independence in desiring and seeking new safeguards for their own rights and liberties, as well as for those held in bondage.

It will also be seen that the course to be pursued contemplated no violence in any direction, no uprising by force and arms against the Government,—*nothing but the exercise of a peaceful, lawful, constitutional right of protest and reformation, using only the weapons of reason and argument,*—FOR THE SOLE PURPOSE OF ESTABLISHING THE FREEDOM OF ALL CLASSES UPON AN ENDURING BASIS.

Ever since its adoption, the Constitution of the United States has been uniformly interpreted and executed, throughout the nation, in support of its alleged pro-slavery guaranties. These originally provided a slave representation in Congress, not for the protection of the oppressed, but to increase the power of their oppressors; the prosecution of the foreign slave trade for a period of not less than twenty years; the recapture of fugitive slaves in every section of the Union; and the suppression of domestic insurrection of every kind. All these remain in full force, except the clause relating to the foreign slave trade.

For more than seventy years, the people of the North have faithfully executed all the pro-slavery compromises of the Constitution; answering scornfully, in reply to the earnest remonstrances and solemn warnings of the Abolitionists, as did the Jewish people in the days of the prophet—"We have made a covenant with death, and with hell are we at agreement; when the overflowing scourge shall pass through, it shall not come unto us; for we have made lies our refuge, and under falsehood have we hid ourselves." At last, the prophecy is fulfilled:—"Because ye despise this word, and trust in oppression and perverseness, and stay thereon: therefore this iniquity shall be to you as a breach ready to fall, swelling out in a high wall, whose breaking cometh suddenly at an instant." At last, "judgment has been laid to the line, and righteousness to the plummet; the hail has swept away the refuge of lies, the waters overflow the hiding-place; the covenant with death is annulled, and the agreement with hell no longer stands." The Union of 1789 is perfidiously overthrown by the very class which fashioned it at the beginning, and which until now has controlled its administration. Eleven slave States have organized themselves into a Southern Confederacy, proclaimed to the world their independence, treasonably repudiated the National Government, resorted to robbery on the land and piracy on the ocean, and now menace the safety of the Capitol at Washington with an army of two hundred thousand implacable enemies, who require as formidable a host from the North to keep them in check; and the end is not yet. Maryland, Kentucky and Missouri are retained in a factious and unwilling connection only by Federal bayonets.

In this war of elements and breaking up of the foundations of the Republic, when new issues are presented and the relations of things are so essentially changed, it becomes the advocates and representatives of the enslaved intelligently to understand and clearly to define their true position, that they may not be tempted to compromise their principles on the one hand, nor give occasion for needless misapprehension and excitement on the other.

In the first place, it indicates intense malignity or inexcusable ignorance on the part of those who put in the same category the anti-slavery disunionists of the North, and the pro-slavery secessionists of the South. No two classes can be more unlike, or more opposed to each other, in spirit, design and action. The former are for the immediate liberation of all in bondage: the latter aim to give an unlimited range and lasting perpetuity to slavery and the slave trade. The former are animated by an unselfish and all-embracing philanthropy, seeking the welfare of the oppressor as well as of the oppressed, and desiring to put an end to all sectional animosities and divisions by the proclamation of universal freedom: the latter are under the control of an unappeasable selfishness, a satanic aspiration for universal dominion, an imperious spirit that would "rather reign in hell than serve in heaven," and striving to break down, as intolerable nuisances, all the free institutions of the North. The former heartily subscribe to the Declaration of Independence, as defining the origin, nature and scope of human rights: the latter contemptuously trample that Declaration beneath their feet, and boldly give the lie to its self-evident truths. The former resort to no other weapons than those of entreaty, warning and rebuke, meeting all calumnies with patience, all insults with forbearance, all outrages in the spirit of martyrs: the latter are armed with bowie knives and revolvers, and ready to stab, shoot, or hang any Abolitionist who may venture upon Southern soil. In short, the former are laboring disinterestedly to save the country from ruin, and fill it with the abundance of peace, by extracting the only root of bitterness: the latter are desperately bent upon mischief, and "full of treason, stratagems and spoils."

"But," it may be objected, "between Abolition disunion and slaveholding secession, the Union goes to the ground; and, therefore, practically, there is no difference between them." In a moral point of view, and with a due regard to the cause of freedom and humanity, the difference is infinite. The former is simple obedience to the divine precepts, "Ye shall not go with the multitude to do evil"—"Have no fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness, but rather reprove them"—"Remember them that are in bonds as bound with them." It finds its justification and necessity in the truthful language of the lamented CHANNING:—

"*The free States are the guardians and essential supports of slavery. We are the jailers and constables of the institution.*" * * * * * * *

"There is some excuse for communities, when, under a generous impulse, they espouse the cause of the oppressed in other states, and by force restore their rights; but *they are without excuse in aiding other States in binding on men an unrighteous yoke.* On this subject OUR FATHERS, IN FRAMING THE CONSTITUTION, SWERVED FROM THE RIGHT. We, their children, at the end of half a century, see the path of duty more clearly than they, and *must walk in it.* To this point the public mind has long been tending, and the time has come for looking at it fully, dispassionately, and with manly and Christian resolution."

It is demanded by the honest confession of JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, that

"The bargain between freedom and slavery, *contained in the Constitution of the United States,* is MORALLY AND POLITICALLY VICIOUS, inconsistent with the principles on which alone our revolution can be justified, *cruel and oppressive by riveting the chains of slavery, by pledging the faith of freedom to maintain and perpetuate the tyranny of the master,* and grossly unequal and impolitic by admitting that slaves are at once enemies to be kept in subjection, property to be secured and returned to their owners, and persons not to be represented themselves, but for whom their masters are privileged with nearly a double share of representation. The consequence has been, that this slave representation has governed the Union. Benjamin's portion above his brethren has ravined as a wolf. In the morning he has devoured the prey, and in the evening has divided the spoil." . . . . . . "It cannot be denied—the slaveholding lords of the South prescribed, as a condition of their assent to the Constitution, three special provisions to secure the perpetuity of their dominion over their slaves. The first was the immunity for twenty years of preserving the African slave trade; the second was the stipulation to surrender fugitive slaves—an engagement positively prohibited by the laws of God delivered from Sinai; and thirdly, the exaction fatal to the principles of popular representation, of a representation for slaves—for articles of merchandise, under the name of persons." . . . . . "In the articles of confederation, there was no guarantee for the property of the slaveholder—no double representation of him in the Federal councils—no power of taxation—no stipulation for the recovery of fugitive slaves. But when the powers of *government* came to be delegated to the Union, the South—that is, South Carolina and Georgia—refused their subscription to the parchment, till it should be saturated with the infection of slavery, which no fumigation could purify, no quarantine could extinguish. The freemen of the North gave way, and the deadly venom of slavery was infused into the Constitution of freedom."

It is warranted by the radical sentiment of WILLIAM H. SEWARD:—

"I cannot believe that a being of human substance, form and image,—endowed with the faculties, propensities, and passions, common to our race, and having the same ultimate destiny, can, by the force of any human constitutions or laws, be converted into a chattel or a thing, in which another human being like himself can have property, depriving him of his free will, and of the power of cultivating his own mind, and pursuing his own happiness; a property beginning with his birth, and reaching over and enslaving his posterity. I cannot believe that that can be stolen, which is not, and cannot be, property."

And again:—

"Shall I tell you what this collision means? They who think that it is accidental, unnecessary, the work of interested or fanatical agitators, and therefore ephemeral, mistake the case altogether. It is an irrepressible conflict between opposing and enduring forces, and it means that the United States must and will, sooner or later, become either entirely a slaveholding nation, or entirely a free-labor nation." . . . . . "It is the failure to apprehend this great truth that induces so many unsuccessful attempts at final compromise between the Slave and Free States, and *it is the existence of this great fact that renders all such pretended compromises, when made, vain and ephemeral.*"

Finally, Abolition disunion is warranted by the doctrine laid down by ABRAHAM LINCOLN:—

"'A house divided against itself cannot stand.' I believe this government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free. It will become all one thing, or all the other."

Again:—

"This is a world of compensations; and he who would *be* no slave must consent to *have* no slave. *Those who deny freedom to others, deserve it not for themselves;* and, UNDER A JUST GOD, CANNOT LONG RETAIN IT."

The cry of "treason," so long and so vehemently raised against disunion Abolitionists by their enemies, proceeds not from any perception or appreciation of the cause of freedom and equal rights, but from traditional and idolatrous veneration of a parchment, or, more generally, from contempt and hatred of an unfortunate and deeply wronged race, whose sufferings excite no commiseration, and whose appeals for mercy are met with derision. Bad as the Constitution is, in its pro-slavery clauses, among the guaranteed rights of citizenship is the liberty of speech and of the press,—if not without limitation, at least to the extent of any amount of criticism upon that instrument, in whole or in part. The framers of the Constitution, conscious of their own fallibility, and of the imperfectness of the work of their hands, inserted in it a provision for its amendment *ad libitum.* "They were not bold or rash enough," says Judge Story, "to believe or to pronounce it perfect. They made use of the best lights which they possessed, to form and adjust its parts, and mould its materials. But they knew that time might develop many defects in its arrangements, and many deficiencies in its powers. *They desired that it might be open to improvement;* and, under the guidance of the sober judgment and enlightened skill of the country, to be perpetually approaching nearer and nearer to perfection." It is, therefore, the lawful right of every citizen freely to criticise, and as freely to object to, any portion of the Constitution which he believes to be wrong in equity, injurious in practice, or destructive in tendency. Especially is he bound to protest against it wherein he conscientiously regards it as imposing unrighteous obligations and immoral duties, and to refuse to obey it, be the penalty what it may; for, in the words of Algernon Sidney, "that which is not just is not law, and that which is not law ought not to be obeyed." He may err in judgment, or be ethically unsound, or perverse in spirit and design; but his right to interrogate it, and to call its legal construction or moral character in question, cannot be invaded without violence to his citizenship. If he is honestly disposed, he can do no higher service to the country than to seek to perfect its organic law by denouncing what is wrong, and upholding what is right. Instead of this being a treasonable act, it is the duty of every good citizen: and, surely, the strongest motive that can be presented for the modification or abnegation of any constitutional clause is to show that it is inherently iniquitous. This is what disunion Abolitionists have done, as a matter of conscience, and for the sake of universal freedom: "the head and front of their offending hath this extent—no more." Distinguished for their pacific sentiments, they have discountenanced all violence and disorder, and sought their end only through a rectified public sentiment, by the power of truth. Even the *Southern Review* concedes to them no wish to transcend the limits of ethical reasoning. It says:—

"We are of those who believe the South has nothing to fear from a servile war. We do not believe that the Abolitionists intend, nor could they, if they would, excite the slaves to insurrection. The danger of this is remote. We believe that we have most to fear from their organized action upon the consciences and fears of slaveholders themselves; from the insinuations of their dangerous heresies into our schools, our pulpits, and our domestic circles. It is only by alarming the consciences of the weak and feeble, and diffusing among our own people a morbid sensibility on the question of slavery, that the Abolitionists can accomplish their object. Preparatory to this, they are now laboring to saturate the non-slaveholding States with the belief that slavery is a sin against God; that the "national compact" involves the non-slaveholders in that sin; and that it is their duty to toil and suffer, that our country may be delivered from what they term its blackest stain, its foulest reproach, its deadliest curse."

Certainly, they can neither desire nor receive a higher tribute to their peaceful disposition and conscientious integrity than this. The "dangerous heresies" which they promulgate may all be found in the Declaration of Independence and in the Golden Rule, and these in all ages have commended themselves to the reason of mankind.

What can be more unjust or defamatory than to class persons thus actuated by the highest moral considerations, thus true to the cause of the oppressed and down trodden, and thus laboring to save the country from ruin by righteousness, with the rebellious secessionists of the South, whose passions are "set on fire of hell," whose crimes and atrocities outrun enumeration, whose pathway is red with blood and marked by desolation, whose treason is of the most malignant type, whose designs are of the worst character, whose perfidy and treachery and barbarity are scarcely to be paralleled in the annals of human depravity? In denouncing the course of these desperate conspirators, and in promptly refuting their lying accusations and exposing their devilish machinations, the Abolitionists have not been behind the most zealous partisans of the Government. Nevertheless, in declaring the Government to be wholly in the right, and the secessionists wholly in the wrong, *as relates to the precise issue between the parties,* the Abolitionists abate no jot or tittle of their testimony against a pro-slavery Constitution and Union. That Constitution, could it be enforced, as hitherto, would still be "a covenant with death," and that Union, could it be maintained as from the beginning, would still be "an agreement with hell." But eleven slave States (virtually, *all* the slave States) are out of the Union, and over them the Constitution has no power. Theoretically, as well as sincerely, but none the less impotently, the Government is aiming simply to enforce the one, and to maintain the other, in exact accordance with the original stipulations; practically, it is in direct and deadly antagonism with the Slave Power, to preserve whatever of democratic freedom and free institutions remains in the land. When, in all the Southern Confederacy, it is made a treasonable act to avow loyalty to the old Union, to rally under the star-spangled banner in support of the Government, and to claim protection under the American Constitution; and when President Lincoln and his Cabinet are as completely outlawed in all the South, and would be as ignominiously dealt with, if caught, as the most radical Abolitionists; it is apparent that the relation of things has essentially changed, and a new definition of terms is needed. While, therefore, our sympathies are with the Government thus situated, we believe that it will fail to restore the old order of things; but, even if it should succeed, it would bring no real peace or unity to the country. The same moral objections would lie against the Constitution, on account of its pro-slavery guaranties; a more vigorous moral agitation would follow, to put down which, by lawless violence, fresh efforts would again be made; and the same root of evil and source of division would remain, in due season to curse the land with fratricidal strife and civil war.

But two alternatives are presented to bring the present tremendous conflict to a speedy termination, namely:—either to acknowledge the independence of the Southern Confederacy on its own terms, or else to abolish slavery throughout the land, by one comprehensive act of the Government, under the war power: for it is nothing short of fatuity to suppose that a reconciliation can be made by any additional slaveholding compromises, or on the original basis of the Constitution. True, the Government is still insanely hoping to subdue the rebellion, and to preserve the Union as it was; but, vast as may be its resources, and mighty as are its armies, it must fail, for it cannot change the decrees of Heaven, nor master events beyond the control of human agency. Unquestionably, the North and the South ought to be united in indissoluble bonds; but one common government is needed from ocean to ocean. Unquestionably, a forcible disruption of the Union, if successful, must be attended with the gravest consequences and the most serious difficulties. Under these circumstances, therefore, with rampant treason thundering with its forces at the very gates of the Capital, it is not only the imperative duty, but the glorious prerogative, of the Government, under the war power, "in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity," to declare the immediate abolition of slavery throughout the land, and freedom and protection to every loyal person found beneath its flag.

SUMNER'S SPEECH AT WORCESTER.

"EMANCIPATION THE CURE FOR REBELLION."

In the admirable speech of Charles Sumner before the Republican Convention held this week in Worcester, the very title of which, above quoted, expresses our "one thing needful," the accomplished orator congratulates his hearers on a victory "*already won.*"

This strong expression, which he repeatedly uses, and his equivalent declaration, "Already the country has been saved," are so painfully in contrast with the position of the National Government, compelled to keep an immense army in constant readiness for the defence of its capital, that I felt obliged to look back in the speech to recal the precise amount of the victory thus claimed to be already achieved. It is expressed in these words, in the third paragraph of the speech,—namely:—

"Often have I exclaimed, in times past, that our first great object was the emancipation of the National Government, so that it should no longer be the slave of slavery, ready to do its bidding in all things. But this victory has been won."

It is true that *so* much *has* been won. Our National Government is no longer ready to do the bidding of slavery in *all* things! There are a few things, such as the Capitol and the city of Washington, and the national mints, arsenals, fortresses and ships of war, which our Government still withholds from the demands of slavery. But is this matter for boasting, or even for self-congratulation, while that Government is still ready to protect the interests of slavery everywhere but in the case of rebels? Nay, worse! Our Executive takes pains to prohibit interference even with rebel slavery, except so far as rebels can be proved to have used their slaves in acts of *direct* hostility to the nation! Worse still! Our Executive takes pains to check the action of those subordinates who have gone further than himself in commencing the great movement from which he has been weakly and shamefully shrinking; takes pains to check and counteract all movement towards the very policy which Mr. Sumner himself points out as indispensable to that far greater victory which yet remains to be gained.

No, we are not yet saved! And it is the Commander-in-Chief of the army, and the elected head of the nation, it is Abraham Lincoln himself, who obstructs, by the exercise of his individual will, the nation's entrance upon that movement against slavery which Mr. Sumner has shown to be the direct course, and the only course, to success against the rebellion.

What, in this case, is to be done? What, but for the people of the North to speak to this unfaithful servant, who allows his local attachments and prejudices to interfere with their interests, and even with the assertion and maintenance of their dearest rights, and immediately and strongly to express to him their wish, that the rebellion be combatted by the immediate adoption of measures for the overthrow of slavery! The crisis is too momentous for ceremony or for delay. The welfare of the whole nation is not to be sacrificed to the particular personal preferences engendered by one man's birth and education in Kentucky. Every Northern State is making immense sacrifices, not only of property, of every kind, but of the blood of her children, to sustain the Government that is now sacrificing their welfare to save unharmed the prejudices of Kentucky. If Kentucky cannot consent to sacrifice *one class* of what she calls her "property," for the sake of the Union, in God's name let her at once join the rebels! By joining them openly, she would do the nation infinitely less harm than by blocking the course of opposition to that rebellion, as at present. But if she will neither join the rebellion nor consent to the one movement indispensable to its overthrow, it is time for the Northern, and Middle, and Western States to go through the short computation necessary to calculate the value of Kentucky, and see if she is worth keeping with the incumbrance of slavery. If she will not go with the Union, utterly and absolutely irrespective of the loss or retention of the estimated money value of her slaves, why not leave her out of the calculation? Let her go or not, as she likes, but, at all events, crush the rebellion without waiting longer for her consent. —C. K. W.

☞ A communication from David Lee Child, Esq. in reply to the letter of inquiry from Dr. Grandin, is unavoidably deferred till next week.

LETTER FROM JAMES HAUGHTON, ESQ.

35 Eccles St., Dublin, 8th Sept., 1861.

To Henry C. Wright:

Dear Henry—The *Liberator* of Aug. 23d has come to hand, and in it I find a letter from you addressed to me, and purporting to be a reply to a letter of mine to Mr. Garrison, dated 29th May last. I am sorry you took so much trouble to point out to me, at great length, the special wickedness of the South, with regard to the unhappy war now raging in your midst. I was about to say in the United States—or the American Union—but as I never believed in the existence of a real union, and as it is now dissolved, the term would be an incorrect one. I needed no farther evidence on that head. I believe wholly with you, that the Southern men who have revolted, are rebels—rebels without any just cause; and that, therefore, no words of condemnation of their conduct, that you or any other person may choose to apply to it, could be fairly denominated too strong, or too severe. I concede this whole matter to you. The South "has not a leg to stand on" in this transaction; and if Northern men feel and aver that the sword is a legitimate weapon to use against their erring brethren, and that they can batter the South into compliance with their will, why, let them pursue that course. I have no present controversy with such parties. It is true, I consider them wrong in thus acting, and I feel assured that time will prove them to be so. The sword has ever been an effective instrument *against* human freedom,—but in *favor* of it, never. The question, however, between you and me is, not the depravity of the South, but, has not the "Dissolution of the Union" been long considered by us, and by all those friends of the slave with whom we have acted in America, as the *grand essential point* at which we should aim, as the best, if not the only, means of securing his freedom? Has not this been the steady demand of the Garrison Abolitionists for many years? And now, when this great object of our labors seems to be on the eve of accomplishment, are we to flinch from its realization, and withdraw all the words we have ever used in its favor? Certainly we are, if it be shown that our idea was an erroneous one. But let us have the proof—none has yet been offered. If the dissolution of the Union be a great national evil,—one which should be resisted at any cost,—the Garrisonians have been enemies of their country for the last twenty years, and I have not yet seen any recantation by them of this error. I do not yet see any reason calling on me to recant. Sixteen years ago, you wrote me a letter, inviting my coöperation with you, to effect this dissolution of your Union, in which you use these words: "That Union was designed to perpetuate slave-breeding, slave-trading and slaveholding, so long as the slaveholders wish to pursue these practices. Its overthrow is demanded by every consideration of mercy, justice and expediency, and should be earnestly and perseveringly sought by every friend of mankind, *not by arms and blood*, but by urging the people of the non slave States to withdraw from their alliance with that sum of all villany, American slavery; and leave the Southern lords of the lash alone in their infamy." To this letter, although I doubted the propriety of your applying to foreigners for such a purpose, I gave you a cordial assent, as moral and peaceful means alone were to be employed. If you will read my letter to Mr. Garrison of 29th May, again, you will see that these opinions are still entertained by me. Can you wonder, then, that I should feel surprised that my abolition friends in America should now rest their hopes on an exactly opposite issue? and that they should, moreover, give their entire sanction to a bloody and remorseless war, to sustain a Union which they have often denounced as a "covenant with death"?

As I may not encroach much on the already over-crowded columns of the *Liberator*, I shall not pursue these ideas, although my heart is very full of sorrow at the course pursued by friends in America, whom I truly love and esteem; and I look forward with dismay to the future; not because of the outrageous conduct of Southern men,—from whom we never expected any thing better,—but because of what seems to me an insane determination of Northern men to conquer, by force of arms, the rebels that have risen up against lawful authority. If the thing be possible,—which I do not believe it to be,—it can only be accomplished at such a waste of life, and of time, and of money, as the world has seldom seen lavished on similar objects. There are some points in your letter, touching your notions as to the views of conquest by the South over the North, which I should like to notice, but I fear to write a long letter. If Southern men have such views as you apprehend, general insanity must be their miserable condition. Do you, Henry, *ever* "believe in an armed defence of freedom, and free institutions, and in armed resistance to slaveholders in their plans and efforts to enslave them," (the North)? These are your words, and they seem to come approvingly from you. My peace principles,—although I never was a non-resistant,—(were not you in their ranks?) constrain me to repudiate the doctrine. It seems to me that *our* plain course is,—I mean the Abolitionists, who have always counselled peace,—to condemn all resort to arms, and to depend steadily, "through evil report and through good report," on the sufficiency of moral and peaceful means for the accomplishment of all the good objects we have in view. Our proper business is, always to withstand the erroneous notion so widely prevalent, that wrong should be met with violence; that rebellion should be met with force of arms, even to bloodshed. The wickedness of others is no justification of like conduct on our part. The solemn question for you and for me is, Is war the Christian's duty under any circumstances? I believe it is not. If you answer that question in the affirmative, it will then be for you, as an American, to consider whether your present war is just in all its bearings, and, if so, is it likely to be successful except at such a cost as may prove ruinous for many generations?

One word on another point, and I have done. The North will receive no extensive sympathy from Europe, until your government declares openly and unconditionally in favor of universal liberty—until it says, "No slave shall tread upon the American soil." Then, and not till then, will the world care much which side wins. So far as the poor slave is concerned, it will be, until this declaration is made, "six of one and half a dozen of the other," between the belligerents, in the general estimation of mankind.

A pouring wet day has kept me within doors, and given me leisure to inflict my opposing views upon you, and some other friends in America,—yet I would fain hope that there are not a few in that far-away land—whose distractions I hope will soon come to a termination—who will sympathize with me, and say, "He is right."

Affectionately, yours,
JAMES HAUGHTON.

P. S. You smile at my idea of a peaceful separation; the absurdity appears to me all on the other side. Surely the South would abide quietly, if the North permitted it. To use your own commercial illustration, I would say to the South, "You have been always a disagreeable partner, and I am heartily glad to be quit of you. You may dissolve the partnership without any fear of obstruction on my part. Be off! and set up for yourself at once!" J. H.

Fast Day at Washington. The President's proclamation for the observance of the National Fast was duly honored in city and in camp. All of the churches were opened, and the congregations were fully equal to those of the Sabbath. At the Unitarian church, Rev. William Henry Channing, of Liverpool, England, well known to thousands of your readers, preached a fearless sermon to an immense congregation. He maintained that there could be no peace so long as we ignored the cause of the war—slavery. It was an eloquent, able production, and was listened to with profound attention.—*Washington corr. of New York Tribune.*

The Fast elicited able and telling anti-slavery discourses from Rev. Messrs. Manning, Stone, Alger, Weiss, J. F. Clarke, and others, in Boston.

THE PRESIDENT'S COUNTERMAND OF FREMONT'S PROCLAMATION.

For this, there must be great blame somewhere. A controversy taking such hold of stern conviction and sense of duty on one side, and savage passion on the other, admits not of safe trifling nor innocent vacillation. Let us, then, frankly endeavor to ascertain the cause of the disappointment, and the duty of true men and patriotic Americans in the premises.

Congress, at its late session, passed "an act to confiscate property used for insurrectionary purposes." After providing for the seizure and confiscation of all property so used, the act goes on to make special provision for the forfeiture of slave property, as follows:

"Whenever, hereafter, during the present insurrection against the United States, any person claimed to be held to service or labor under the law of any State, shall be required or permitted by the person to whom such service or labor is claimed to be due, to take up arms against the United States, or to work or be employed in or upon any fort, navy yard, dock, armory, ship, entrenchment, or in any *military* or *naval* service whatever against the Government and lawful authority of the United States, then the person to whom such service or labor is claimed to be due shall forfeit his claim to such labor, any law of the State or of the United States to the contrary notwithstanding. And whenever thereafter the person claiming such service or labor shall seek to enforce the claim, it shall be a full and sufficient answer to such claim, that the person whose service or labor is claimed had been employed in hostile service against the United States, contrary to the provisions of this act."

The difference between the scope of this act and of Frémont's proclamation is, that to the number of slaves belonging to rebels, and declared by the former to be forfeited and free, the latter adds all other slaves belonging to rebels, however employed. This class would probably be to the former as ten or perhaps a hundred to one.

The act, therefore, greatly contracts that war power of the President, by which he might call to the service of the country all the slaves within the country, whether considered as persons or property, and whether belonging to traitors and enemies, or to loyal citizens and friends; in the first case, as forfeited by treason and rebellion, and in the second, as liable to be taken, like any other private possession, for public use, just compensation being given therefor.

The repugnance which the Government had shown to make use of the war power, except over law dear to free States, may be presumed to have been the cause which moved Congress to enjoin upon them the use of it to the extent which the act prescribes. With Congress, it was a question of the tenth of a loaf or none. They meant to put the President on the right track. The President infers that he can proceed upon it no further than he is allowed by the letter of the law; in other words, that he can set free no slaves, except they are employed in the "military or naval service" of the rebels. This is a correct legal interpretation, and so far as the civil law is concerned, he is bound by it. But he told us, in his late message to Congress, that under the imperious necessity imposed upon him by treachery and civil war, he had been compelled to transcend the Constitution in order to save the country; and he enumerated as among the laws he had transgressed, those limiting the military and naval establishments of the United States, and the act of *habeas corpus*. True, he raises a question whether the Constitution does not confer upon the Executive the power to suspend the latter in case of war or insurrection, but it is a suggestion, not a proposition, nor an argument.

The *habeas corpus* act has been called in England "the greatest thing in the Great Charter"; it is the primary cause why Inquisitions, Bastiles and Siberias have been impossible for Englishmen and for Anglo-(not *Angola-*) Saxons in America. It was the high-water mark of liberty in all the political storms of England, until the Puritans wrung from Charles I. the concession, that "an order from the King's-majesty" should hold no man restrained of his liberty longer than *three days*, unless a judge or judges of the King's Bench or Common Pleas, on bringing the prisoner before them by writ of *habeas corpus*, should find that he was restrained of his liberty according to the law of the land.

The English Petition of Right of 1639, and Bill of Rights of 1689, prohibit the suspension of the privilege of the writ, except by Parliament; and every State Constitution in the United States prohibits it, except by act of their Legislatures. Suspending is repealing for the time being. No power less than that which makes a law can repeal a law.

The reason why the Constitution of the United States contains no express declaration to that effect in relation to the *habeas corpus* is, that it did not occur to the framers of it that anybody, in a land of liberty and law, would ever conceive that it could be otherwise!

This great safeguard of personal liberty the President has suspended on the Southern coast, at Baltimore, on all the route to Philadelphia and at New York. He did so on the plea of the necessity which treason and rebellion had created.

What was the situation of things in Missouri? The noble Lyon had laid down his life to hold in check an overwhelming force, which he had scarcely more hope of conquering than Leonidas the host of Xerxes. That force, and two or three more equal to it, in all 50,000 men, were converging toward the feebly guarded Federal posts, and loyal people upon the line and North of the Missouri. Add to this, traitors of more than Vandal destructiveness and ferocity lurked and secretly banded in the territory best affected to the cause of the Union. It was the mournful and almost universal conviction of the country, that Missouri, with all its loyal inhabitants, except, perhaps, St. Louis, was lost.

Is there not in this situation ample justification of the General's use of the war power? There was no greater necessity for it at Key West, Washington, Baltimore, and on the route to Philadelphia. The President has the same right to use his power over the confiscation act that he has to ride on his war horse over any other law, and above all, over the sacred bulwark of personal liberty!

Gen. Frémont had exercised his right with moderation, under the circumstances. He might have called every slave in the State to his standard. Mr. Cameron's order of "August, 1861," removed the distinction between the slaves of loyal and disloyal masters, so far as fugitives are concerned. Frémont restricted himself to the slaves of that class, whom Congress by law, and the House by resolution, had marked to be stripped; though there is reason to believe that he might have gone further with the general and cordial concurrence of the loyal Missourians. It was not with them, but with Kentuckians, the President's countrymen, that the disastrous order, "dimming the shine" of the Pathfinder, originated. The Louisville (Ky.) *Journal* boasts of the achievement, and claims the honor for the Union men there!

I have sufficiently considered the false and fatal position of Kentucky, and in so doing, I have said, in substance, no more than the President himself did in his message to Congress. But Kentucky applauds her own "rotten policy," and in spite of it, she has been lauded by the lady of the President, a daughter of Kentucky. He himself is said to have stiffly refused at first to sign "the Confiscation Bill," because "it would cost us Kentucky." If these nineteen States, which have saved the Constitution and the Capital, and will save *Liberty* and the Union, could have been heard at that moment, they would have said, in tones of thunder, "Then, sir, it will cost us nothing that we would not willingly part withal." Through her venerable and most influential citizen and otherwise, Kentucky strove to seduce and bully the Republican party into a degrading and delusive compromise. The pressure was fearful, and appalled for a time the stoutest hearts. Ever since that, she has been playing with a steam-power of ten thousand horses into the hands of malignant and murderous traitors. If slave-driving dictation can ever be tolerable to American freemen again, it cannot be so from Kentucky at present; and it is as unsafe as it is indecent for her to attempt it, or the Government to listen to it.

D. L. C.

TO J. P. B.

If I now comprehend you, you do not propose a compromise, or amicable adjustment, with the traitors, but simply a formal recognition of the existing fact of their separate governmental existence. You would then *enforce*, if not otherwise accepted, certain conditions. Now, here is the difficulty with me, as respects the utility of your system. I should have no objection whatever to such formal acknowledgment, if the South would peaceably abide the conditions you propose.

It was the pretended anticipation of the imposition of conditions less favorable to freedom than those suggested in your programme, that is at the bottom of this war.

You say rightly that your conditions would destroy slavery. And do you not suppose that this "community of barbarians," as you justly call them, would sooner imperil their institution by perpetual war, than by peaceably suffering its overthrow by the imposition of your conditions?

The only possible chance for peaceable relations with the South is in the utter destruction, in this or other wars, of the barbarism that has come to make its very existence depend on bold or unmasked aggression.

But why remove from them the character of *rebels*, and invest them with the character of legitimate nationality? Why divest the North, in the eyes of the world, of the obligation for imposing the conditions you insist upon?

A. HOGEBOOM.

COLORED VALOR FOR THE COUNTRY.

Mr. Nell permits us to publish the following private letter from a much esteemed friend and an earnest supporter of the cause of the oppressed:—

New Bedford, Sept. 18, 1861.

Wm. C. Nell, Esq.: *Dear Sir*,—I find the following statement in an account of the Bermuda Islands, given in "Morse's American Gazetteer," Boston, 1797:—

"In the late war, there were at one time between fifteen and twenty privateers fitted out from hence, which were manned by negro slaves, who behaved irreproachably."

If you had not already met with this additional testimony in favor of the manly qualities of the African race, I thought you might like to place it among your valuable reminiscences of their noble deeds. (1)

I need not assure you how deep an interest I feel in the present conflict between the North and the South, trusting it will end in the setting free every victim of "the prison-house of bondage."

How uncalled for the last act of President Lincoln, in his requisition upon Gen. Fremont to modify his late proclamation in favor of the slaves in Missouri! Slowly, but at last, will the people and the Government learn the true nature of the struggle between liberty and slavery. The blessing, at last, seems so sure, that we can almost afford to "bide our time"; and yet our fervent prayers to God must be, "to hasten the day of freedom to the oppressed, when every yoke shall be broken, and those who have borne the burden set free."

I fear, however, that the work of the Abolitionists is not yet done: to them, ere long, will our suffering people look for guidance. In the meantime, let us keep our armor bright and ready for action.

Yours, very truly,
DANIEL RICKETSON.

(1) Here is a very recent incident:—

A Colored Soldier at Bull Run. When Governor Sprague's battery was about to leave Providence for Washington a few months ago, the officers wished to engage the services of a colored citizen of that State, as a servant. He replied that he was perfectly willing to go, but would only go as the rest went, a full private in the corps. After a little demurring, he was regularly enlisted as a volunteer. At the battle of Bull Run, the captain of his gun was killed early in the action, and the colored soldier took command and held it to the last moment; for which he was highly complimented on the return of the troops to Providence. The name of the hero is Mr. James Reeder. Pass him round.—*Anglo-African.*

The Rival of Cotton. If King Cotton is not to be speedily dethroned by the folly and crime of its supporters, his uncrowned rival, Flax, is destined to give him some very severe pokes in the ribs. Recent specimens of the flax production have been brought out which come very near the genuine article, if not fully up to the average of cotton. Flannel, calico, drilling and thread have all been made of the new flax fibre, and with a remarkable degree of perfection. New processes for preparing the fibre give great encouragement to those who are embarked in the business. Mills for the manufacture have already been erected in New York and in New England, and will soon be in operation, not only working the flax by itself into fabrics, but working it in connection with wool and cotton. There is little doubt that American ingenuity and enterprise will soon accomplish what the English, French and Germans have failed as yet to achieve. Machinery and capital are being somewhat extensively employed in this improved production. Thus, while great and successful efforts are being made by Great Britain to procure cotton supplies from India and Africa, the inventors and capitalists of this country are pushing forward the flax production as a powerful rival of the great monopoly of the rebel States.—*Kennebec Journal.*

Naval Officers in Command in the Blockading Squadron. The recent changes in officers in command of the larger ships of the blockading squadron are noteworthy, as apparently indicating a disposition to entrust the important operations of that squadron to officers from seceded, doubtful, or border States. Capt. D. M. Goldsborough, who relieves Commodore Stringham, is a citizen of Maryland; Capt. S. F. Dupont, appointed Flag Officer of the South Atlantic squadron, is a citizen of Delaware; Commander I. S. Missroon, ordered to the Cumberland, is a native and citizen of South Carolina; Commander William Smith, ordered to the Congress, is a citizen of Missouri; Capt. L. M. Powell, in command of the Potomac, is a native and citizen of Virginia; Capt. C. Ringgold, in command of the Sabine, is a native and citizen of Maryland; Capt. Samuel Mercer, in command of the Wabash, is also a native and citizen of Maryland; Commander Percival Drayton, ordered to special duty in the South Atlantic squadron, is a native and citizen of South Carolina. The list can be extended, but this will suffice. We do not doubt that all these officers are loyal to their flag, or the Navy Department would not place them in these responsible positions. They are liable, however, to be placed in difficult and painful situations, rendering action timid and vacillating that should be prompt and decided. A larger proportion of Northern officers would be quite as likely to induce a vigorous enforcement of the blockade, and they should not be passed over to so great an extent to favor those from the South, when so much is at stake.—*Boston Journal, Sept. 20th.*

The War News. The news from Washington is important. Early on Saturday morning, possession was taken of Munson's Hill by the Federal troops, the rebels having evacuated that point on the previous night. A sad mistake, similar to that which happened at Newport News, occurred during the march of our troops in the dark. One detachment fired into another, killing and wounding a large number of our own men. It is not known what has become of the rebels, but it is supposed this movement on their part is a feint to draw our troops into an ambuscade.

From Missouri, we learn that Gen. Lane had an engagement with the rebels at Papinsville, and succeeded in capturing a large supply train left by Generals Rains and Price, together with $100,000.

The rebel troops under Gen. Price had committed great outrages on the property of citizens, seizing everything valuable and insulting the owners.

It is estimated that the number of rebel troops now in Missouri is about 42,000.

From Kentucky, it is reported that Buckner's men attacked Muddy River, forty miles from Bowling Green, and the rebels were badly whipped.

Advices from Fort Pickens bring intelligence of the capture of the privateer Judith, by a boat expedition from the United States ship Colorado. Our loss was three men killed, and fifteen wounded.

Much dissatisfaction is felt at the large proportion of Southerners recently appointed as commanding officers of the blockade. Always the lion's share!

Southern Kentucky has been completely skinned by the rebel troops, so that scarcely a mouthful to eat is left.

☞ The St. Louis *Republican* states, on the authority of an Arkansas paper, that some thirteen hundred Indian warriors—Camanches, Chickasaws, Seminoles and Creeks—have actually crossed the Arkansas river, en route for Ben. McCulloch's camp, to help him carry on the war against the Union!

SPEECH OF HON. CHARLES SUMNER,

Before the State Republican Convention, at Worcester, Tuesday, October 1, 1861.

"Emancipation the Cure for Rebellion."

Fellow-Citizens,—In meeting my fellow-citizens of Massachusetts, who have come together on this occasion, from all parts of the Commonwealth, I find myself in a familiar scene, but I feel that there has been a change. Yes! there has been a great change, and it is felt in our Convention.

We are no longer met, as so often in times past, for purposes of controversy, or to sustain our cause by argument. That hour has passed. Formerly, I have exposed to you the atrocities of the Fugitive Slave Bill; I have rejoiced to show that freedom was national and slavery sectional; I have striven to prevent the extension of slavery into the territories; I have vindicated, especially, freedom in Kansas, assailed by slaveholding conspirators; I have exposed the tyrannical usurpation of the slave oligarchy, and I have dragged into day the whole vast intense Barbarism of Slavery. But these topics have now passed into history, and are no longer of practical interest. They are not of to-day.

Let us rejoice that at least so much has been gained, and from the extent of our present triumphs let us take hope and courage for the future. Providence will be with the good cause in times to come, as in times past. Others may despair; I do not. Others may see gloom; I cannot. Others may hesitate; I will not. Already the country has been saved. Great as may seem to be its present peril, its peril was greater far while it was sinking, year after year, under the rule of slavery. Often have I exclaimed, in times past, that our first great object was the emancipation of the National Government, so that it should no longer be the slave of slavery, ready to do its bidding in all things. But this victory has been won. It was won first by the ballot box, when Abraham Lincoln was elected President of the United States; and it was won the second time by the cartridge-box, when, at the command of the President, the guns of Fort Sumter returned the fire of the rebel artillery. Such was the madness of slavery, that the first was not enough. Unhappily, the second was needed to complete the work.

The slave oligarchy, which, according to the vaunt of a slaveholding Senator, has ruled the Republic for more than fifty years; which has stamped its degrading character upon the national forehead; which has entered into and possessed not only the politics, but the literature and even the religion of the country; which has embroiled us at home and given us a bad name abroad; which has wielded at will President, Cabinet, and even judicial tribunals; which has superseded public opinion by substituting its own immoral behests; which has appropriated to itself the offices and honors of the Republic; which has established slavery as the single test and shibboleth of favor; which, after opening all our territories to this wrong, was already promising to renew the slave trade and all its unutterable woes; nay, more, which, in the instinct of that tyranny, through which it ruled, was beating down all the safeguards of human rights—freedom of speech, freedom of the press, and security of person, and delivering the whole country to a rule whose vulgarity was second only to its madness; this slave oligarchy has been dislodged from the National Government, never more to return. Thus far, at least, has emancipation prevailed. The greatest slave of all is free.

Surely, if at any moment we are disposed to be disheartened—if the future is not always clear before us, we may find ample occasion for joy in the victory already won. Pillars, like those of Hercules, might fitly mark this progress.

Among the results of this victory is one which we may specially enjoy on this occasion. It is slavery which has been the occasion of our party divisions, keeping men asunder who ought to act together. But, with the expulsion of this disturbing influence, the occasion for our divisions has ceased. All patriots—all men who truly love their country—may now act together; no matter in what party combination they may have formerly appeared; no matter of what accent is the speech by which our present duties are declared; call them Democrats, Union men, natives or foreigners, what you will, are we not all engaged in a common cause? Nor will I claim as yet the highest praise for those with whom I am most intimately associated. I have read history too well, not to remember that Hannibal, in his campaigns, relied less on his own Carthaginians than on his Spanish infantry and Numidian horse.

The Government is assailed by a Rebellion, without precedent in human history. Never before since Satan warred upon the Almighty has rebellion assumed such a front; and never before has it begun in such a cause. The rebels are numerous and powerful; and their cause is slavery.

It is the very essence of rebellion to be audacious, unhesitating, unscrupulous. Rebellion sticks at nothing; least of all, will a rebellion which began in slavery. It can be successfully encountered only by a vigor and energy which shall surpass its own. Patriotism surely is not less potent as a motive than treason. It must be invoked. By all the memories of your fathers, who founded this Republic and delivered to you the precious heritage; and by all the sentiments of gratitude for the good you have enjoyed beneath its protecting care, you are summoned to its defence. Defence, did I say? It is with mortification that I utter the word; but you all know the truth.

The rebel conspirators have set upon us, and now besiege the National Government. They besiege it at Washington, where are the President and his Cabinet and the national archives. They besiege it at Fort Monroe on the Atlantic, at St. Louis on the Mississippi, and now they besiege it in Kentucky. Everywhere we are on the defensive. Strongholds have been wrested from us. Soldiers gathered under the folds of our national flag have been compelled to surrender. Citizens, whose only offence has been their loyalty, have been driven from their homes. Bridges have been burned. Railways have been disabled. Steamers and ships have been seized. The largest navy yard of the country has been appropriated. Commerce has been hunted on the sea, and property, wherever it could be reached, ruthlessly robbed or destroyed. Only within a few days we have read the order of one Buckner, a rebel commander in Kentucky, directing the destruction of a most important lock, by which Green River had been rendered navigable. Pardon me if I read this intercepted order. It is instructive, as showing the spirit with which this rebellion is waged:—

"Bowling Green, Sept., 1861.

Mr. George W. Triplett: *My Dear Sir*,—Yours is received. Lock No. 1 must be destroyed. I rely upon our friends at Owenborough to do it. Not an hour must be lost. Its destruction is a great deal to me in crippling our adversary. Assemble our friends without delay, in sufficient force to accomplish the object. One of the best ways is to open all the gates but one, and to dig down behind the wall at both gates; to put one or two kegs of powder behind the wall, apply a slow match, and blow the wall into the lock. If possible, it should be done in such a way as to leave a strong current through the lock, which will empty the dam. Provide everything in advance. Do not fail. It is worth an effort.

[Signed,] S. H. Buckner."

It is still doubtful if the work of destruction was accomplished according to this rebel order. But the spirit is here shown which would sweep away one of the most valuable of the internal improvements of Kentucky, a part of the pride and wealth of the State.

Then you ask in whose name all this has been done. The answer is easy. Not "in the name of God and the Continental Congress," as Ethan Allen summoned Ticonderoga; but "in the name of slavery." Yes; in the name of slavery has all this crime, destruction and ravage been perpetrated.

Look at the war as you will, and you will always see slavery. Never were the words of the Roman orator more applicable: "*Nullum facinus extitit nisi per te; nullum flagitium sine te.*" Slavery is its inspiration; its motive-power; its end and aim. It is often said that the war will make an end of slavery. This is probable. But it is surer still, that the overthrow of slavery will at once make an end of the war.

If I am correct in this statement, which I believe is beyond question, then do reason, justice and policy all unite in declaring that the war must be brought to bear directly on the grand conspirator, and omnipresent enemy, which is slavery. Not to do this, is to take upon ourselves, in the present contest, all the weakness of slavery, while we leave to the rebels its boasted resources of military strength. Not to do this, is to squander life and treasure in a vain masquerade of battle, which can have no practical result.

Believe me, fellow-citizens, I know all the imagined difficulties and unquestioned responsibilities of this suggestion. But if you are in earnest, the difficulties will at once disappear, and the responsibilities are such as you will gladly bear. This is not the first time that a knot hard to untie has been cut by the sword; and we all know that danger flees before the brave man. Believe that you can, and you can. The will only is needed. Courage now is the highest prudence.

It is not necessary, even, according to a familiar phrase, to carry the war into Africa. It will be enough if we carry Africa into the war,—in any form, any quantity, any way. The moment this is done, rebellion will begin its bad luck, and the Union will be secure forever.

History teaches by examples. The occasion does not allow me to show how completely this monitor points the way. I content myself with two instances, of special mark—one from ancient Greece and the other from ancient Rome.

The most fatal day for ancient Greece was the defeat at Cheronæa, when Philip of Macedon triumphed over forces in which Demosthenes was enlisted as a soldier. Athens was thrown into consternation. Her great orator had ignobly fled. Another orator, second only to him, Isocrates, died suddenly on hearing the report of the battle. The book of Fate seemed about to close, while Athens sunk to be a mere dependency of Philip. Then it was that another orator in the assembly of the people suddenly brought forward a proposition to emancipate the slaves. The royal Philip, already strong in his victory, trembled. King and conqueror, he was also a statesman, and he saw well that such a proposition begun in Athens would shake all Greece even to his powerful throne, which the young Alexander was then preparing to mount. His triumphant course was at once arrested, and peace secured.

The other instance is in Roman history. You will find it in Plutarch's life of Caius Marius. This experienced general, who in the civil conflicts of the time had been driven from Rome and found shelter in the ruins of Carthage, was able at last to effect a landing in Italy. Thus is the incident recorded:—

"Marius, upon this news, determined to hasten. He took with him some Marusian horse which he had levied in Africa, and a few others that were come to him from Italy, in all not amounting to above a thousand men, and with this handful began his voyage. He arrived at a port in Tuscany called Telamon, and *as soon as he was landed, proclaimed liberty to the slaves.* The name of Marius brought down numbers, the ablest of which he enlisted; and in a short time had a great army on foot, with which he filled forty ships."

Thus far Plutarch. It is needless to add that Marius found himself soon master of Rome.

These are historic instances. I do not adduce them that you should blindly follow them; but simply that you should see how in times past defeat has been stayed and victory won by a generous word for freedom. Men die and disappear; but the human family continues the same in passions and fears as when Philip was frightened back from Athens, and when Marius was borne in triumph to Rome.

To these historic instances, let me add an admitted principle of the ancient Roman law. According to that law, the state of slavery might be terminated in three different manners: first, by manumission; secondly, by way of reward to the slave; and, thirdly, *by way of punishment to the master.* If the master had failed to be a good citizen, he was punished; so that, at the same time, he should suffer in property, and others should gain what is more than property—freedom. But I do not cite even this principle of a time-honored jurisprudence for your government. I will not doubt that, in the unparalleled circumstances by which we are now encompassed, justice will be done.

Already, the way is easy. A simple declaration that all men coming within the lines of the United States troops shall be regarded as freemen, will be in strict conformity to the Constitution, and also with precedents. The Constitution knows no man as a slave. It treats all within its jurisdiction as *persons*, while the exceptional provision for the rendition of *persons* held to service or labor, you will observe, is carefully confined to such as have escaped into another State. It is clear, therefore, that there can be no sanction under the Constitution for turning a camp into a slave-pen, or for turning military officers into slave-hunters. Let this plain construction be adopted, and then, as our lines advance, Freedom will be established, and our national flag, in its march, will wave with new glory.

A brave General, whom Massachusetts has given to the country—though commencing his career with prejudices derived from the pro-slavery school of politicians—has known how to see this question in its true light. I mean, of course, General Butler. He has declared, in his letter to the Secretary of War, dated Fortress Monroe, 30th July, 1861, with reference to fugitive slaves, that it is his duty "to take the same care of these men, women and children, houseless, homeless and unprovided for, as he would of the same number of men, women and children, who for their attachment to the Union had been driven or allowed to flee from the Confederate States." These words are better for his reputation than a victory.

Another General, born in Kentucky, and living and dying in the South—Major-General Gaines, of the army of the United States—laid down the same rule as long ago as 1838. It will be found in the documents of Congress. "The military officer," said he, "can enter into no judicial examination of the claim of one man to the bone and muscle of another as property. Nor could he, as a military officer, know what the laws of Florida were while engaged in maintaining the Federal Government by force of arms. In such case, he could only be guided by the laws of war; and whatever may be the laws of any State, they must yield to the safety of the Federal Government."

This proposition, though of seeming simplicity, would be of incalculable efficacy, if honestly and sincerely enforced. Then would our camps become nurseries of freemen, and every common soldier would be a chain-breaker.

But there is another agency that may be invoked, which is at the same time under the Constitution, and above the Constitution; I mean Martial Law. It is under the Constitution, because it is distinctly recognized by the Supreme Court among the functions of our government. It is above the Constitution, because, when set in motion, like necessity, it knows no other law. For the time, it is law and Constitution. All other agencies, small and great, executive, legislative and even judicial, are absorbed in this transcendent triumvir power, which for the time declares its absolute will, while it holds alike the scales of justice and the sword of the executioner. The existence of this power nobody questions. If it be [illegible] rarely exercised in our country, and never on an extended scale, the power none the less has a fixed place in our political system. As well strike out the kindred law of self-defence, which belongs alike to States and individuals. Martial law is only one form of self-defence.

That this law might be employed against slavery was first proclaimed in the House of Representatives by a Massachusetts statesman, who was a champion of freedom, John Quincy Adams. His authority is such, that I content myself with placing the law under the sanction of his name, which becomes more authoritative when we consider the circumstances under which the doctrine was put forth, repeated, and then again vindicated.

It was as early as the 25th of May, 1836, that Mr. Adams first expounded what he called "The war power and treaty-making power of the Constitution." Then it was that he declared—

"From the instant that your slaveholding States become the theatre of war, civil, servile or foreign, from that instant the war powers of Congress extend to interference with the institution of slavery in every way in which it can be interfered with, from a claim of indemnity for slaves taken or destroyed, to the cession of the State burdened with slavery to a foreign power."

Again, on the 7th of June, 1841, after many years of reflection, and added experience in public life, he terrified slave-masters by showing that universal emancipation might be accomplished through this extraordinary power.

Afterward, on the 14th of April, 1842, for the third time, he stated the doctrine in the House of Representatives, and challenged criticism or reply. I forbear to read the whole speech, though it is worthy of constant repetition. An extract will suffice:—

"I lay this down as the law of nations. I say that the military authority takes, for the time, the place of all municipal institutions, slavery among the rest. Under that state of things, so far from its being true that the States where slavery exists have the exclusive management of the subject, not only the President of the United States, but the commander of the army, has power to order the universal emancipation of the slaves."

And then again he asks, in words applicable to the present hour:—

"If civil war come, if insurrection come, is this beleaguered capital, is this besieged government to see millions of its subjects in arms, and have no right to break the fetters which they are forging into swords? No! *The war power of the Government can sweep this institution into the Gulf.*"

The representatives of slavery fumed and raged at these words, and at their venerable author; but nobody answered them. And they have stood ever since in the records of Congress, firm and impregnable as adamant.

In the protracted controversy which is now drawing to its close, Massachusetts has done much. She first gave the example of Universal Freedom within her borders; and ever since that early day, she has borne a leading part in all efforts against slavery. It is her children who have never failed in this cause, where anything was to be done, whether by word or deed. Massachusetts has for years borne the burthen of this discussion, and also the heavier burthen of obloquy, which has long rested upon all who pleaded for the slave. It is Massachusetts, who, with patriotic ardor, first leaped to the rescue, when the Capital was menaced by slavery, and by a happy coincidence, on the 19th April of this year, consecrated herself anew by the blood of her children; thus being at the same time first to do and first to suffer. It was also a Massachusetts General who first in this conflict proclaimed that our camps could not contain a slave; and it was an illustrious Massachusetts statesman who first unfolded the beneficent principle by virtue of which, constitutionally, legally, and without excess of any kind, the President or a Commanding General may become more than a conqueror, even a Liberator.

Massachusetts will be false to herself, if she fails at this moment. And yet, I would not be misunderstood. Feeling most profoundly, that there is now an opportunity, such as rarely occurs in human annals, for incalculable good—seeing clearly that there is one spot, like the heel of Achilles, where this great rebellion may be wounded to death—I calmly deliver the whole question to the judgment of those on whom the responsibility rests, contenting myself with reminding you that there are times when *not to act* carries with it a greater responsibility than *to act*. It is enough for us to review the unquestioned power of the government, to handle for a moment its mighty weapons, which are yet allowed to slumber, without assuming to declare that the hour has come when they shall flash against the sky.

But may a good Providence save our Government from that everlasting regret which must ensue if a great opportunity is lost by which all the bleeding wounds of war shall be staunched—by which prosperity shall be again established, and peace be linked for ever with liberty. Saul was cursed for not hewing Agag in pieces when in his hands, and Ahab was cursed for not destroying Benhadad. Let no such curses ever descend upon our Government.

"So many slaves, so many enemies!" Unless this ancient proverb has ceased to be true, there are now four millions of enemies intermingled with the rebels; being four millions of allies to the National Government. Can we afford to reject this natural alliance, inspired by a common interest, and consecrated by humanity? There is another motive to such an alliance which cannot be forgotten. Without it, insurrection will be inevitable, and when it comes, it will be wild and lawless. This should be prevented, if possible. But if Liberty does not come from the tranquil and beneficent action of the Government, it will come in blood, amidst the confusion of families. All this was foreseen by the Emperor of Russia, when, on the 21st of September, 1858, he called upon his nobles to unite with him in Emancipation, "which," he nobly declared, "ought to begin *from above*, to the end that it may not come *from below*;" and now, this very year, twenty millions of Russian serfs have peacefully passed out of the house of bondage. Cheered by this great example, let us not forget that *it began from above.*

There is another practical advantage where the action proceeds from the Government. The interests of loyal citizens can be protected. Compensation may relieve the hardships of individual cases. Nor can I object. Never should any question of money be allowed to interfere with human freedom. Better an empty treasury than a single slave. A bridge of gold would be cheap, if demanded by the retreating fiend.

Fellow-citizens—I have spoken frankly; for such has always been my habit. And never was there greater need of frankness. Let patriots understand each other, and they cannot widely differ. All will unite in sustaining the Government, and in driving back the rebels. But this cannot be done by any half way measures, or by any lukewarm conduct. Do not hearken to the voice of Slavery, no matter what its tones of persuasion. Believe me, its friendship is more deadly than its enmity. If you are wise, prudent, conservative, practical, you will strike quick and hard—strike, too, where the blow will be most felt—strike at the main-spring of the rebellion. Strike in the name of the Union, which only in this way can be restored—in the name of Peace, which is vain without Union—and in the name of Liberty also, which will bring both Peace and Union in her glorious train.

☞ Of this dispassionate and statesmanlike speech, the sham democratic, sham loyal, sham patriotic Boston *Post* speaks in the following Billingsgate style:—

"Mr. Sumner's speech at Worcester yesterday was in direct opposition to the policy of the Administration, the declaration of Congress, and the avowed purpose of the war—overflowing with the same narrow, bitter and unconstitutional sentiments that have *done so much to bring our present misfortunes upon us*, and which tend to render the restoration of the Union impossible. If such views as he advances governed the action of the Administration, *not a brigade could be kept in the field*, or money enough raised by the Secretary of the Treasury to buy breeches and gaiters for a *demagogue Senator*. For such men as Sumner and his ilk do not fight nor pay—they only brawl, and deserve to be treated as were old scolds in days past—*ducked in a horse pond.*"

Rev. James Freeman Clarke said he had two resolutions in the spirit of Mr. Sumner's speech, which he wished to present to the Convention. He did not desire in any way to prejudice the rights of any person not belonging to the Republican party, who had come into this Convention under the liberal terms of its call. We are in the habit of saying that the time for speaking has passed, and that this is the time for action only. We believe that, while engaged in war, it is not worth while to bring up any questions upon which there might be a doubt. But there is one thing we ought to consider. If men are the muscles of war, if dollars are the sinews of war, ideas and convictions are the nerves of war; and unless we are fighting for something, and know what we are fighting for, it is pretty certain that after a while our courage will give way. Every one who comes from Washington represents that the Government is quite willing to carry on the war vigorously; but that it wants to be backed up by the people. Now we have a Convention, the most important, perhaps, ever held in Massachusetts. Is not this the time and the place for the people to say to the Government, "Go on; make use of any means Providence may place in your power, and we will back you; we will support you"? I suppose the people of Massachusetts are united upon two points: first, we don't mean this war, when it terminates, shall leave us where it found us, but that it shall leave us with some guaranty that we shall not have to do the work over again. I suppose we are also agreed that slavery shall either be annihilated in the course of the war, or shall be very greatly crippled. In order to show that we are ready to sustain this Government, he proposed the following resolutions:—

Resolved, That while the people of Massachusetts have confidence in the wisdom of the National Administration, and are ready hereafter, as hitherto, to give their blood and their treasure in answer to its call, yet, believing that slavery is the root and cause of this rebellion, they will rejoice when the time shall come, in the wisdom of the Government, to remove this radical source of our present evils.

Resolved, That when the proper time shall arrive, the people of Massachusetts will welcome every act under the war power of the Commander-in-Chief which shall declare all the slaves within the lines of our armies to be free, and accept their services in defence of the Union—compensating all loyal owners for slaves thus emancipated—and thus carrying liberty for all human beings wherever the stars and stripes shall flow.

Mr. Lee, of Templeton. I have not the presumption to rise in my place here with any view to discuss this great question, with any view to entertain this Convention; but, sir, I will ask, before this is put precipitately upon us, whether or not this Convention, notwithstanding gentlemen have listened to the eloquent discourse of Mr. Sumner, whether or not we are ready at this moment to take this great leap. Sir, the prophetic mind of John Quincy Adams, who has been quoted here, would suggest to us delay until the proper moment comes. (Applause.) Has that moment come? ("Yes! yes!" "No! no!") When that moment comes, it will be hailed with delight by all the oppressed of humanity throughout the world. But if we declare it now, out of time, it will recoil upon us, and we shall lose the ground we are seeking to gain. Sir, I protest. We have gone as far, in the resolves reported by the Committee, as prudence, policy or the public good requires. Sir, let us consider one moment the attitude we are in. Whom do we represent? The great State of Massachusetts. And our views will go forth over the whole United States. Let us not, by any untimely word or act, challenge or promote any feeling of hostility. I am for war, but I would not be rash.

Mr. George S. Hale, of Boston, moved that the resolutions of Mr. Clarke be laid upon the table. The motion prevailed, and the Convention adjourned without venturing to look them in the face! Poor timid, halting, huckstering, compromising Republicanism!

MASSACHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

RECEIPTS.

Rec'd by R. F. Wallcut:

From Dr. D. S. Grandin, Mechanics Falls, Me., to redeem pledge, of May, 1860,	$3 00
Thos. S. Greenman, Mystic Bridge, Conn, a donation,	2 50
Mrs. M. W. Chapman, Weymouth, Ms., for expenses of Abington Celebration,	1 00
R. H. Ober, to redeem pledge,	20 00
By A. T. Foss: North Beverly,	1 07

EDMUND JACKSON, *Treasurer.*

Boston, Oct. 1, 1861.

☞ A. T. FOSS, an Agent of the American A. S. Society, will speak on "The War," at

Peacham,	Vt.	Sunday,	Oct. 6.
Danville,	"	Tuesday,	" 8.
St. Johnsbury,	"	Wednes.,	" 9.
L. Waterford,	"	Friday,	" 11.
McIndoes Falls,	"	Sat. ev'g,	" 12, and Sunday, 13.
S. Ryegate,	"	Tuesday,	" 15.
Topsham,	"	Wednes.,	" 16.
Washington,	"	Thursday,	" 17.
Newbury,	"	Friday,	" 18.
Bradford,	"	Sunday,	" 20.
Windsor,	"	Wednes.,	" 23.

Diseases of Women and Children.

WM. SYMINGTON BROWN, M. D., and
Mrs. MARGARET B. BROWN, *Accoucher*,

HAVE opened an office at 274 Washington Street, Boston, and will devote special attention to the treatment of the above diseases.

Office Hours, from 10, A. M., to 4, P. M.

Boston, Oct. 4, 1861. 3m

Poetry.

For the Liberator.

THE BEGINNING OF THE END OF SLAVERY.

BUTLER AND FREMONT.

Ben. Butler has made out a case,
  Without a legal flaw,
By which the slave his freedom gets;
  He's "contraband of war"!

And Fremont, too, o'er Western plains,
  Proclaims his stern decree,
That traitorous men, where he bears sway,
  Shall let their slaves go free! E. W. T.

NOW.

Answer to W. C. Bryant's "Not Yet"—By T. Hulbert Underwood.

A "marvel of the earth" indeed!
  Our country from its greatness thrown—
Thrown dustward like a blasted reed—
  Its pride laid low, its green leaves strown.
The traitor's arm has laid her low—
In vain the hopeful answer, "No!"

A stigma rests upon her fame—
  Though still she's cherished in our heart—
The traitor's blight, a sullied name!
  Yet cling to her as once a part
Of that which *was* the "glorious" Great,
The favored land, the model State.

Stern Truth—of those who gave this land
  The prestige of its former name—
Will say, "Its erring statesmen stand
  Convicted of the present shame."
Could they the present sequence know,
They'd seek the deepest shades below.

Because they left undone the task
  Which God assigned them, *then* and *there*—
To "tear" from Slavery its mask,
  And drive it from its cherished lair—
Their judgment or their will was wrong,
Who left this dragon to grow strong.

They bandied honeyed words with Crime,
  And made expediency of Sin;
They left a curse to after-time,
  A curse that worketh now within
The councils of this cheated land:
Their boasted ties are ropes of sand.

Our "marts" are dead, our "iron ways"
  Are bending with their freight of war!
Our "woods and waters" stand amazed,
  While rattles down the crimson car;
Potomac's waves unsanguined flow,
Missouri's sands are red below.

Our "winds" are vocal with the boom
  Of fate, and blood like water flows!
Atlantic hears the threatened doom,
  And answers with his wail of woes;
And from the Mississippi's flood
There's no response save that of "Blood!"

We stand aghast—"the hour *is* nigh,"
  When "Eld's" green goblins, grinning, sit
Close by the Nation's face, and cry:
  "Doomed country, welcome to the pit,
Dug deep for all who thus begin
The record of their work with sin!"

Is there an arm stretched down to save?
  "There is no God!" the fool replies,
"No King but Cotton!" and we wave
  The lie beneath insulted skies,
Give Slavery fair Freedom's place,
And flaunt the fraud in Heaven's face.

The fire of civil war to-day
  Has charred upon the Nation's brow
A brand no tears can wash away!
  No *compromise* will answer now!
There *is* a God, and now he rules,
And whips us with a race of fools!

GOD'S ANVIL.

Pain's furnace heat within me quivers,
  God's breath upon the flame doth blow,
And all my heart with anguish shivers,
  And trembles as the fiery glow;
    And yet I whisper, as God will,
    And in his hottest fire hold still.

He comes, and lays my heart, all heated,
  On the hard anvil, minded so,
Into his own fair shape to beat it,
  With his great hammer, blow on blow;
    And yet I whisper, as God will,
    And at his heaviest blows hold still.

He takes my softened heart, and beats it:
  The sparks fly off at every blow;
He turns it o'er and o'er, and heats it,
  And lets it cool, and makes it glow.
    And yet I whisper, as God will,
    And in his mighty hand hold still.

Why should I murmur? for the sorrow
  Thus only longer lived would be:
Its end may come, and will to-morrow,
  When God has done his work in me.
    So I say, trusting, as God will,
    And, trusting to the end, hold still.

He kindles, for my profit, purely,
  Affliction's glowing, fiery brand:
And all his heaviest blows are surely
  Inflicted by a master hand:
    So I say, praying, as God will,
    And hope in him, and suffer still.

BETTER LATE THAN NEVER.

Life is a race where some succeed,
  While others are beginning;
'Tis luck at times, at others speed,
  That gives an early winning.
But if you chance to fall behind,
  Ne'er slacken your endeavor,
But keep this wholesome truth in mind,
  'Tis better late than never.

If you can keep ahead, 'tis well,
  But never trip your neighbor;
'Tis noble when you can excel
  By honest, patient labor;
But if you are outstripped at last,
  Press on as bold as ever;
Remember though you are surpassed,
  'Tis better late than never.

Ne'er labor for an idle boast
  Of victory o'er another;
But while you strive your uttermost,
  Deal fairly with a brother.
Whate'er your station, do your best,
  And hold your purpose ever;
And if you fail to beat the rest,
  'Tis better late than never.

Choose well the path in which you run,
  Succeed by noble daring;
Then, though the last, when once 'tis won,
  Your crown is worth the wearing.
Then never fret if left behind,
  Nor slacken your endeavor,
But ever keep this truth in mind—
  'Tis better late than never.

DOING GOOD.

'Tis never too late to do good;
  We all have our time to improve;
'Tis doing no more than we should,
  Progressively onward to move.
'Tis folly to lornfully grieve;
  Be hopeful, and you will be wise;
The lower the station we leave,
  The greater the merit to rise.

We all might be better—in fact,
  More loving—more friendly—more kind;
With a little more feeling—more tact—
  To manage the heart and the mind;
'Tis noble to earnestly strive
  By labor or learning to rise;
The gem-seeker deeply must dive,
  Or never look out for a prize.

The Liberator.

LETTER

To a Corporate Member of "The American Board."

Boston, Sept. 26, 1861.

T. P. Handy, Esq.:

Sir—I have received from you, without date, but post-marked Sept. 19th, 1861, the following:—

"Send no more of your false and abusive documents relating to the American Board to me."
T. P. Handy,
Cleveland, O."

A note so brief and so uncourteous, from an entire stranger, leaves me at a disadvantage in replying, since I cannot know from it to which of the following classes you belong; whether you are a determined advocate of slavery, and thus a supporter of the Board which supports it—or whether you are one of that large number of well-meaning and unsuspecting people who have formed a habit of implicit confidence in the Board, and who unwisely assume that nothing is to be said on the other side—or whether you are a mere partisan, entirely regardless of truth and right—or whether you are merely incompetent to judge of evidence. In either case, I may properly send you the following reply:—

If your expression "false and abusive" refers to my book recently published—"Relation of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions to Slavery," it is utterly and doubly inappropriate, since all the charges there made against the Board are *proved*, in the same volume, by evidence drawn from its own publications. I have been so scrupulous, not only to treat the Board justly in my own comments, but to enable every reader to judge for himself whether my accusations are well founded, that I have printed, unabridged, *all* the documents they have issued in their Annual Reports on the subject of slavery; and these fully support my charges against the Board, namely,—

1. They have sheltered slavery in their Cherokee and Choctaw mission-churches, representing the holding of slaves, and the purchase and sale of them, (even when this includes the separation of young children from their parents,) as perfectly consistent with the Christian character.

2. They have not only suppressed, and attempted to conceal from their readers, certain remonstrances made by their missionaries in the Sandwich Islands against American slavery, (remonstrances made on the ground of the injurious influence of slavery upon their missionary labors,) but they have framed this iniquity into a law, which still exists—(No. 42)—among their "Regulations," to prevent any further remonstrance of this sort.

3. They have treated those of their members at home who remonstrated against their complicity with slavery, first with discourteous silence and neglect, and afterwards with unjust and disingenuous replies and action.

4. They have framed their reports upon this subject with deceptive craftiness, using, in the very documents which expressly permit the continuance of slaveholding among their Indian church-members, *general* expressions unfavorable to slavery, and thus adapted to mislead the undiscriminating reader. Finally—

5. They now hold the position of giving their influence in the strongest possible way in aid of the continuance of slavery, by having publicly recorded their testimony, in the Annual Meeting of 1860, at Boston, that the slaveholding Cherokees "are a *Christian* people."

All these things are *proved*, by the quotation, unabridged, of the Board's own documents, in the book in question.

I find, by reference to the last Annual Report of the Board, that you are one of its Corporate members, elected in 1857. If your acquaintance with the affairs of that body began at that time, you may very profitably study the full history of its complicity with slavery for forty years past, which has been copied from its official documents into my book. If, on making such examination, you find any material error in my statements, and will send me evidence really proving the existence of such error, in season for the second edition of that book, I will willingly, nay, gladly, insert it there. If you do not accept this offer, it will appear to candid examiners of this subject that it is *your* accusations, not mine, which are "false and abusive."

Hoping speedily to receive any light which you may have to give upon this important subject, I am, sincerely,

Your friend and servant for the truth,
CHARLES K. WHIPPLE.

MEETINGS AT THE NORTH-WEST.

Mr. Garrison: During July and August, we have had a series of Sunday Conventions and Anti-Slavery Meetings at the North-West. Although, in the Conventions, the *Bible* and *Spiritual* questions were prominent, the cause of *Woman* and the *American Slave* was fully and freely heard. Mrs. Frances Brown, of Cleveland, O., rendered us great assistance. At Tipton, Iowa, the Court-House was crowded during several sessions. Lawyers and priests attended; and one of the former, (a dark complexioned, hunkerish fellow,) undertook to thrust *Amalgamation* on to the audience, as the moving spring of our meetings. Mrs. Brown replied in a manner that left some to infer that if the said lawyer's wife was a *white* woman, he was practically an amalgamationist himself. He *vamosed*.

At Iowa City, (a town of 8000 people,) the meetings began in the Universalist Church, and adjourned to Market Hall, for want of room. At one session, Mr. Campbell discussed the relation of slavery to republics, showing from history that the aristocracy and land monopoly which slavery always breeds, have ever been the bane and destruction of republics, and now threaten ours. He was followed by Mrs. Brown, with her peculiar theory that departed spirits have originated the present war—that John Brown and Stephens, and Calhoun and Jackson, (murderer of Ellsworth,) all "still live," and are still fighting in the American battle. Passing the merits of this theory, Mrs. Brown did herself great credit by the *expose* of the wickedness of slavery, by her gallant defence of John Brown, and by her thrilling appeal to the audience to still "sue for simple justice" for the slave. And some of us felt, that if our countrymen did not "act right, and grant his claim,"

"By the great God that made all things,
We'll fight till from our bones our flesh be hacked."

Mrs. Brown has none of the highfalutin Spiritualism—she speaks (with her eyes open) good practical sense; and although her pet topics are Spiritualism and the Cause of Woman, yet she is thoroughly anti-slavery, and will not assist in Conventions, except where all liberal minds on all radical subjects can be heard.

At Springdale we enjoyed hospitalities at friend Maxon's, where John Brown's famous eleven (Stephens, Ralph, Cook, &c.,) drilled for three months previous to the Harper's Ferry affair. We saw their portraits about the room, and looked with awe on an old wooden sword—a relic of the severe discipline they experienced that famous winter of '58 and '59.

Barclay Coppie (who escaped from Harper's Ferry when Cook was taken) attended our meetings at Springdale. He was on his way to join Montgomery and John Brown, Jr., in Kansas. Barclay is said to have been moody and sad till the war broke out. His brother had been hung, and our Governor's requisition hung over his head for a year, threatening to hand him over to Virginia. But since the war began, Gov. Kirkwood has voluntarily and unsolicited recalled his requisition for Coppie. [Item: Of what "damned stuff" are these Governors made? or is the trouble in their making up?] We saw Barclay in good spirits, collecting his recruits of true men. We saw him leave with four—one, of sixty summers—as true as steel, leaving a good home in good circumstances, to fight for the slave. An hour before going, one of the recruits met opposition from a harsh father. It was cool to see Barclay quietly pocket a pistol, and with quickened pace go out to settle the matter. It was well for all the young recruit had just settled it by a cross-lot stampede to join his comrades. (1)

At Dixon, Iowa, we held a fine grove meeting, where for once, in God's own temple, the people worshipped Him in the service of Humanity. At this, and other conventions, Mrs. Dr. Stillman, of De Witt, spoke with great acceptance on Health, according to the gospel of Water-Cure. Mrs. Campbell spoke for Woman, her Sphere and Abilities.

At Lane, Illinois, we held a Convention the hottest Sunday of the season. Evening sessions full. The people are ready to hear. We think Mr. Pillsbury is right in believing Anti-Slavery effort is now needed more than ever. We do not believe in the Stand-still-see-salvation-God theory. We hope for a grand Convention this fall, to tell the North-West that "eternal vigilance is the price of liberty"—our own and that of the slave. A recent Chicago *Times* (Douglas) has specified the *Independent*, *Liberator* and *Standard* as papers to be suppressed, and calls on the Federal Government to do it. The Slave Power still controls the North. Let it be fought down.

Clinton, Iowa, Aug., 1861. C. B. C.

(1) Since this communication was received, the death of Barclay Coppie has been chronicled in the papers, he having been killed, with many others, by the destruction of a railway train at Little Platte River in Missouri, by the falling of a bridge, the timbers of which had been burned underneath the track, through the diabolical malignity of the seccession tritors.

MEETING AT ST. MARY'S LAKE.

St. Mary's Lake, (Mich.) Sept. 16, 1861.

Mr. Garrison:

Dear Friend—On Sunday, the 15th inst., at 2 o'clock, P. M., a great concourse of citizens, from Battle Creek and vicinity, assembled for divine service in the cause of humanity, at the Steam Saw-Mill on St. Mary's Lake. The scene was full of inspiration. Unlike many parts of Michigan, this is a country of hill and dale, and, just here, the beautiful little lake, well named St. Mary's, nestling itself so lovingly amid the trees of the forest, so secure, so pure—reflecting from its polished bosom all the beauty of sky and shore—gives life and glory to the landscape. Nature has indeed been lavish of her bounty, and the hand of man has not been wanting to add attractions to this charming spot. Seven years ago, it was all wilderness—to-day, the hundreds of cultivated acres around St. Mary's, the orchards, the fields of wheat and clover, the flocks and herds, the great Steam Saw-Mill, the Water-Cure establishment, in whose ball both heart and foot keep time to the merry music of the violin, and the beautiful home of Henry Willis—the animating spirit of the whole—is proof that if man is not a creator, he is at least a maker.

The occasion, too, was inspiring. When the fountains of the great deep are broken up—when the revolutionary ploughshare is opening the heart and soul of man to the light and warmth of the Sun of Righteousness and Truth, it is the time, above all others, to broadcast the seed which shall yield the glad harvest of universal liberty. So it seemed, to one who looked at that audience, composed of people of various politics and various theological creeds, and beheld their eager, thirsty spirits drinking in the word of life and salvation.

The subject for discussion was, *The War—Its Cause and Cure*,—and, as our noble friend Henry C. Wright, with deep-toned voice, and powerful, thrilling words, opened up the theme, and showed the Cause to be *Slavery*, and its Cure *Emancipation*, the hearts of the people were with him as the heart of one man.

He said—Slavery is the whole cause of the war. Our fathers, North and South, built, at common cost and for common occupancy, a great national temple. They agreed that the majority should govern in this temple. For seventy years the South, by the aid of her friends at the North, had always carried the majority for slavery, and the North had submitted loyally and patiently to this rule. The slaveholders threatened that if the friends of liberty even *sought to obtain the majority in favor of freedom and free institutions*, this temple should be thrown down—there should not be left one stone upon another—the Union should be dissolved, and the United States blotted from the map of nations. Yet the friends of freedom dared to wage this forbidden war of Ideas, and it finally culminated in a victory at the ballot-box. Had they not a right so to do? and should not the South have submitted, as the North had so long done? This was "the head and front of our offending." The only political offence the North ever gave to the South was this finally successful endeavor to obtain the majority for freedom. And now the South endeavors to subvert the foundations of this common temple; and when the North would prevent its destruction, cries out, Coercion! State Rights! She clutches at the Northern throat, and says, Hands off! you are invading my right to take your life-blood! Keep still! all I ask is to be let alone!

Never was there such a civil war as this; so sudden, so overwhelming, so causelessly forced upon a nation, so brutally waged. The South has been preparing for years—that just so soon as the war of Ideas should culminate in a victory at the ballot-box, she should inaugurate a war of bullets. The stake is, freedom or slavery for the whole nation and the whole continent. What is all this outlay for—four hundred thousand men on the altar of the Union? Do you mean liberty, or slavery? What is all this blood and treasure to be expended for? Merely to patch up a hollow peace for a day, or to tear up the root and branch of this tree of death? Will you wait till the slave takes the matter into his own hands? He has been taught to disregard all rights of person, of family, of property—all these have been denied him by the laws of the land—wrested from him; nothing has been held sacred; and now if he should turn and practise upon his master the lesson he has taught him, could you wonder, and would you dare to cry out at his brutality?

The South means slavery. She hates free speech, a free press, free schools, and freemen. She is true to slavery—be you true to freedom! Let the question be settled now, and for all coming time, whether freedom shall rule this great continent, or slavery. Circulate petitions! See to it that the President, as commander-in-chief of the army and navy, proclaim freedom to all the slaves, and this war will come to an end in three months. Declare that the cause of this war shall be rooted out. Make the star-spangled banner the banner of freedom, universal freedom. Let your watchword be—Resistance to slavery is obedience to God! Give me liberty, or give me death!

At the close of his remarks, Mr. Wright read the strong Resolutions presented below, and, after some animated discussions by several present, they were carried heartily and unanimously.

There was present a Congregational minister, who declined voting; and, on being invited to speak, came forward, and honestly stated that, though the Resolutions contained his own sentiments—sentiments which he had designed to embody and present to his people on the approaching day of National Fast—he had not voted for them, because it was *the holy Sabbath*—the day set apart for the worship of God, for *divine service*. He deemed the war so righteous that he could, if necessary, go forth to battle on the Lord's day—could draw his sword, or load his musket, or point the rifled cannot at the enemy of his country *on the Sabbath*, and feel that he was doing God service; but he could not vote political (!) Resolutions on that day, because there were other days of the week in which to attend to politics, and no necessity existed for so using Sunday! Mr. Wright replied to him by a few weighty remarks. The Sabbath, he said, was made for man, and not man for the Sabbath. It is right to do good on the Sabbath day. Every day should be consecrated to God's service. To rescue man from the hell of slavery, and save the country from the horrors of a protracted war, was truly serving God. He marvelled at the hallucination which could override the sacredness of the Sabbath, for the purpose of drawing the sword, and pointing the rifled cannon to destroy men's lives, and deem it a desecration of the day to save men from slavery and war!

This little scene created a lively interest, and called forth much after remark. One old lady, 83 years of age—the mother of Dr. Peterman of the Water Cure—who takes an intelligent and vivid interest in the events of the day, though of Orthodox faith, said she never thought she was breaking the Sabbath, and had never felt more religious in her life; that she wanted to rise and vote for the resolutions with both hands, and should have done so, had she not been lame. Another friend remarked that, admitting the especial sacredness of the Sabbath, it had been pronounced right to lift an ox from the pit on that day, and *this ox* was too heavy to lift alone. We wanted all the help we could get, and could obtain more on that day than any other.

On the whole, we did not regret this little discussion of the holiness of the Sabbath, and came to the conclusion that if it was not to be used for man, it had better *secede*.

The following are the resolutions:—

Resolved, That *slavery is the cause*, and *emancipation the only cure* of the present war, and the sooner these facts are recognized and acted on, the sooner will the war be ended.

Resolved, That the responsibility of the existence of the war, and of the *anguish and suffering*, and expenditure of *blood and treasure*, resulting from it, rests solely with the slaveholders and their allies.

Resolved, That the only cause of political offence the people of the North have ever given to the slaveholders of the South, consists in their efforts to obtain and maintain *the rule of the majority in favor of freedom and free institutions*, over the rule of the minority in favor of slavery and slave institutions.

Resolved, That no rebel State and no rebel individual have any constitutional rights which loyal citizens are bound to respect, inasmuch as those who, by arms and blood seek its overthrow, are not entitled to protection of property or person under the Constitution.

Resolved, That this assembly heartily approves the act of Major-General Fremont in proclaiming liberty to the slaves of all the rebels in Missouri.

Resolved, That one united call should go up from the people of the United States to the President, as commander-in-chief of the army and navy, to proclaim liberty to all the slaves in every rebel State, and to the slaves of all the rebel individuals of all the States, as the speediest and most righteous and constitutional means of ending the war, and securing the blessings of liberty to the nation and the continent.

Resolved, That the President, in the exercise of the war power, should be urged by all who would bring the war to a speedy and successful issue in favor of liberty, to confiscate the property of all the rebel States, and of all the rebel individuals in all the States, North as well as South, and apply it to pay the expenses of the war.

HENRY WILLIS, *Chairman*.
C. Euphemia Cochran, *Secretary*.

THE WAR AND ITS CAUSE.

All hope of deliverance from the evils of our great national conflict lies in fully comprehending and removing the underlying *cause*. Politicians may dodge it, as they play the games of politics and war. The President, statesmen, and military chieftains may seek to evade it, to suit their political proclivities, or in deference to pro slavery interests, as they are forced to grapple with it in the discharge of official duty. The people may discuss and mourn over it, and individual citizens may plan its removal; yet all this is only the preliminary but necessary stage in the great business of finally removing it.

There can be no doubt that the majority of citizens of every political and religious creed throughout the Northern States are now, for the most part, fully up to the *belief*, however they may think it expedient to act, that slavery lies at the bottom of the gigantic contest in which we are now engaged. To a certain extent this is, no doubt, true in the Border States, and even in the seceded States themselves. This feeling is growing every day. While all eyes are turned to the marshalling hosts in both sections of the country, the question unceasingly arises in every mind, "Why all this array of military force?" and the response comes with renewed emphasis, "both when we wake and when we sleep"—Slavery, SLAVERY!

Mistaken men in the South, so thoroughly educated into the destructive and untenable doctrines of the divinity of slavery and of State rights, and ambitious and wicked conspirators, are gratuitously instructing us every day. Immense losses of Southern debts, the wanton destruction of public and private property, the persecutions of innocent citizens,—in short, the terror which reigns in the rebel States, only equalled by the French reign of terror,—are all adding to our knowledge of the villany which comes of slavery.

Made fully aware of the bearing which the "institution" has on our present national troubles, we need have no fears of the result. The great material interests of this and other civilized countries are directly interested as a matter of economy to remove it; the noblest sentiments and impulses of untold millions would receive new life at its downfall; the best civilization of the age would rejoice at its overthrow, while God on his throne and in his providence is using most unerringly such instrumentalities among the good and bad as He knows will best compass his divine ends, by securing the freedom and the rights of all.

Let us, then, work on. Signs of the resurrection of our nation to a nobler career gleam out over every mountain-top, and up every valley, throughout the regions of our intense mental life, and bid us hope on. That this nation can never be reconstructed with slavery in it is certain. It is certain, too, that American slavery is doomed; but precisely when, or by what methods, none can know. Under the war-cry of "Down with the Rebels, and preserve the Union!" or under the still more grateful and direct one to most of us, *No Union till slavery ends*, it is still certain as any unaccomplished fact can be, that the *future Union will be one of Free States*.

It is now too late to look back. It were vain to say how far from the wish or intention of the wildest Abolitionist, that the abolition of slavery should have been consummated by any other than wise measures of peace. A foul conspiracy has thrust a war upon us. In self-defence, we must take up the gauntlet. Till the last expiring traitor bites the dust, or breaks his sword, let the war go vigorously on to its final results.

In the meantime, the men who remain at home, while so many noble fathers and sons grasp the sword in defence of all that is dear, can perform no more useful task, through press and pulpit, by wayside and by the fireside, and in all the methods of human intercourse, to intensify and arouse the holy instinct of freedom, and, finally, to concentrate it in the hand of the Government when slavery, with its villanies, shall by its outstretched arm be swept away like chaff.

With the exception of a handful of stultified and unprogressive souls, whose function and destiny seem to be to fill up the fag-end of every great movement that "hath a stomach in't"—the Rip Van Winkles of the nation, the growlers and grumblers whose highest conception of government lies in grasping at the loaves and fishes, and in putting down "agitators" scores of years after the thing agitated shall have passed into oblivion—with this solitary exception, the great public is alive and active, both as to the war and its unmistakable causes. Better that the bones of the patriot soldier should whiten a thousand battle-fields, and our treasures be poured into the sea, than to imperil our future liberties by the barbarous intrusion of slavery! Peace, to be permanent, can only be achieved by a stern regard to the dictates of justice and humanity.

W.

THE PROPER VIEW.

"Procrastination is the thief of time"—"Time is money."

"Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, three-fifths of all other persons, except Indians not taxed."—*U. S. Constitution.*

A brief examination of the tendency of this vital article in our national charter indicates the constitutional establishment of two co-ordinate cardinal rules on two very important subjects, viz., representation and taxation. As was contended by our Fathers of 1776, these twin principles should not be divorced, actually nor virtually, but should go together hand in hand. We find it distinctly enunciated near the very threshold of the Constitution as our guiding policy on these points. The strict observance of these was emphatically demanded of Great Britain towards us, and our revolutionary sires emphatically, by self-sacrifice, enjoined it upon us and our posterity.

Now, the "three-fifths" mentioned above can be no other than the slaves. Every slave State is, accordingly, represented in Congress on a basis wherein every slave, male and female, minor and adult, is reckoned to be three-fifths of a free person. If South Carolina has 275,000 free persons and 400,000 slaves, she has a representable population of 275,000 x 240,000, or three-fifths of 400,000. Added together, 515,000 constituents are the result. If the national ratio be 103,000 to a representative, she is entitled to five representatives. On the contrary, Vermont's 320,000 free persons would yield but three representatives. So much does alleged property, in this country, prevail over man, not only out-numbering him, but out-voting and out-influencing him.

But, direct taxes, as well and by the same authority as representation, are to be assessed in precisely the same manner. If the slave States had bequeathed and secured to them the advantage of slave representation, it was no more than right that they should bear the disadvantage of slave taxation. Like the two jars, from which Jupiter distributed good and ill among mankind, these two antagonisms were yoked together. Therefore, if a direct tax of 40,000,000 is to be assessed on the nation of thirty millions people, South Carolina's 515,000 representable inhabitants should pay one fifty-eighth of the sum, or $690,000, while Vermont's 320,000 people should pay one ninety-fourth part of it, or $426,000.

Such being the practical Constitutional requisition, is it not clear that the products of slave labor are taxed in those States, if the slave himself be not? If he be not, there can be no good reason for the slave owner's exemption therefrom, if the slave be adjudged property. Such exemption increases the burden of the non-slaveholding inhabitant of the same State; for, by the Constitution, the whole State is doomed according to its population, free and slave. Is this just? Should seven or eight million non-slaveholders be saddled by the extra tax which only 400,000 slaveholders thus draw upon the State as its proportion? And is the extra representation awarded to them any way equal to the disadvantage which pays for it? Is not the slaveholder the actual one who reaps the advantage both of the representation and of the slave exemption? The non-slaveholder's interest is the same as any other non-slaveholder's interest, whether he live North or South. If the slave be taxed, as well as the plantation and its fruits, he is directly national property as well as State property, for the purposes of taxation, as he is partially man for the sake of representation. At any rate, the slave is indirectly taxed, since his profits constitute part or all his holder's income. This income is taxed as such, and the real estate he buys therewith is also taxed. The slave labor supports the holder, be he loyal or disloyal; and this labor is all for which the slave is generally kept. It is virtually, therefore, the slave himself, and it is taxed both by State and nation.

Thus, even overlooking the facts that the slave is supporting the holder while absent on a campaign against the government, and producing means to equip him with arms and ammunition, why is not the slave amenable to confiscation as property of the rebel holder, who has avowed his disconnection with and hostility to the government? He has not only forfeited a right to its protection by his traitorous course, but spurns the idea of its protection, and disclaims the authority of its constitutionally elected officers, whose election, too, was effected through his own exclusive conduct and indiscreet mismanagement. His every act is self-condemnatory.

Still, how came the slave to be property, and where is he so considered? By State laws. Law determines what shall be conventional property. Who enact the laws? Legislators. They constitute the State government. They can repeal them. Their legal validity, therefore, resides in the option of this State government. If therefore the government be disbanded, as in Maryland, where is the slavery tenure? It is in virtual suspension. Apply this to Alabama and Louisiana. They have rebelled and withdrawn their governments. Let these be disbanded, and not a sufficiency of loyal people will be therein to elect a loyal government. Has the national government, which insists they yet belong to the Union, no right to release the slaves, when it cannot but see that the holding of these is the actual cause of our difficulty, endangering the vitality of the Union? That this difficulty is liable to be repeated *ad infinitum*, so long as slavery exists? Shall we learn nothing from experience, and shut our eyes to her lessons? She presents us one of her most impressive precepts, in the ordeal now before us. Nature joins her in the lesson, and admonishes us that like causes are followed by like effects. These are two infallible teachers, and are worth heeding. Nor will they be neglected with impunity. And since the object is to restore the Union, and to establish it on a permanent basis, which we see it was not before, proper means should be employed. One of them is the removal of the offending cause.

Especially, as it is believed that the cause of the war may at some time make it expedient or necessary to emancipate, what matters it whether it be done now or two years hence; whether we do it as freemen voluntarily, for the benefit of the nation and our posterity, or as slaves to England, France, or the South, forcing us to do it? The sooner it is done, the sooner will the war and its long train of disasters and evils be arrested, as all traitors should be. If it may be done by and by, it is possible. If possible then, it is now. And it is resolved into a mere question of time. One would think that the dangers attending its delay, and the certain benefits of its achievement, would be powerful enough to influence a government, desirous to relieve, establish, and benefit itself and the people for whom it acts, to inaugurate the national reform at once.

It is very evident that the Confederates are perpetrating high treason, and that Congress only has power to determine what its punishment shall be. This is so generally expressed that it includes seasons of peace as well as of war. Therefore, the President feels constitutionally bound to await the action of that body, next December, on this vital and precarious point, when he would hardly consult the same instrument for authority to appoint a Governor over a Territory. But, emancipation would no more be entirely punishment to traitors, except incidentally, than the destructive eruption of a volcano is a mere judgment. The one would be likewise a blessing and a debt long due to the nation, as the volcano would be a physical safety-valve to the globe. Both would prevent future earthquakes of greater devastation. It would promote liberty, the vital essence of a Republic.

It is a very serious question, then, under all the circumstances, whether it is even warrantable, not to say judicious, to procrastinate a salutary measure, when decisive action is requisite to enforce it; whether it is advisable to defer to traitors, either to punish or to reward, if the public safety, peace and welfare sooner demand action for themselves. The only sure way of disarming the wasp or hornet is to pull out its sting, not as a punishment to the insect, but as self-protection for yourself. The best way to disarm an enemy is to deprive him of his resources; and is not this justifiable, when that enemy is the aggressor? Nothing can be more self-evident. National preservation constitutes the tenor of the national Constitution, and is the very first and supreme national law.

Once more, the cardinal tenet of the Republican party is, that Congress has a right to prohibit the institution of slavery in a territory; and some contend that a State with slavery is not a republican form of government which the United States guarantees to every State in the Union. Now, the territory is a candidate to become a State; and if the above tenet is constitutional, Congress has a right to insist upon every new State to be free from slavery. If so, as equality is a perogative of each and every State, and the standard to be observed among all of them,—the citizens of one State to have equal rights with those of every other State,—Congress has a right to make old States free as well as new ones. By this tenet, the real action of Congress is only preparatory to qualify the territory for admission as a State with a republican form of government. If such then as contain no slavery are alone endowed with this republican form, no others can be, and the duty of emancipation is incumbent on the administrative party, to be consistent with its asserted professions. The exercise of this declared right is what is chiefly feared by the slaveholding interest.

M.

A LETTER TO ENGLAND: NOT BY AN LL.D.

My Dear Friend,—I have at length succeeded in quietly making up my mind that it is useless to expect any Englishman to understand our war. It would seem, at first blush, that people whose ancestors have always been engaged in civil war might easily see that a civil war here, of itself, neither proved nor disproved anything. Your Jacobite troubles, the rising of '45, and the march of Prince Charlie upon Edinburgh, were not held, I believe, to prove the English system a failure, nor show that a monarchy is inadequate either to prevent or repress disaffection, treason, and rebellion. Cromwell's absolute success might have been considered tolerably strong evidence—but King Charles came back again. The landing and march of Monmouth is not—in this country, at least—supposed to be a valid argument against monarchy; nor the expulsion of James, and the happy coronation of the Dutch Prince as English King.

This nation is now, as yours has been constantly, engaged in civil war. The Government is maintaining itself against armed rebels, assisted by those who dare everything but fighting against their country. You in England tranquilly sneer, and say to us, "Why don't you give it up? Your principle is that people shall do as they want to."

No, my friend, you mistake. Your principle in England, I believe, is that everybody shall do as he wants to, subject to the constitution of England. Ours in America is precisely the same: with this advantage, that we know what our Constitution is, and you do not know what yours is, for it is only a series of precedents. The American principle is not individual license, it is constitutional liberty; and we had always supposed that of England to be the same. We had supposed, farther, that that community of political faith and practice was the deepest bond, with our community of race, between us. We have learned that it was no bond whatever, and there is not a thoughtful or humane man in the country who does not deeply regret it.

You ask, why we don't give it up? For the same reason that England didn't give it up in any of her civil wars—the necessity of national unity.

You ask, why we don't let the rebels go? For the same reason that you would not let London go, or Wales, or the County of Kent, even if a majority of those parts of England should seriously wish to go. For the same reason, nationally, that would prevent you, individually, from suffering your body to be cut into two, or three, or thirty-four pieces.

If London or Yorkshire should defy the English Government, we should do exactly what you have done, if we should declare you and those rebels equally belligerents, and hold ourselves neutral, and in every way sneer at the blundering crash of the impossible English monarchy, which from its beginning has been only awaiting this day. We might have sent sensation reporters to describe battles they did not see. We might have jeered that, if the English Government were waging a war for the miners or the factory operatives, we could have had some sympathy, but a purely political war was perfectly dreary, and futile, and stupid. If you said to us that the surest and most radical reforms of every kind were dependent upon order and government, while every man's life, liberty, and property were imperiled by anarchy, we might have stared at you, and said, "I dare say; but you've made your bed, and you mustn't squirm at lying in it."

These things, *mutatis mutandis*, you have done and do. Of course, it is not every Englishman who says or thinks so. It is not every newspaper; for your *Daily News* and *Star*, and others have been no less eloquent in their statement than just in their appreciation of the case. But the great mass of the journals that we see in this country, and the official voice of your government, all speak in this strain. We are painfully sensitive, I allow, to English criticism. Mr. Roebuck's late sneer at us is not without reason. But I think that you, or any other intelligent man, will not, upon reflection, find it to be altogether an ignoble susceptibility.

This younger nation, striking for liberty under law, had hoped for your sympathy. Doubtless we forgot that you might be unable at first to understand the bearings of the contest; and many of us were sure that, when you saw just how it was, your hesitating, deprecating, or worse tone would change. In that we have been disappointed. But I think that you are the losers. I think that you must feel very rich when you can afford to lose so lightly the treasure of a nation's sympathy and good-will. Good-bye.—*Harper's Weekly.*

MORE CONTRABANDS.

Fortress Monroe, Sept. 16.

A party of twelve negroes came across the river yesterday from Princess Ann County, Virginia, in open boats. They complained of not having enough to eat, and ill-treatment. They have been hired to the frigate Savannah as seamen. Last night, a party of five negroes came down the Chesapeake in an open boat, having started from the mouth of Ware River at midnight. They also say that they did not have enough to eat, and that violence was threatened them by their masters.

"How did you know that you would be any better off at Old Point?"

"We heard master say that the Northerners held the place, and wants colored men to work."

"Did your master tell you what would become of you, if you came here?"

"Yes; master said the Yankees would work us till the war was over, and then send us back, or to Cuba to be sold, or would shoot us, *but we understand that kind of logic.*"

"What do you think is going to become of you? Are you certain you will be any better off here than you were with your master?"

"Don't know 'xactly, but are willing to take the chances. Guess 't will be all right, though."

This morning, another half-dozen came in from Warwick, fifteen or twenty miles above Newport News. They have about the same story to tell, and represent the rebels as building batteries on James River, above our encampment, and have a large force in the neighborhood.—*Corr. N. Y. Tribune.*

Characteristic Slang. Bennett, of the *New York Herald*, referring to the proceedings of a select meeting recently held in that city to welcome Rev. Dr. Cheever on his safe return from England, says:

"We select these specimen bricks of this abolition love feast from the copious report of the *Tribune*, whose sympathies and labors are devoted to the same object. We denounce the whole affair and all its affiliations as demoralizing, seditious and treasonable; for if it be treason to 'give aid and comfort to the enemy' in this war, it is treason to be laboring to sow the seeds of discord, and to stir up our abolition fanatics against the administration charged with the great responsibility of saving our government from a violent overthrow. We call the attention of the government to these seditious agitators of abolition. In seeking to divide our loyal people, to distract our counsels, and to embarrass the administration, they are giving 'aid and comfort to the enemy,' and hence we contend that these abolition disorganizers deserve no less the restraints of Fort Lafayette than the secession emissaries, agents and co-laborers of Jefferson Davis and his rebel confederates."

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The United States Constitution is "a covenant with death, and an agreement with hell."

☞ "What order of men under the most absolute of monarchies, or the most aristocratic of republics, was ever invested with such an odious and unjust privilege as that of the separate and exclusive representation of less than half a million owners of slaves, in the Hall of this House, in the chair of the Senate, and in the Presidential mansion? This investment of power in the owners of one species of property concentrated in the highest authorities of the nation, and disseminated through thirteen of the twenty-six States of the Union, constitutes a privileged order of men in the community, more adverse to the rights of all, and more pernicious to the interests of the whole, than any order of nobility ever known. To call government thus constituted a Democracy is to insult the understanding of mankind. . . . It is doubly tainted with the infection of riches and of slavery. There is no name in the language of national jurisprudence that can define it—no model in the records of ancient history, or in the political theories of Aristotle, with which it can be likened. It was introduced into the Constitution of the United States by an equivocation—a representation of property under the name of persons. Little did the members of the Convention from the Free States imagine or foresee what a sacrifice to Moloch was hidden under the mask of this concession."—JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor. | *Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind.* | J. B. YERRINTON & SON, Printers.

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Refuge of Oppression.

A WAR OF EMANCIPATION.

A war of emancipation, if it were a moral war, that would seek the emancipation of the slaves of this country, when it would be for the good of all, and by such means as all would be justified in using, would be to our minds. We have been engaged in it from our boyhood, and we hope we shall be till death. But a war, a civil war, like that in which we are engaged to-day, for the liberation of African slaves, would be madness intolerable—folly and insanity such as the world never saw. Still, it cannot be denied that very many who enter this war—nominally to sustain the Union and the Constitution—actually desire unconstitutionally, and by the most violent and bloody means, to overthrow slavery, when every man's reason must teach him that emancipation by such means would be destructive to whites and blacks alike; and if they cannot so gain emancipation, then they care nothing about the Union or the Constitution. For four millions of blacks to whom they are not allied by race, civilization or destiny, and who would not be advanced by their action, they would jeopardize the rights, liberties and interests of thirty millions of whites, and quench in blood the light and hope of the world, in the destruction of the best government that God ever vouchsafed to man. We are more and more convinced of this wide-spread heresy by the comments of the press on the proclamation of Fremont, and the President's letter relating thereto, and also by a perusal of the reports of sermons delivered on Fast day, many of which were simple abolition harangues which, reduced to the fewest words, would read thus: "Emancipation to be gained, or the war a farce." In keeping with this idea is a communication from a citizen of this town, intelligent and highly respectable, which we give to-day on our first page. Extending to him the privilege of publication, which we never deny to any respectable parties in town, we still feel bound to dissent, absolutely, from his reasonings and conclusions.

Slavery is a monstrous system of tyranny, in our view, but not necessarily a cause of war. Indeed, in three-quarters of a century, while other matters caused insurrections and rebellions in Massachusetts, Pennsylvania and South Carolina, slavery has not before been charged with creating war. It does not matter whether it is slavery, or religion, or trade that is in dispute, if two sections of the country differ upon it, and commence to abuse and proscribe each other on account of it, they will finally come to blows and bloodshed. Slavery had its existence before the Government, and in forming the Constitution it secured certain rights and immunities; and whatever that compact was, we should abide by it, not hating one jot or tittle of the bond. But, say they, these men are traitors, and have forfeited all rights; let us take their slaves, and set them free." If we were disposed to discuss this point, we should say that, if living under the Constitution, the confiscation of private property for treason is forbidden. If the Constitution is suspended by the military power, then private property, except on the high seas, unless used in the war, is exempt from seizure by the rules of war. And finally, if we would not be governed by the Constitution or the rules of war, we would leave slavery alone as an act of policy and an act of humanity—from love to ourselves and our children, and in kindness to the slaves.

Says the writer, my "heart fails within me, and I don't care which side prevails, if the slaves are not set free." Then not by love of the Union, and of our noble flag, the symbol of the Union; not by reverence for the Constitution, and the desire for national greatness and happiness under the Constitution, as we have enjoyed them in the past, is he moved, but to release from the control of their masters, four millions of barbarous blacks, without inquiring what we shall do with them, or they with themselves, afterwards! This brings us down to the simple theory of Lloyd Garrison. Now, when such shall be the issue, we can tell him that many a man's heart, now strong for the Government, will sink within him; and when it is settled that the policy of Jeff. Davis or Lloyd Garrison must prevail, millions there are who would not snap their finger to turn the scales. When emancipation is made the issue, Dr. Adams has truly said: "*We have not begun to know what trouble is.*" They look for strength in a decree of Abolition! What folly! It would be followed by dissensions in council, tumult in armies, emptiness of treasury, treason in States, and ruin everywhere. There is only one ground upon which the States and people loyal to-day can be kept together through the war, and the country be saved; and that is in defence of the Union as it was formed by our fathers, and of the Constitution, unmarred and unmutilated. If in such a war God's providence overthrows slavery, let it be so; but it is no more an object of the war than will be the shooting off some man's nose, who will lose it by a rifle bullet. Let us take hold, one and all, by sword and pen, by rifle and human voice, by vote and money, to carry on the war, till treason is subdued. If after that there are minor questions in dispute, whether they relate to the relation of husband and wife, parent and child, or master and servant, we will consider them. Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof; and quite enough is it for us to provide for the white race, without going into any great humanity schemes for blacks; quite enough to attend to the well-being of America, without looking after Africa. One thing at a time, and let them last the longer.—*Newburyport Herald.*

All men can sustain the war so long as it is a war to maintain a legitimate Government; but a war to abolish slavery is a rebellion against the laws and the Constitution as much as that in which Jeff. Davis is engaged; and when it comes to be such a war, the movers will have no right to complain if it breeds rebellion in the North, and they are fools if they think it will result in aught else than chaos and ruin. We have a single object—to maintain a free Constitutional Government, and for that object we can be united, and we should be united on that, forgetting all political differences, and ceasing all political proscription, in every loyal State of the Union. —*Ibid.*

Charles Sumner's speech will be found on our first page to-day. We give it, not by way of approval, for it seems to us the worst speech that could be made. Its only influence will be to distract and divide the North, and raise up a faction here against the administration which has declared for an entirely different policy; while at the South it will kill what little Union sentiment remains, and rejoice the rebel hosts, giving them better ammunition for their treason than powder would be. What will Mr. Crittenden and Mr. Holt say to this in Kentucky? What will the Union men of Maryland, Western Virginia and Missouri, who were scarcely able to stand up before, say to having such a load put upon their shoulders? What will the conservative men of the North, who have supported the war with the single idea of defending the national unity—and what the bankers who have loaned money not for emancipation, but for the Constitution, say to this appeal from one occupying such a position? We don't know how it appears to others, but it seems to us that if Jeff. Davis had liberty to send his own agent here to do the worst for us, he could have done nothing more.

The war can be fought on no such grounds; and before it closes, we shall discover that fact. We were glad to see that the Convention refused to commit itself to his schemes, and therefore tabled the resolutions of Mr. Freeman Clarke, which embodied the principles of the address. We wish our space would admit a fuller notice of Mr. Sumner's position; perhaps it will to-morrow.—*Ibid.*

Mr. Sumner, whose hatred of the white men of the South, not love of the negro, has done as much as the conduct of any Southern rebel to involve the nation in its present fearful calamity, would plunge it into still deeper horrors and distress by his fanatical malignity, aided by such adjuncts as the extreme Abolitionist, the Rev. Mr. Clarke, and Mr. Bird, who was, but a year or two ago, attending a Convention at Worcester, called to devise ways for the dissolution of the Union, and Mr. Moses Kimball, the Know Nothing leader and negro militia champion. Men of their mental cast and inclinings are ready to sit at the feet of Mr. Sumner, and bow at his bidding; they are suited to the position. Such men may direct the current of popular opinion in Massachusetts for a time, but they cannot so enervate the perceptions of the voters of the State as to gain a permanent control of public affairs in this Commonwealth. Many of those who have coöperated with them are already restive; even now they utter rebuke in a manly and decided strain. The *Daily Advertiser* says:—

"The Convention sought solely to forward the restoration of the Constitution and the Union; it had no ulterior objects, no purpose to make this work the cloak under which to carry out other designs, no wish to re-open the slavery question in a more terrible shape than ever before. The Convention looked with a single eye to the performance of the duties of the hour,—duties in which all patriots can join, and the accomplishment of which will restore to us a national frame-work, the complete and final symmetry of which they were willing to leave, without violent and unlawful action of their own, to the ultimate Providence of God. The Convention did not, in fine, either approve the objects or sanction the views which Mr. Sumner laid before it, in a speech which is equally to be condemned, whether regarded as abstract political doctrine, or as laying down a practical policy for the present crisis. Those are not the objects and views of Massachusetts Republicanism, nor of Massachusetts Unionism,—nor were they the views and objects of the Convention. The latter, indeed, by the character of its resolutions and of its nominations, and by its dismissal of other resolutions, introduced immediately after Mr. Sumner closed, and apparently intended to test the accordance of the Convention with his views,—plainly manifested its aversion to the path which he was willing to tread. The Convention sought to unite and not to distract those who have been invited to join in it."

The Boston *Journal*, upon the same subject, uses this language:—

"The patriotic sentiments of the Convention are reflected in the resolutions, which are brief and patriotic, free from all coloring of past issues, and eminently appropriate to the present condition of the country. They reflect opinions which every loyal and patriotic citizen can indorse, and in their hearty and unequivocal support of the Government leave nothing to be desired. Nor was the conservatism and patriotism of the Convention less conspicuous in the refusal to indorse the resolutions offered by Rev. James Freeman Clarke, approving the policy of making the war one of emancipation. Even the ill-timed eloquence of Mr. Sumner failed to move the Convention to indorse a policy fraught with consequences more momentous than human foresight can penetrate. The sentiment of the Convention was pointedly in favor of prosecuting the war upon the basis of respect for the Constitutional rights of the loyal slave States—of making it a war to restore the authority of the Government, and not for emancipation."

This indicates a healthy tone of politics; a regard for the supremacy of law, patriotism and common sense over the subterfuge of party, the cant of fanaticism, and the bigotry of the charlatan.—*Boston Post.*

CHARLES SUMNER.

Can any patriot read the rhodomontade of this classic fanatic at the Worcester Convention, without a sense of pain, nausea and disgust? He certainly ought to be put in a strait-jacket for talking about "*our present triumphs—the ample occasion for joy in the victory already won, which we may especially enjoy on this occasion.*" What blatant nonsense! Where is he going to erect the "*pillars of Hercules to mark the progress*"—at Bull Run or Lexington? He rejoices that all party divisions have ceased, and they (the Republicans) are going to make "Spanish infantry" and "Numidian horse" of the Democrats and Union men, and come the *Hannibal* over the Southern rebellion!! He thinks we are now "*squandering life and treasure in a vain masquerade*"—who does he mean, Fremont? "*The overthrow of slavery will at once make an end of the war.*" We must carry "*Africa into the war,*" and cure the disease by emancipation! Blue pills applied externally, I suppose, or *black draught* ejected classically through an Abolition syringe!! He better catch "Agag" or "Benhadad" first, before he talks about *hewing them to pieces.* The heels of old Achilles were probably not as long as those of some of our modern Senators. He does not inform us whether Philip of Macedon had rifled artillery, minnie rifles, revolvers and bowie-knives, or whether Caius Marius encountered any masked batteries on landing at Telamon. No doubt they were *high old times*, but King Cotton was not born, and Johnny Bull was not playing neutral around the corner. Caius Marius might have met the fate of old John Brown if he had lived in these days, and attempted to march into Dixie with his "*Marusia horse*" and army of a "*thousand men*" marching "*on to Richmond!*" Can't this classic nincompoop see any "*unutterable woes, madness or atrocities,*" except those connected with slavery? Is there no *tyrannical usurpation* except that of the slave oligarchy? *Freedom of speech* and *freedom of the press* have been vindicated with a vengeance lately! What does Jeff. Davis care about the Constitution and the laws when he is practising *martial law* and *self-defence*, which Sumner says are above the Constitution! Where is the "*retreating fiend*"? Suppose, Mr. Sumner, after we have an empty treasury, sacrificed half a million of lives, and incurred a debt of two thousand millions of dollars, slavery should come to an end, will the Union be restored, and the black or white race be any happier or dwell in peace together? Does ancient history prove it? Instead of looking to ancient history for guidance and inspiration, you had better read the Farewell Address of WASHINGTON.
—*Boston Post.*

FREMONT'S PROCLAMATION.

In the name of common sense, are we not under the Government of LAW, and not of MEN? Is it possible for one man, be he who he may, to make and unmake the law? Has Gen. Fremont any more power to decree the emancipation of slaves than Gen. Snooks?

And yet the Abolition press, which set up the idea that this proclamation was the most important event of the war, now howl at the President for modifying it, like so many howling wolves. Take as a sample, the Chicago *Tribune.* It represents the feeling in Chicago on reading the President's order, as "one of blank astonishment and dismay." "No Sunday, in our recollection, has been so broken by general indignation and rage. The expression was a common one among Democrats and Republicans, that Bull Run was not a circumstance compared with this deplorable mistake." And it called for a public meeting to petition the Government to "adopt General Fremont's policy!" Now the Chicago *Times* pronounces this statement as to a general indignation, as falsehood. No doubt there was gnashing of teeth, but it is the same tiger teeth that have been gnawing at the Constitution, alleging its being a covenant with hell, for years. It is precisely because she believes the Government means to be true to the Constitution, as well as to the Union, that Kentucky is where she is to-day, by the side of the President, with sword in hand to uphold the standard of the law, of Republican law, of her own local law as well as the organic law of the nation.

This is the grand position of Kentucky. In what does it differ from the position of the President? When and where has he pledged himself to war on the constitutional rights of people or States? Does not his fifteenth of April proclamation contain, in terms, an explicit pledge of protection to their rights? Does this promise emancipation of slaves? The President, in officially declaring General Fremont's loosely worded proclamation to be under the laws of the land, discharged but his duty. Such Abolition railers at the President as the Chicago *Tribune* deserve unsparing condemnation. Their appeal from the constituted authorities of the land to the policy of Gen. Fremont is traitorous; and the movements of those who dare to make it deserve to be watched with the same keenness as those are watched who bring up at Fort Lafayette.—*Boston Post.*

FANATIC INCANTATIONS TO BAAL.

Referring to the Anti-Slavery discourses from the pulpit, Fast Day, the brazen-faced editor of the Boston *Post* says:—

Party had its say, also, in the pulpit. It was the party of extremists. They, instead of looking upon the Constitution and Union as of the Providence of God, as did Washington and the Fathers, look upon it as a covenant with hell; and so, in lieu of invoking the God of the Fathers, they paid their vows to the Abolition god; and a few pulpits rung out, as usual, with partizan and now disloyal anathemas on the South, on slaveholders and slavery. Such fanatic incantations to the Baal of Exeter Hall, instead of exciting a devotional turn, maddened hearers up to the hissing point. Good God! what are these clerical partizans made of? Is there not horror enough on the land? Must it also drink the cup of servile war? Must they prattle forever about things of country, which they do not understand, like so many children? Do they reflect on what an Abolition war would be? Can't they comprehend at least the situation of such States as Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, and Missouri? the momentous consequence they are in the stake at issue? How can they keep up the partizanship that wars on the constitutional rights of the righteous, loyal men of those States, and justify it by an appeal to the higher law? Does not patriotism in those States rise to the sublime? How can these partizans invoke fire and sword on their homes? What a perversity of duty! When State legislature upon State legislature, Congress, the Cabinet and the President, are giving the most solemn assurances that the war is not to subvert the social institutions of the slaveholding States, it is astonishing that even fanaticism can be so rabid as to inflame the public by urging old worn-out party appeals. God inform, correct and convert these party men! They know not what they do, no more than did Saul when he stoned the prophets.

But the indignation that we have heard expressed against these utterances of the party of the extremists shows that the love of the common country, which in all ages has been placed next to the love of God, is about to assert the same supremacy over the ministerial demagogue that it has over the tenderest family tie. This feeling shows unmistakably the drifting of the current, and it is against all parties. It may be affirmed with more confidence than ever, that tried even by the severe test of political sermonizing, Massachusetts is more against a partizan spirit and nearer the national days of her revolutionary patriots than she has been since the glorious era of Independence; that there is more unanimity in standing by the Constitution and the Government than there was in ordaining it; and that all disloyalty to it, whether it comes from the party of Abolitionism on the one side, or of the party of Secessionism on the other, is frowned upon by the good sense of the community.

THE PRIMARY CAUSE OF THE REBELLION.

Commenting upon an article in the *Tribune*, favoring the abolition of slavery by the government, under the war power, the N. Y. *Journal of Commerce* says:—

1. *Anti-Slavery is the primary cause of the rebellion.* But for anti-slavery, there would not now be a seceded State, nor a regiment in arms against the Union. When the *Tribune* makes it plain that slavery, an existing, passive subject, is any more active than anti-slavery, an aggressive, revolutionary principle, then it might do to tell men that slavery was more the cause of the rebellion than anti-slavery. It is idle to reason in this manner. The truth lies between the two. The responsibility of the war rests on extreme men and extreme principles on both sides. Who has the greater share, we will not now discuss.

2. True, the Union men of the South are dumb; but proclaim abolition as your war-cry, and their sealed lips will open in shouts of defiance; you will thereby make every Union man in the South an enemy.

3. Instead of your proclamation weakening the Southern forces, it would add tenfold to their strength. The very fact of our adopting slave insurrections as a part of our war material would forever unite the slave States in a war of self-preservation, whose end we might none of us live to see.

We do sincerely hope that the *Tribune* will recall this avowal. We search the pages of history and the revealed word of God, in vain for a justification of the idea, or a palliation of its atrocity. (!!!)

Selections.

LINCOLN AND FREMONT.

Extract from a very able Discourse delivered at Peterboro', N. Y., Sept. 22d, 1861, by GERRIT SMITH, and published in full in the N. Y. *Tribune*, Sept. 28:—

Of all that has occurred to inspire me with the apprehension that the President's habit of worshipping the Constitution and Slavery will never be broken, and that our country may therefore perish, his recent treatment of Gen. Fremont is chief. The Proclamation put forth by that brave and judicious man had awakened, all over the North, the hope that the policy of saving the Constitution and Slavery, at the hazard of losing the country, was at last entirely abandoned. But the President has laid his hand upon the Proclamation, and blasted all the hope it had awakened. Here again he has invited the remonstrance: "Thou lovest thine enemies, and hatest thy friends." Let me say of the Proclamation, that if it is wrong, it is so solely because the exigencies of war did not call for it. To say, as the President does, that it is wrong because it does not correspond with a certain law of Congress, is simply ridiculous—disgraceful to himself, and to the country which has called him into his high office. Amid such exigencies Commanders are not to look to Congress for law. They "are a law unto themselves." Least of all are they to look to such a poor, cowardly, contemptible, absurd law as is this, which the President thrusts in the face of Fremont, and bids him obey. The President was reluctant to sign this law, because it bore so hard upon the rebels. Whereas, he should have refused to sign it, because it bore no harder. What a law was this to enact when the enemy was at our gates!—a law providing that we might take a very little of the enemy's property, and leaving the whole balance to be used by him for prosecuting the war against us! What is more clear than that both Congress and the President are still under the spell of Slavery, and still bound up in their educated servility to it, and still far from being entirely in earnest in the work of saving their country! I sometimes am tempted to wish that I were not an Abolitionist—that so I might be heard—for yet awhile an Abolitionist cannot, must not be heard. My soul is sick of the shams of this war. My indignation is impatient to break forth in the presence of popular assemblies. But on the whole, I am content to be an Abolitionist, and to belong to that class which, say what you will against it, will never furnish an inmate for Fort Lafayette, nor for any other prison for traitors. No, never one of this class will be so much as suspected of sympathy with the rebels. I do not forget that the Abolitionists are esteemed to be fools. But give me earnest folly in preference to heartless wisdom.

One reason why Abolitionists are, as Abolitionists, saying so little is, that, until the country is up to the low point of saving itself, it is vain to ask it to save the slave. When a man is drunk, we do not speak to him of Christianity. We wait until he gets sober. When he is insane, we postpone speaking to him of what sanity alone can comprehend. Until our country shall have so far come to herself as to be willing to defend herself by every weapon within her reach, and to reduce the power of her enemy in every possible way, she will be quite too low to be reached by Abolition truth. That truth will be to her but as "pearls before swine." We will talk to no man for the slave, who is himself so enslaved to his prejudices, or so tender of the guilty interest of his foe, as to refuse to be saved at the expense of offending those prejudices, or of damaging those interests. Our first work with that man is to cure him of his idiocy or insanity.

The course for the President to pursue toward Gen. Fremont was a plain one. 1. If he had confidence in the General's judgment, he should have left him to its free exercise, instead of exciting doubts of its soundness, and thereby impairing his prestige and influence. A schoolmaster, correcting the written page of his pupil, illustrates the attitude to which the President has degraded Fremont in the eyes of the country and its enemy. No thanks to the President if, either in council or battle, Fremont shall still be able to have himself respected as every commander needs be respected. 2. If the President were so conceited as to believe that he, sitting in Washington, knew more of the wants of Missouri than did Fremont, who was acting in Missouri, then he should have recalled him, and supplied his place with one in whose wisdom he had more confidence. But I have no doubt that all the differences in this case between the President and Fremont are resolvable into the single difference, that while the one does, like a wise man, hold to the Commander's absolute right, in certain circumstances, to dispose, at his mere discretion, of any or all the property of the foe, the other, sadly perverted by his pro-slavery training—if not, indeed, ruinously so both for himself and country—still persists in qualifying this right. It is for the country to decide between them. If it goes with Fremont at this point, it is saved; but if with the President, it is lost. It is idle to deny that this is the real difference, and that the cause of it on the part of the President is regard for slaveholding interests. If he was so slow to consent that even Congress should provide for the confiscation of even so small a part of the possessions of the Rebels, how strongly must he have been opposed to sweeping them all away—and that, too, by also much humbler authority! Again, if the President must take exception to the Proclamation, why was it not to that part which orders the sure and summary shooting? Simply because that is not the part which disturbs his long and deeply-cherished sense of the sacredness of slave property. His concern is for such property—not for life. The President seizes citizens even in the free States, and imprisons them without publicly preferring any charges against them. He suspends the *habeas corpus*, even where martial law is not declared. All this he does without caring to have any cover of law for it. And in all this I admit that he is right, emphatically right. But Slavery he holds is too sacred to be touched but in the name of law! Nay, he can hardly be brought to sign a law for touching it, even very tenderly! For God's sake, and man's sake, do I say—out with this pro-slavery education!

I said that the country is the umpire between the President and Fremont. It has already shown itself to be on the side of Fremont. Such as the New York State Democratic Committee praise the President; and in having the glory of such, he verily has his reward. I see with amazement and sorrow that Mr. Holt, of Kentucky, is on the side of the President. Knowing his fine talents, and his declarations in favor of "no compromise" with the rebels, I should once have been glad to see him in the Cabinet. But I beg to know what is compromising with them, if exempting a part of their property from our grasp is not. Nay, I deny (and, earth over, the court of common sense will sustain my denial) that the President and Mr. Holt are to be regarded as favoring the most earnest prosecution of this war, so long as they will leave to the foe the property he needs for furnishing himself food, clothing, or other means of subsistence, be this property plows, horses, or anything else which he claims and uses as property. That Mr. Holt's soul is not yet wrought up into such prosecution of the war is manifest from his calling the disposal of the slaves of the Rebels a "delicate and perplexing question." I trusted that he had, by this time, got very far beyond that mile-stone—very far beyond feeling delicacy or perplexity in depriving the rebels of any of their property or power. I trusted, in a word, that he was by this time for war, without any qualifications or reservations.

Mr. Holt illustrates in himself the mistake of hoping that men, brought up under the befogging and befooling influences of Slavery, can ever be good for anything as statesmen or lawyers on questions connected with Slavery. Mr. Holt does not admit that the slaves, which our Government takes from the Rebels, do thereby become necessarily free. On the contrary, he manifestly believes that it will be for "the Courts of the United States or subsequent legislation" to decide whether they are free, or whether they have but shifted owners. Such is his view of the Constitution, that Government can become a great slave-owner under it—having millions of slaves to hire out or to sell!

The bare statement of Mr. Holt's position is enough to show its absurdity. Not only is it true (and this Mr. Holt will himself admit) that the change which the President's fingers (not Fremont's unsoiled fingers) put into the Proclamation has no retroactive power, and that, therefore, the slaves whom he freed are forever free; but it is also true that the slaves, who under the changed Proclamation or under the law of Congress referred to, shall pass into the hands of Government, will also be forever free—at the most, men being slaves under State law—never after they have passed under Federal law. For if it is held that it is the office of Federal law to enforce State law in certain circumstances against slaves, nevertheless, it is not held that Federal law extends to the making of slaves. Being but auxiliary to the State law, the Federal law can no longer have to do with the case, after the State law has forever ceased to operate in it. In other words, the Federal law has no independent or original action in the case. In still other words, when the slave has escaped from the clutches of the State law, he has escaped from the clutches of Slavery. But it may be said that our own State did, in the Revolutionary war, continue to hold in Slavery the slaves whom it took from the rebels. It did—though it soon acknowledged their manhood. But the conclusive answer is—that, in that case, the slaves did not pass, as in this case, under one law from another. They remained under the same law. They changed owners without changing laws.

And Mr. Holt says that Gen. Fremont's Proclamation "violates the law of Congress." But just as well might he say that it violates a law of the British Parliament. For, in deciding what the exigencies of war called for at his hands, Gen. Fremont was no more to be guided by a law of Congress than by a law of Parliament. Those exigencies and his power to meet them belonged to a sphere where the civil law was silent. But it is hardly fair to single out Mr. Holt for censure. He is only chiming in with the Administration policy of tying up the war power with Constitutions, statutes, and red tape. What a laughing-stock throughout the world does this war make of American wisdom! It is only, however, from what Slavery has done to us that our wisdom is at so great a discount. In other words, it is Slavery only that has made us fools. Take any other people, and compel them to sustain Slavery, and to be mixed up with it—and they will be as great fools as we are. By nature we are as bright as others. And, indeed, we are still bright in all those things where Slavery does not control and confuse us.

GENERAL FREMONT.

Gen. Fremont has been ordered to modify his proclamation in relation to the slaves of rebels, so as to conform to the mere letter of the act of Congress of July, which prescribes that slaves assisting in the rebellion should be forfeited to their masters. Gen. Fremont had taken a common sense view of the subject, and ordered the emancipation of all slaves held by rebels, because, while in the hands of rebels, they would certainly strengthen the rebellion, and freeing them would as certainly weaken it. But this has so alarmed our chicken-hearted politicians, that they have procured an order from the President, requiring this modification. It may not affect much, as all depends upon the construction of the law at last. But there is a craven cowardice about such an order, at this time, as will stink in the nostrils of all true men. It is of no use to mince terms any longer. We are reaching a crisis when things should be called by their right names, and men should speak what they mean. If the Government is to fight this rebellion, and practise the treason to itself of sustaining slavery *for* the rebels, and giving them the aid and comfort of returning all their fugitive slaves, it is time that we should know it, that we may calculate how much of our blood this Moloch demands as our sacrifice, before we can have peace. Our people will sustain their flag, at all events; but this requiring of them to sustain the flag for *us*, and *slavery* for *rebels*, is such a burden as no other Government has ever laid upon its people; and it should be required no longer. Let the people speak, and demand of the President, in tones that will be heard above the voice of the mousing politicians who infest the councils of the Government with their intolerable cowardice, that this course must cease; and that they shall no longer be required to make this fearful sacrifice of blood and treasure to sustain that monster evil.—*Ashtabula Sentinel.*

THE PRECISE DIFFERENCE.

The difference between Fremont and the President is simply one of construction of an Act of Congress. Whether the General or the President is right in regard to the literal meaning of the statute of confiscation, it is obvious that Fremont's is the most popular and practical view. The difference is well stated by the Worcester *Palladium* as follows:—

"Gen. Fremont interprets the law to mean the *emancipation* of the slaves of rebels; while the President construes it to mean simply the *forfeiture* of the slaves. Fremont takes whatever the rebels hold as property, and confiscates it for the Government. In the revolted States, slaves are bought, held, and sold, the same as any other property; and whatever rebel property the Government can take, hold, and convey, Gen. Fremont appropriates to the use of the Government after confiscation. But slaves, although recognized as property in the rebel States, are not what the Government can rightfully take, hold, and convey. He must take them; but what shall he do with them? He cannot hold or convey them, for the reason that the moment they pass out of the ownership of the rebel masters, and into the custody of the General Government, they cease to have value, and cannot be disposed of *as property.* Confiscated property is of value to the Government; but when it has no value for use or for sale, what can the Government do with it but throw it aside as worthless? *That is all that Gen. Fremont has done, or proposes to do, with the slaves of rebels*—dispose of them as valueless to the Government, and leave them to take care of themselves. Manifestly, this would be a plain and palpable duty of Gen. Fremont, *even if no confiscation act had ever been passed.* A commander must cripple his enemy by divesting him of whatever he has that can be employed by the enemy against the Government. It would be Gen. Fremont's duty *to set free* the slaves of all rebels taken in rebellion, even if no confiscation act had ever been passed; and it is none the less his duty under the clumsy statute of the late session of Congress. Therefore, in any light in which we can look upon the matter, the administration has as little ground for complaint against Gen. Fremont, as it would have if his army should appropriate to its own use such articles as it finds of value on a rebel's plantation, and *fling away what it could not use.* It is hoped that our Government is not going to invest slavery with a character so sacred that it cannot be touched by the rules of war. This is a slaveholder's rebellion, and they who have 'sown the whirlwind' should be allowed to take the consequences of their own acts."

FREMONT FULLY SUSTAINED.

Among the efforts to put down the rebellion, no one act has caused more profound satisfaction than the proclamation of Gen. Fremont, emancipating the slaves of rebels in Missouri. Friends of the Union of all parties hailed the act as wise, timely and just. It was refreshing to see a real step in advance taken. Not only did all parties of loyal men *sustain* him, but they commended him for his sagacity, boldness and promptitude.

It was a thunderbolt to the rebels; they felt that it meant something. It taught them that their grasp on their victims was less strong than they believed it was. Its moral effect was not confined to one State. It had a ring that was heard to the Atlantic and the Gulf. It said to the rebel slaveholders, "You have invited the overthrow of your cherished system by your traitorous acts, and think it not strange if you see it accomplished."

While the loyal people were thus rejoicing—almost holding a jubilee over the manly and decisive proclamation of the General—what was the grief and mortification at seeing the letter of President Lincoln objecting to the proclamation, in so far as it went beyond the Confiscation Act passed at the late session of Congress!

To our mind the Act of Congress had nothing to do with it. We may be ignorant, but we supposed that martial law, while in existence, was paramount to all other, and that the commanding General could properly perform any act which he considered of urgent necessity. In the general approval of Fremont's act, it was hoped that the President also would give it his emphatic sanction, thus giving it strength, dignity and efficiency.

It is getting to be seen that all hope of relief to the country is centered in emancipation. Our greatest statesmen see it, the patriots of Europe see it, and reproach us for not making it the immediate issue. It is time to make the wishes of the people known to the Government. Let the press and the living voice thunder in the ear of the Executive, that they want this contest terminated in the quickest, easiest and cheapest way, and that is by emancipation. The people will shrink from no burden in the right direction. They will uphold the President in extreme measures, if necessary. They will pay for the slaves of loyal slaveholders. They are but few in number, while rebel slaveholders deserve no tenderness, but rather, speedy retribution.—*Milford (N. H.) Republican.*

THE SLAVES OF REBELS.

A letter from Rev. Samuel Wolcott, in the *Congregationalist*, written during a visit to Cairo and Paducah, says:—

"On our way down the river, we encountered something worse than tidings of defeat. We felt the chill and paralysis of moral defeat, when a paper came on board, containing the President's reversal of Fremont's proclamation. On all the officers from Missouri and Illinois, with whom I then and subsequently conversed, this document fell like a wet blanket. Let us be thankful that it cannot act retrospectively, and that thousands whom Fremont had lawfully enfranchised cannot be returned by the President to the bondage in which his modification would have kept them. The policy which this act betokens will kill the enthusiasm of the free States. This may not be so apparent if they are cheered by great successes, but if another great defeat ensues, they will despair of God's favor unless they can have a new lead. The Administration will learn, sooner or later, that the only classes on whose support it can rely are those who, with whatever differences of opinion, or even of practise, about slavery, *are willing to see it abolished for the most effectual suppression of rebellion*—and that every attempt to catch others will be fruitful only of present weakness and future disaster."

A SEPOY LANDLORD.

The particulars of the destruction of a railroad train near St. Joseph, Mo., where scores of innocent travellers met a horrible death, or were so mutilated that instant death would have been a mercy, and that this calamity was caused by the acts of the pro-slavery Sepoys of that region, have all been told. But here is a new fact in relation to it, which we find in the *Daily Nebraskian*:—

"In St. Joseph, when the bridge-burning fiends returned from their work of murder, and told of the destruction they had caused, and the hearthstones they had made desolate—the lives destroyed and hearts broken, when the sad tidings should be made known to anxious friends—*the proprietors of the Pacific Hotel threw open their doors, and, spreading their tables with rich food and costly wines, invited them to a feast such as no other body of men ever partook of in that city.* This, too, is the very house before which the dead and wounded were placed, and while the groans and cries of the latter commingled with the lamentations of friends who were searching amid the pile of blackened and disfigured dead for the faces of loved ones, were borne upon every breath of air which entered its open doors, and while the spirits of the murdered dead were hovering around the very windows of the festive hall."

It was to make the barbarous population amenable to some law suitable to their behavior that Gen. Fremont issued the proclamation, confiscating their property and freeing their slaves. Who will say, that anything that is less stringent than martial law will restrain the evil passions of these pro-slavery miscreants?—*Chicago Tribune.*

A SOUTH-SIDE VIEW.

Among the few persons who seem to know no more in the month of June, stands conspicuous the Rev. Nehemiah Adams, D. D., of Boston, sometimes profoundly styled the Rev. Southside Adams. He is noted, mainly, at the author of two very vile and disgraceful pro-slavery books, and as having been for many years the religious teacher of the late Mr. Choate, who, on the occasion of some anniversary festival at Essex-street Church, a few years ago, bestowed upon the pastor the opinion and compliment of expect that he, Mr. Choate aforesaid, had never had his manhood insulted by anything so much as by the stupid memorialists which the pastor had indulged in. The English pamphlets complimented his religious teacher in a manner very which he said, "I have my hecks, and thinks d' nothin'!" This revered defender of slavery, this religious teacher of the Queen of Nothingness to his rich and influential parishioners, lately visited the White Mountains, and on his return visited upon his people the results of his tour, in a sermon which he called the Sermon of the *The Boston Courier*. We began to read it with strong expectation of finding something rich and juicy, for almost the first sentence we read was this: "For self-defence against such others, I for my sermon, the Sermon of the South must be one purely." This is worthy of Sir Boyle Roche, the Irish Bull, slavery or death was that war and war must be, and eventually compelled the defenders of slavery here in the Eastern States to make common cause with the cause of barbarism, and as the South be justly deprived of the most ably auxiliaries in the war against civilization and common sense! Either way the outside is a crowd, and led to be expect about sound things in the sermon. But we find it made up of a jumble of sophisms and foolish assumptions, and malaudacity fanciers and malapropos similes drawn from the White Mountain tour, and the repetition in continual new forms, of the old pro-slavery theories of its author.

He tells us that the Rev. Southside was relapsing into a morbid state before he started. "Feeling sick with my mind" he says, "I left home." He had no heart to take the usual vacation this Summer and he tells us that he was half expired. But remembering how had a symptom as to inhabit is an apathetic indisposition to a change of scene, he resolved to go, and he tells us he was not sick of the war. For a dozen or twenty years he had been with his people, and he tells us, with his usual wit, "Evil, be thou my good," trying to show the people that he was not so good a thing as he thought and on the whole a little better, especially for black people, and a little worse everything anybody, he had found half a million of men in arms, and ready for deadly conflict, opposite sides of what he thought unimportant and insignificant question. He found himself cut off from his accustomed channels of correspondence with his beloved brethren of the South, and Christians in himself, and he tells us, because some paternalists had been imposed with modern custom as to the sacredness of family, marriage, and property relations. He found himself unhappily prejudiced, in his opinion, consisting in a disbelief in the rights, consisting of the well-fed, well-clothed, well-cared-for cabbage among four millions of people, and the equality of chattels, consisting in the equality of wages. He fled to the mountains. There he saw a it consider drawn by three horses, and he tells us that "Whitney, too, and he heard it fled in honor of the opening of the antagonistic principles of slavery and freedom, no echo, but only gave forth a sharp bark, he came to the profound conclusion that "the nearer we get to heaven, seems the more we are lifted out of place." Undoubtedly the plains are more favorably situated for warlike purposes, and would seem to be, as he tells us, in the mountains to great advantage, and the absence of the war is no indication that Heaven smiles unfavorably upon the struggle that is going on the other side. We know that the Sermon from the window of the Glen House could put no better hope for from the climate. Next he tries the mountains, and seems to have had no better luck. He found several peaks which are known by the names of Southern statesmen, such as Washington, Jefferson, Madison and Clay. "What a story does this mention (he exclaims)! what mighty wisdom and what great respect does it bear! We were designed to be one." These mountains have no control over the of baptism joining the North and South!" Well, *she is* a mighty mountain, and it is a good thing for Jefferson, but the reasoning is quite unsatisfactory. "Why dang ungainly and meaningful Tory pile is one of the revolutionary sen used to excuse their lack of patriotism by similar disparagement of the possibility of the governments of two nations, each of which has a city of Boston and a county of Worcester. There is a good deal in a name, but not quite enough to make the war unnecessary.

The Rev. Doctor proceeded to give us a few statistics of travel: "Five thousand people," he says, "have passed by the Notch that takes to Jefferson, of Mount Washington the past Summer. An interesting fact, if the hotel keepers, and also the public, as it shows that there is money left in the country for them." But the Doctor, in the first place deduces a moral from this fact, or rather from the accompanying fact, which he states, viz.: "that so few that a child can write them, were from beyond the Mason and Dixon's line." We should suppose, if they were many, only give him time enough, he will prove it; meanwhile he proceeds in way. What is the Doctor's moral? Why, that we shall be happy again when the Southerners resign the Mountains to the people who claim to be lords of this, any more than of other parts of the Doctor's discourse. If Southern people will go to the Mountains by Southern people could not prevent the war from breaking out, how is it going to make new difficulties at any moment when the spirit of Southern pride may seize them? Afterwards he tells us of the means of pacification, such as the "Bright Lowell" and the "South-Side Tory" and the *New York Herald* and the Boston *Courier* and the Boston Post, and the Boston Post, and the leaves of the Tract Society. The man have been free; the hotels have been open; the pulpits have been unrestricted. The Adams have been Southern, and Dr. Fuller has come Northward; the White Mountains have not yet been transformed into a city and billiary influences; but all in vain. We are at war, and, he tells us, which that prevents the adoption of the means of travel to the Northward will bring peace to us. But McClellan prevented our entrance in Richmond, Wed in Charleston, and Fremont in New Orleans, we are to hope to have hopes of a restoration of pacific relations.

The war means to Dr. Adams to be quite sectarian, and, according to his notion, it is a process which somebody made in Montgomery the night of the capture of Sumter, which left the North a passive but war. The cause of the difficulty, however, lies the back of that. It is not slavery, but anti-slavery; in other words, "the great original of all this trouble is the conscientious opposition of the people of the free States to the relation of ownership in man." And, he tells us, the Rev. Doctor, the question of this conscientious opposition. This would undoubtedly be effectual, if there were no in the way. Conscience is the way. Conscience is a hard thing to overcome; and the principles of civilization, which are the free State Constitutions, are prose the settled convictions of the people, so that there is no way to get rid of them, but by a revolution by sermons, books of travel, or religio-political words of the Boston pulpit stamp. And some ill fortune would suppose that a war like this, with its loss of life and treasure, would help people to see that such resolutions of opinion as Dr. Adams deems necessary, are the result of the result of the way in that we shall let the South alone hereafter, and leave to Providence the question as to the destiny of the slaves. The South, he says, now adopts the views as the candid Christian people of the South generally have entertained for years, that the slaves molested, perpetuate or change their social state; and if the South is let alone and war, he says, considering the fact that the slaveholders have made war upon us for reasons we have made no part of their institution, but because we have taken precautions that it shall not meddle with and interfere, this is refreshingly cool, and shows that the preacher who is understood to find a solution of one of the desiderata only prepared for any degradation to which the slaveholders may ask us to submit, but eager to concede it to. He thinks that the North is wrong and the South right, and he hopes that the result of the contest will be, not the undisputed supremacy of the free ideas and institutions of the North, but the toleration of the patriarchal institution throughout the country. In fact, slavery is Dr. Adams's classy idol. He graciously concedes that the Lord may, if He sees fit, do away with it; but it is evident that the idea of the Divine wisdom and justice of slavery is diminished if He does. And he even goes so far as to allow that the slaveholders, in their own time, may do away with it, if they please. But if the northern people make the war a war for emancipation, every State in the Union will be likely to be the condition of Missouri! That is to say, if the people of the North take advantage of the war to do a little better than a little worse, and to make slavery a lunatic, as idiot, or an Adams, known to be "sole cause of the war, the pro-slavery men, with the exception of their Hoch, will, and justly so, "every's defence." It is painful to witness such folly in a man of the rank of Dr. Adams, and it is quite pitiable. We have no reason to suppose that he intends to make a fool of himself, or to bring most of the heretofore pro-slavery classes, would gladly join in a crusade against the war with slavery. Full Emancipation, Christ, itself, and we cannot doubt, will be the cause of the war, and himself in a meagre minority—*N. Y. Tribune*

A SAD STORY.

The following narrative is given by the correspondent of the New York *Tribune*, under date of September 24. The scene occurred at Camp Hoit, by the side of the Potomac, near Harper's Ferry. The story will touch every heart susceptible of Christian or humanitarian feeling. The Union force at the Falls is composed entirely of Kentuckians —

This morning, as some of Capt. Stone's men were bathing in a river near the camp, they found a man most drowned, struggling towards them across the stream. They brought him to shore, and when he brought him, asked as he was born, to headquarters. Here, some half an hour, and was revived. He said he had taken a boat, or more than a week, were given him, and then he was ordered to give an account of himself.

The fugitive's name is Goree. He is a slave, and on the Rebel service, and Lieut. Col. Bela Chapman of the rebel Camp Boone. Goree ran away from him the being known to the Rebels, and he had undertaken enough to make an "Uncle Tom's Cabin," as he said, and he was returning on a raft, and he was fearfully Olds. But he was not yet safe. So, pulling off his clothes he swam out to the stream, and he had to be plunged into the river, and struck out boldly for the further shore, distant almost a mile. The swift current swept him down among the rocks and breakers; his heavy clothes became saturated, and threatened to drag him; he was tossed, and cut terribly by the jagged granite of the Falls. He struggled on, bleeding and half blind, and, he said, he felt painfully all; but finding that he must choose between death and slavery, he chose the latter, but, and so set his wardrobe adrift. He continued to struggle, and was discovered by the men of the Rebel by the powerful eddies, now swept forward and backward, and, he said, he thought he had gone against the rocks. He must have perished if Stone's men had not drawn him from the water.

His surprise and distress at finding himself in camp may be imagined. He supposed he would instantly be delivered back to his master. He said he was a master had told him that Lincoln's soldiers caught every fugitive slave and returned him to his owner. Poor Goree, I pity him. As I write, he is crying as if his heart would break. He refuses to be comforted.

Goree is a really intelligent lad. He can read and spell and write as well as any boy of his age in the North. He says he has been taught by the best Amid his sobs, he implores that he may not be sent back to his master. He says he will be shot, or cause what becomes of him, so that he is not returned to his master. He says he has been a good servant and spend have him in their midst, and are *searching his body to shoot!*

O. A. BROWNSON ON THE WAR.

This distinguished Catholic writer has a powerful article in the last number of his Review, in which he strongly enough, considering his well known connections, he has declared himself for emancipation as a war measure. The following extracts will sufficiently show the ground on which he is maintained with his usual ability and force:—

"There is neither reason nor justice in Massachusetts, Ohio, Illinois, Iowa, Minnesota, and the great States northwest of the Ohio, pouring out their blood and treasure to maintain the rights of slaveholding proprietors of Maryland, Kentucky or Missouri. The Northwest, we repeat, that the slaves are as much bound, if the preservation of the Union requires it, to remain in the condition of slaves, as we at the farther North are to pour our blood and treasure to maintain the Union, which thereafter alike them and us. If they love their few slaves more than they do the Union, let them go, and let the Union, if it can, without fighting the battles of the Union without them that we do not pay the bounty.

But we have referred only to the slaves in the Northwest, and, we fear, it is, or if it is not, it is necessary to liberate all the slaves of the Union, and to make the Union a Union of free States and freemen and citizens, it would be no more than just and equitable. Without waiting for the loyal citizens of loyal States, or the loyal citizens of loyal States, to pour their blood and treasure in the battle field at a reasonable rate for the slaves that may have been liberated. The States and sections of States which have not a large number of slaves in the Union is preserved, it would not be a very heavy tax upon the loyal citizens of the free States, with no patriot or loyal citizens of the free States would be the Union preserved, if it be not? Slavery, we fear, urged, though grave, need not be regarded as the cause of the war, but it should be made the measure, in a military point of view, would be far cheaper to the Northern States than to pay a superfluous tribute.

We have the time for this important measure has come or not, it is for the President, as Commander-in-Chief of our armies, to determine. But, in our opinion, he might safely issue the proclamation, if the Government that would more effectually aid the Northern people, and, we fear, more effectually the forces, and so strengthen our army.

We think it is of the highest importance, in every possible view of the case, that the Federal Government should not allow the Rebel Government, or any by the Southern rebellion, to perform the act of justice to the negro race, to emancipate the bondmen of the South to that of the North; to remove a cause of offence, and to remove a cause of war, and the final stain of slavery, which has hitherto sullied the otherwise bright escutcheon of our Republic. We have no sympathy with the negro, and we do not know of our readers, and we make no extraordinary pretensions to negro philanthropy; but we cannot help fearing, that if the Government lets the Rebel Government anticipate it in freeing the negro race, and of placing our Republic, through the Rebellion, in the position of freeing the negro, it is especially the God of the poor and the oppressed, who will be offended, and who will, if we do not succeed in our efforts to suppress rebellion, and restore peace and integrity to the Union.

We speak, perhaps, in the language of common sense, of genuine patriotism, and of true religion.

SLAVERY.

What some of the Border States Unionists think of slavery is pretty clearly stated in a speech which Mr. Bates recently made in Cincinnati, a few days since. He said:—

"I am a slaveholder; my ancestors, for three generations, have been slaveholders; I am not ashamed to be charged with any prejudice against slavery. But, I am a Union man, and I believe that the Union is of infinitely more value than all the negroes in the Southern States. I, for one, believe, that if the preservation of the Union requires it, that the slaves of the South, or any part of them, shall be set free, then I say, *let it perish.*

I, and you, have people here at home, crying and whining lest Government should do something to injure slavery in the Southern States. The Union is the unionists in the border States! Thus people are making themselves exceedingly uneasy about a matter which don't trouble the unionists in those States at all. The latter understand very well that slavery is at the bottom of the rebellion; to secure for it special advantages was the design of the movers in the affair; hence, they see clearly that, if the Union is to be restored on its original principles, slavery must be discovered from all national support, even if it is not swept away entirely. But so with the South: with one-third of the population deprived of their natural rights, and owned as property by a haughty and insolent oligarchy, she is from the beginning been factious, belligerent, unforeseeing, and contemptuously defiant toward the earth,—adorning the connection only because she has ever, through her haughty and perfidy, to go for a plaster the latter as to succeed in shaping the policy of government, according to her desires, until recently, in the formation of the Constitution, the "Democratic conflict" between the free and slave elements roughly exhibited itself,—comparatively few as were the slaves, and notwithstanding there was not then used a bale of cotton in all the South to be thrown on the scale adversely to freedom. The world knows the history of the struggle, and, since the secession resulted, the government God, prevents the operations of the Union, and, in the Northern States, the sympathies manifested by the spirit of oppression, and disregarding the claims of justice and the dictates of humanity,—to quote the language of Mr. Lincoln, "the South has found their subscription to the parchment still it should be SATURATED WITH THE INFECTION OF SLAVERY, WHICH NO FUMIGATION COULD PURIFY, NO QUARANTINE COULD EXTERMINATE. *The framers of the Federal Constitution knew that the poison of slavery was infused into the Constitution of freedom.*" Thus was made the "covenant with Death," and then "with Hell they set up a government"—imagining, in their fatuity, that, henceforth, the Government would be secure, and, the slaveholding country should pass through, it would not come night unto them, for they had made their refuge, and they had made lies their shelter. Slavery, in fact, now the refuge of lies is everywhere, and the waters overwhelm the hiding place of the "Rising its work, his strange work, and bringing to pass his strange act." "Wherefore the Lord said, Forasmuch as this people draw near unto me with their mouth, and with their lips do honor me, but have removed their heart far from me, and their fear toward me is taught by the commandment of men: therefore, behold, I will proceed to do a marvellous work among the people, even a work among the people, even a work, that the wisdom of their wise men shall perish, and the understanding of their prudent men shall be hid. Woe unto them that seek deep to hide their counsel from the Lord, and their works are in the dark, and they say, Who seeth us? and who knoweth us? Surely, your turning of things upside down shall be esteemed as the potter's clay."

The Constitution of the United States should never have been adopted with its slavery-upholding provision. No such Union should have been formed, or continued, after the adoption of the "Ordinance of curse" as soon as made; and now has come the day when the Lord, in wrath, has, in his anger, visited, despised the word of the living God, and "trusted in oppression and perversions," and sought to stay himself upon the staff of a broken reed, and perverted and moved out. Yet, happily, there is a way of escape, and there shall be mercy mingled with judgment. The Union, as it was, is gone, and, if we would live, we must lay down our arms. The slaveholders of the South are, with the exception of a few, in rebellion against the Government, have trampled upon all their constitutional obligations, and joined themselves to a hostile confederacy, which, if it succeeds, will, without hesitation, whenever guarantees were accorded to them as loyal citizens, make slavery the cornerstone of its edifice, and slave property to any consideration on the part of the government? Have they not involved the country in the fearful calamities of war, and, by their action, press upon coming generations, as well as upon the living (!)—to say nothing of the blood that has been shed, and the treasure that has been lavished? Have they not already captured scores of defenceless unionists, and, in violation of the laws of civilized centuries to sweep from the ocean every Northern ship sailing under the national flag? Have they not unlawfully seized the Mint, Custom-houses, and Custom-houses, and mints within their Confederacy, and, in violation of the Constitution, robbed the Northern property and released Southern indebtedness to the extent of hundreds of millions of dollars? Are they not, at this moment, in the act of inflicting unutterable damage, and hounding of their villany in this particular? And are they not placing the Capital of the country in imminent peril, and, in fact, so as to cause the utmost anxiety of mind as to what is to be the result?

Having, then, not only forfeited all claim to constitutional protection, but subjected themselves to the penalties of the law, and, by their perpetrated every outrage and sought to inflict every injury in their power, and, now, have the audacity to claim that power is exercised against their slave possessors (which are also stolen possessions) to the fatest extent, and, in fact, have succeeded in forcing the government, in time of war, such an opportunity to strike the enemies in their most vulnerable point, without any, on the part of the government, to do so, the unfeeling and indecent conduct? And now we say to President Lincoln and his Cabinet:—

"When for the slighting of the poor,
And for the scoring, God has risen,
And has begun to plead his cause,
Shall we, his ministers, be dumb?
If then yo would, such pray hands,
Arise and take up the Lord's cause,
And lend some the end and end.
Shall we, the Lord's ministers, of power hath given
Be dumb?"

If, instead of delivering the oppressed and executing judgment, you would leave them in chains in the hope of a "Union" which, if it ever should be formed "covenant with death and agreement with hell," your dominion will be equally sure and just! *To refuse to deliver those oppressed, when you are now legally in power, is nutmeant to the crime of their original* and continued enslavement, and, consequently, of the wrongs they were respecting the millions held in bondage. The South may, and, if she succeeds in her designs, and a standing army will be required in every one of the Confederate States to secure the enforcement of any law, and, in fact, to compel the people to be loyal to the Government, in their persons or property in that section. What, then, is the alternative? Shall we, in order to the war, at an immense sacrifice of blood and treasure, for an indefinite period, and without any prospect of satisfactory, speedy or willing submission; or, second, to acknowledge the independence of the Southern Confederacy; or, third, to make it possible speedily to end the war, to upland the Government, and to preserve the Union for the purposes of freedom and civilization, by giving freedom to slavery on the ground of necessity, if not from convictions of justice, under the war power. To the first, we answer, some of our readers may be prepared to accept the second, we believe in the duty of the Government to suppress treason, at whatever cost, will readily accede. Most not be but, then, adopted, however reluctantly! and to unless the Government is prepared to do the third, we say, to every lover of his country to demand that it lose no time in proclaiming universal emancipation!

The above extracts are from a speech delivered in the abolishing States, and in the system of slavery. The active conservatives of Cincinnati, Hon. Reverdy Johnson, Hon. Davis, Alexander H. Stephens, all the members of the Confederate Congress, all the prominent officers in the Confederate army, are, and have been, the reasons for the universal extension of slave institutions. Had they not been slaveholders, they would not have been guilty of high treason. Slavery abolished, every Southern State would immediately come back to the condition of freedom as they exist at the North, and these produce equality of rights and privileges, free institutions of every kind, and consequently and prosperity. Slavery, in contrast, is, in fact, a state, its geographical distance, its diversity of industrial pursuits, its population, ever cause any such division or dangerous rivalries among the free States. Their blood, their patriotism, their aspirations, their ambitions, their necessities, their modes of development, are essentially identical. The manufacturing and commercial East and the agricultural West feel no jealousy of each other, but, on the contrary, are made harmonious by the law of elective affinity. But so with the South: with one-third of her population deprived of their natural rights, and owned as property by a haughty and insolent oligarchy, she

THE LIBERTY TREASURY.

The Liberator.

No Union with Slaveholders!

BOSTON, FRIDAY, OCT. 11, 1861.

"I say this down on the law of nations. I say that the military authority takes, for the time, the place of all municipal institutions, slavery among the rest. I say that, by the laws of war, it is competent for the commander-in-chief to order the free slaves of the enemy to be set free, if he judges it to be a military necessity, and that the President of the United States, in his proclamation of the 6th of May, did no more than give notice of the manumission of the slaves."

"It is also stated that your shoulder-strap States because the beaten of war, cold, scrub or foreign, from that instant the war power of Congress extend to them, and with the institution of slavery in every way in which it shall be necessary to do so. It is also said that slaves taken or abandoned, by the action of the State laws, are free, or, at least, free from their masters.

"If cried war come, if insurrection come, is this between yourself and, in this instance, in spite of the wishes of its subjects to arms, and have no right to break the slavery, they are free, and, in fact, free from it. No! The war power of the Government can sweep this institution from the land."

Senator Sumner's Speech.

☞ The following Memorial to the next Congress has been prepared for universal circulation, with the belief that it will readily be adopted by all but those, who are in favor of extending the universal system of slavery—who, while pretending to be on the side of the Government, are secretly in hearty sympathy with the Southern rebellion—and who are willing to see the Federal forces every where defeated, the blood and treasure of the people expended in vain, and the rule of the Southern Confederacy victorious over the whole country, rather than bare the oppressed so much as a single law, owing their emancipation! Signatures is proposed in the case of the so-called loyal slaveholders. Let the most active measures be at once taken to procure the signatures of men and women, voters and nonvoters, to this Memorial, in every city, town and school district, and, we hope, will be found abundantly energetic and concerted action. Forward!

MEMORIAL OF THE PEOPLE TO CONGRESS.

A DECLARATION LIBERTY THROUGHOUT ALL THE LAND, TO ALL THE INHABITANTS THEREOF."

To the Congress of the United States:

The undersigned, citizens of , State of , would respectfully represent:

That as the present formidable rebellion against the General Government manifestly finds its root and nourishment in the prejudices and passions of the South; in the leading conspirators are slaveholders by profession; and slavery is hostile to liberty, and to free institutions; and so, in the nature of things, solid peace can be maintained while the cause of the lamentable rebellion is allowed to exist; your immediate body is urgently implored to lose no time in enacting, under the war power, the total abolition of slavery throughout the country, and, consequently, immediately the slaves of all who are rebels, and who are participating in the rebellion, are, and shall be, for the emancipated slaves of such as are loyal to the government a fair pecuniary award, in order to be given as an amicable adjustment of the matter, and thus to bring the war to a speedy and beneficial termination, and, indirectly by the same, to secure the rights and interests of the country upon the enduring basis of universal freedom.

Editors of newspapers are requested to give this Memorial one or more insertions in their columns.

THE LAST TRICK OF THE "AMERICAN BOARD."

A full exposure of that crafty management by which, for forty years past, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions have contrived practically to force slavery, even while (as in the last third part of that period) they were using language which seemed to imply opposition to it, would require a large volume. A small book recently published (entitled "Relation of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions to Slavery") gives the documents in which a careful and observing reader can trace all the "manœuvres," and, however it may only a few special instances of their self-constituted and sophistical management. On the other hand, the Boston Tract Society, in connection with a tract just published on outcast of 402 pages—entitled "A Concise Exposition of the Relation of the Tract and American Board"—giving a history of everything in the concerns of that body except its complicity with slavery, and the trouble these articles, by so much absolute is Dr. Anderson's exclusion of this topic, that only from one line in his whole book would the reader ever suspect that the Board had ever had any trouble in connection with slavery. How far such fabulous omission of things which ought to be the glory of the Board remains to be seen. The purpose of this article is to speak of a later piece of management, connected with the Board, which, during the last year, in Cleveland, Ohio.

Weeaden, appointed by the Board to labor, on their ranking together for the Annual Meeting of 1861, is shown by the following facts in their own Report, that the Board, in the exercise of an old sanction and redendentation to the practice of slaveholding, by freely admitting slaveholders to membership, and, consequently, to sustain the Cherokee and Choctaw Indians; and they first excluded, and then, when they found it was the remonstrance made by Christians in the Northern States, for fifteen or twenty years but past, against this practice.

Weeaden, accordingly, by the instigation of these remonstrances, though still unrepentant, in 1859 the Presbyterian Committee discontinued the Cherokee mission, alleging as the reason "the unceasing embarrassments and perplexities" connected with it. The Cherokees of course, knew that this reason was not proved to be very real, for it shortly after appeared, in spite of the silence preserved by the Board's missionary, that a mission of one of the Cherokees had been resumed alive, at the instigation of another sister in the same church, and continued before the discontinuance of the mission, and without the slightest disciplinary action of that church, or its minister, or any of its representatives, against the author of the mission.

In 1860, the Prudential Committee discontinued the Cherokee mission also, alleging, as the reason for this action, an "unfavorable impression" existing in that the Christianization of the Cherokee people, to be carried either by the Cherokees themselves or by their part inapropriate. They not only declared the slaveholding Cherokees "a Christian people," but, with a view to make the Cherokee people, the Prudential Committee was not so ignorant of slavery, and not so ignorant of our principles, as to be ignorant, in course, this was a formal proclamation on the part of the Prudential Committee that (in their judgment) slaveholding principles are Christian, and, in fact, the Cherokees, and allowed a refuge in the church by Christian ministers.

In the Annual Meeting of 1861, just closed, the Board made no retraction of the shameful positions and principles, but, in the place of one of our Corporate Members, John Kingsbury, Esq., of Providence, the following resolutions *in the state of the country* were unanimously adopted:—

"Resolved, That we deeply sympathize with our fellow-citizens in the struggle with the rebellion which threatens its very existence, and imperils the liberties of the Republic, and, that, in this struggle, implore the God of Nations so to overrule the conflict that the Union may be preserved, the rebellion be crushed, and, removed, and that peace, prosperity and rightousness may yet be restored to the Republic, believing that they are rescued from their long drowsiness to a sense of duty, and, in the glorious prospect of a nation and a nation, and sin is a reproach to any people." They believe, with the sublime prophet of the olden time, that "the work of righteousness shall be peace and the effect of righteousness quietness and assurance for ever."

Politicians never understand great impulses, and never have faith enough to make use of them. Instead of being, like, conspicuous leaders, they lead downward to their own game, studying how to checkmate each other; and this they sometimes continue to do even in the presence of an assembly of nations bent kings, caddies and knights all reeling out of the presence of the Lord of Hosts and Sabaoth and consingly placed them. The earthquake was no part of their programme. What are they to do with it when it comes? Politicians are suddenly confronted with reacting the engulfed kings, caddies and knights in their old places, and striving to make them "say the Lord of Hosts and Sabaoth is nothing and Jesus is Christ."

Our duty in the present war is small and what is Stay of Sabbath, lest work an ass may turn the iron bath of fate!

Let the stall of stall encaise; and the market's dis. List the animes stern whipper from the Dolphin cave to Dolphin cave.

"They endure their children's children who make compromises with the Devil."

I have read of a Hindoo woman who belonged to a sect that worshipped crocodiles. Believing the kindness of her god, she took one in her house, and in her bedding, and petted it till it was more enough to bite her to death. In the same way, the sect of slavery of this disguised deity would bring blessings on her house. The monster grew in size, and devoured her children, and, at last, ate up the mother. The idolatry was not at all changed by this event. She concluded that the ugly deity had brought blessing on her house. Exclaiming, "Indeed! Well, if ugliness or benefit could have been conferred on my child or my child, I would have given it to a god, and thus becoming pure and portion of his sacred form!"

This is the extremest case of unhinged idolatry I have ever read of. It is exceeded by what has been feated in the unhinged indulgence and submission of slaveholders to the Slave Power, and, more recent its pet crocodile, Slavery. The ravenous beast has become so odious in the eyes of the rest of the world, that, if it should be let loose on our shores, the Slave Power would be worth a large expenditure of money to get off a monster it cost so much to support, and which would behave worse than all the protectors into danger and disrepute. Though this monster has been so petted and fed with the choicest immunities, besides sinking immensely to the sum of human happiness, the United States has preserved its life and its power, and, if it continues to be fed pet with pup; it continually widened its range; it has already made its food of the lives of our sons, women and children, for it is grind in its bloody jaws; if a few of its wretched victims escaped, screaming for help, it has made the ears of the world to ring, and the humane were fortifiden to interfere in their behalf on pain of a fine and imprisonment. The pampered, the gormandizing monster, cannot even stranger and stranger, more and more repulsive, and, within, very dry and bronchial, it has so long the pet treated it so carefully. But the longer and more vigilant it become, the more defenceless it was treated. It has now grown so large, and so ferocious, that it is not a good "Will not our children be blest if they become interpreted with it, part and portion of its divine being? Its keepers have of late given us reproved assurance that it would be so, and have recently recommended us to convert to have their development.

But there is a large and ever-increasing class who consider this doctrine a baneful superstition. Few of them dare to speak of expelling the monster from our domains, and those who have done so, have been exposed to constant thrashings from its far-reaching tail. But many have ventured to suggest that it would be a wise precaution to set bounds to its mischief by fencing it in. It required a great deal of courage to urge the expediency of such a measure. They did it in terms of polite expostulation; they agreed to leave a very wide area for it to drag its slime over undisturbed, with a hundred thousand babies a year for it to eat, besides millions of grown men and women, who would be diligently driven back if they attempted to escape. Notwithstanding these liberal terms, the mere proposal to limit its ravages has thrown the bloody monster into such a furious rage that it plunges about in the most frantic manner, crunching our people and our ships in its ruthless jaws. The eagle of the United States watches these ferocious proceedings, but hesitates to pounce. His portrait represents him with arrows in his claws, but he lays them aside and puts on velvet gloves when he approaches the precious pet. Perhaps it will get over its wrath, and graciously consent to be petted again. It is such a valuable creature, and brings us so much honor, it would be a pity to hurt it.

For my own part, I have not the slightest faith in the divinity of this foul, lazy creature, that lives by eating women and babies. To my mental vision it is simply a beast—a very deformed, obscene, thievish, gluttonous and cruel beast. Therefore I live in hopes that, before it destroys every good thing in the country, some St. George will be sent, strong and courageous enough to spear the desolating dragon. I would have blazoned, in characters brilliant as the sunshine, this motto: "The Slaves are henceforth Free Men." *That* battle-cry has the ring of true metal. By that we shall be saved. But, as a nation, are we *worth* saving? Time will show whether we have virtue enough left in us to appreciate and seize the great chance so wonderfully presented to us.

If this country ever does truly become the "land of the free"—if we are ever all ransomed, all redeemed from this most accursed thraldom—then our "Star-spangled Banner" will, indeed, be the genuine emblem of universal liberty and equal justice. Looming above the dispersing smoke of battle, it will look more lovely than the rainbow after a tempest. The good and the true everywhere will greet it with whole-hearted enthusiasm. So glorious will it be in its transfigured beauty that angels might wave it from the battlements of heaven, while all their golden harps rang to the joyful chorus: "The great battle of Armageddon has been fought and won by the hosts of heaven—Glory! Hallelujah!"

Still hoping and praying for this grand result of all the sacrifices and sufferings of the people, I will strive to await in patience the development of events, carrying ever in my heart a fervent benediction for "our Jessie" and her brave husband, and for all souls who are kindred with them.

L. MARIA CHILD.

☞ We copy the happily conceived and admirably expressed letter of Mrs. Child to Mrs. Fremont from the New York *Evening Post*, in which paper it originally appeared. Here is another tribute to that excellent woman, which we find in an exchange paper:—

"OUR JESSIE."

The name of one Northern woman is recorded who, without making a fuss, or having it announced in the newspapers, is doing her duty at her husband's side, and does not complain of weariness or fatigue, or find it necessary to leave him to go to fashionable watering places, or keep posted in the doings of the fashionable world. This honored name is that of Mrs. Fremont—"Our Jessie" of long ago, the wife of a Presidential candidate, the admired of the highest circles in London and Paris, as well as in America, and now the active, industrious secretary of her husband, his confidential adviser, his invaluable reporter, who takes notes of important facts and statements during the General's interviews with the officers of his command, attends to much of his business correspondence, and in every respect supplies the place of a thoughtful, industrious second self.

That is a wife who is worth cargoes of the stuffed and painted and bedizened women who, got up after the style of the latest fashion plate, think they form the completest model of an ancient muse or a modern grace. It is to be hoped "Jenkins" won't get his eager eye upon Mrs. Fremont, because the beauty of her work is that it is done in a quiet, unostentatious manner, from her pure, womanly instinct of love and duty, and it would destroy its great charm to have it hawked and placarded like a new patent medicine. There is no danger, however; the perfumed, patent leathered, and kid-gloved Jenkins delights in what is brilliant, flashy, and meretricious, and would not dream of assisting even "our Jessie" to overhaul her husband's musty papers, in his dingy western office.

FACTS AS THEY ARE OUT WEST.

To the Editor of the Liberator:

When Fremont's proclamation first made its appearance, it seemed to electrify every body with zeal for the war; it gave life, vigor and determination to the masses; there were more enlistments for a few days than weeks before. Every body talked of going to the war—the nerve and bone of the land at that. But, now, what a change has come over the country, while every body is reading the President's instructions to Fremont with disgust! The life and enthusiasm before manifested are entirely gone, and people seem to take but little interest in affairs, with the exception of getting the latest news.

If the late pro-slavery actions foreshadow the future policy of the administration, I guess it will soon wind out, from the fact it is "neither hot nor cold"; therefore THE PEOPLE will spew them out of their mouths. The whole concern appears to work like some old rusty machine that wants grease. They will yet probably realize the truth of Lovejoy's assertion, that, before the rebellion is put down, they will have to make use of every thing that has nerve. Poor dupes! they are fifty years behind the people. The fact is, Toombs's assertion stands plausible up to this time, that he will yet call his roll of negroes beneath the shadow of Bunker Hill monument, and whip them through Ohio corn fields.

In my estimation, history will say that the great blunder of the war was in trying to conciliate the Union slaveholders in the Border States. "God bless Fremont for his proclamation!" is the general response.

A. T.—*Minersville, Illinois.*

☞ The pregnant statement of our Illinois correspondent, "A. T."—in regard to the damaging effect at the West of President Lincoln's letter to Fremont, is confirmed by a letter published in the New York *Christian Inquirer*, from Rev. Moncure D. Conway of Cincinnati, in which he says:—

"There is a hard, burning feeling out here at the exception taken by the President to Gen. Fremont's proclamation, which, as far as the public know, is universal. It is most seriously felt at the recruiting-offices, which were all doing a great business under the prospect of being with Fremont, but which are now utterly paralyzed. Several of our wealthy citizens who had sent on large sums of money to take the Government loans, instantly countermanded their orders—among these, our old friend, Davis B. Lawler. Nothing can describe the thrill of delight that followed Fremont's proclamation here; nothing the disheartened chill that followed the exception thereto. Why is there not some sensitiveness to acts of Congress when Gen. McClellan returns five fugitives against the express declaration of Congress that 'it is no part of the duty of our military arm to catch or return fugitive slaves'? Why is the sensitiveness reserved for cases where some things bear *against*, instead of *for* slavery? Fremont violated no law; McClellan did.

Things will be dark enough out here. We heed no warning, consider no experience, but, right under the Sinai where God is thundering his law, still bow down before the accursed idol that seems to have infatuated our whole country."

☞ The Louisville *Journal* says the secession organs of Kentucky have refused to mention or in any way recognize the fact that the President of the United States has rectified the proclamation of Gen. Fremont, so as to make it conformable to the act of Congress in relation to the confiscation of the property of belligerents. Rolled in the dirt for nothing!

WHITTIER TO FREMONT.

The following tribute to General Fremont, from the pen of John G. Whittier, appears in the Boston *Transcript*:—

TO JOHN C. FREMONT.

Thy error, Fremont, simply was to act
A plain man's part, without the statesman's tact,
And, taking counsel but of common sense,
To strike at cause as well as consequence.
So take thou courage! God has spoken through thee,
Irrevocable, the mighty words, Be Free!
The land shakes with them, and the slave's dull ear
Turns from the rice-field stealthily to hear.
Who would recall them now must first arrest
The winds that blow down from the free Northwest,
Ruffling the Gulf; or, like a scroll, roll back
The Mississippi to his upper springs.
Such words fulfil their prophecy, and lack
But the full time to harden into things. J. G. W.

SLAVERY AND THE CONSTITUTION.

In whatever light the Constitution may be regarded, whether as an anti-slavery or a pro-slavery instrument, all must agree that it does not pretend to guarantee the perpetuity of slavery. It recognizes it as existing; it endows it with the most important privileges; it even offers a premium for its extension and continuance; but, spite of all this, it nowhere declares the system safe from ultimate assault and overthrow. In providing for its own amendment, it makes no exception in favor of slavery beyond the year 1808. The compromises of 1787 are as liable to alteration as any the most trivial clause in all the bond. Furthermore, the Constitution nowhere establishes, nowhere affords the power to establish the servitude of any race. So far, then, freedom has a strong hold on the national charter. Slavery exists by local law, or, more properly, local usage; the Constitution acknowledges it, but does not create it.

Now it would seem unnecessary to assert that laws are made for subjects, and privileges designed for obedient subjects. To impose laws on a foreign people, and to confer privileges on those who scout your authority, would be equally preposterous. Yet this is the conduct of our government. The slave States repudiate the Federal authority,—refuse submission, and back their refusal with bullets and bayonets; nay, not content with that, they seek to demolish the government which, as of their own choice, they were morally bound to support. Will any one, a half century hence, believe that the United States government was so infatuated as to enforce the rendering unto Cæsar what had long ceased to be Cæsar's due? that it fought with its rebellious subjects on the one hand, and on the other treated them as if still obedient? that, dealing with them as enemies (and justly),—destroying them on the battle-field, incarcerating them without process of law, and confiscating any and all of their property except their slaves,—it refused, from constitutional scruples, to interfere with their *privilege* of slavery, while it disregarded the *rights* which as loyal men they might have claimed? in short, that the administration was so suicidal as to support the cause and the sustenance of the war, because it could see no difference between Jeff. Davis and an honest citizen?

But grant that the Constitution bars the way to confiscation of property in human flesh, though not to that of any other worldly possessions, not even to the taking of life itself. There is something above the Constitution, though vested in it, and that is, martial law. General Fremont proclaimed it in Missouri, and under it freed the slaves. He did what he had a right to do. He did what he was bound to, on the score of justice or of expediency. What says the President? Fetter those freedmen! By what right, Mr. Lincoln? The Constitution? It was superseded by martial law. What Fremont has done, and what he may yet do, has your authority implicitly, or he would be only a brigand. You may check him, but until you do so, his word is law, his credit is unimpeachable. Has he made a contract? If not fraudulent, you must acknowledge it. Has he made an armistice? You must sanction it. But he has done nothing fraudulent; he has not exceeded his authority. You may, as commander-in-chief, revoke his martial law, *but while it lasts*, he is commander-in-chief, and his acts are good.

Well, Fremont has freed the slaves of the rebels in the interval between his proclamation of martial law and the President's letter. The slaves are freemen. Can Mr. Lincoln turn back the hand on the dial? We assert he cannot. He may have authority to keep slaves in bondage, but whence does he derive the power to transform freemen into slaves? We have seen that that instrument does not provide against such an emergency as that in which Fremont found himself. The conclusion is evident. *The President has violated the Constitution*, and this time, unlike his previous violations, which the people of the North have joyfully sanctioned, he has done so in the interest of slavery. We have a right, then, to protest loudly against such infamy. Mr. Lincoln has already received the stigma of the "slave-hound of Illinois"; it was reserved for his last public act—as weak as it was wicked—to brand him forever with the disgraceful distinction of being the first man on the American continent who, not only when slavery was perishing, would not let it die, but even stooped, under the guise of law, to reduce free men to slaves. G.

THE LIFE AND LETTERS OF CAPTAIN JOHN BROWN, who was executed at Charlestown, Virginia, Dec. 2, 1859, for an armed attack upon American Slavery; with Notices of some of his Confederates. Edited by RICHARD D. WEBB. London: Smith, Elder & Co., 65 Cornhill. 1861.

This new tribute to the memory of one of the most heroic men who have ever lived,—one of the few truly great men whom this country has produced,—will receive a cordial welcome from the many who, however differing in their estimate of the methods employed by John Brown, know how to honor his wonderful resolution, his superiority to ordinary objects of ambition, his self-devotion and self-sacrifice. All such will rejoice with us at the appearance of this new volume, admirably fitted as it is to remain a permanent biography and memorial of JOHN BROWN, and of the great work for justice and freedom which he pondered, and labored for, so many years. The work of preparing this Life has fallen into the best hands. A sincere admiration of the noble points in John Brown's character, and a profound sympathy in the work of the deliverance of the oppressed, (attested by a life-long interest in the cause,) together with high literary qualifications and admirable taste and judgment, all qualify Mr. Webb in an eminent degree to be the biographer of John Brown. We are sure we only anticipate the judgment of all who are yet to read this volume, when we offer to Mr. Webb our very sincere thanks for the admirable manner in which he has performed his disinterested labor, and for the valuable book he has given us. To call it a book every way worthy of its subject is certainly high praise; and we think that this may be said of it with entire truth. In course of a few weeks, as we have reason to believe, copies of the Life will be for sale in this country; and in justice to John Brown, we bespeak for it a wide circulation.

A letter just received from a Philadelphia gentleman says: "I have seen the new Life of John Brown, and I like it exceedingly. I do not hesitate to say that it equals my best expectations. It is a plain, straightforward, chastely-written, faithful narrative, embodying all the letters and papers necessary to its object, and making a most interesting and valuable volume." We congratulate all lovers of the good cause of Liberty upon the appearance of this Life of one of its most disinterested and conscientious defenders.

☞ For the Fourth Series of the FRATERNITY COURSE OF LECTURES, in this city, with its brilliant and attractive list of speakers, see advertisement in another column. No time should be lost on the part of members of the Fraternity, or of the public generally, in procuring tickets. It will be seen that Hon. CHARLES SUMNER is to give the opening lecture on "The Rebellion—its Origin and Main-Spring." How ably and eloquently the subject will be handled, we need not predict. Get your tickets, and let the Temple be filled to its utmost capacity.

THE REAL SPIES AND TRAITORS.

DEAR GARRISON—There are spies and traitors in the ranks of liberty. Who are they? Slaveholders and their apologists. No matter what are their titles; no matter what their conditions; no matter what offices they hold, nor by what nor by whose authority they act, North or South, every man who, by word or deed, apologizes for or sustains slavery, or sympathizes with slaveholders because they are slaveholders, is a spy and a traitor among the mustering hosts of liberty, and will surely betray the holy and humane cause of freedom in every way in which he can.

The bloody and barbarous South is rallying in defence of the abolition of the relation of marriage and parentage; of the right to annihilate the relations and endearments of husbands and wives—of parents and children—of brothers and sisters; of the right of fathers to breed and sell their children in the market, their sons to unrequited, compulsory toil, and their daughters to prostitution. Virginia and the entire slave States are rallying to defend and perpetuate the right to punish men with stripes and death for learning to read and write, and for daring to defend their wives, daughters, mothers and sisters against rape and rapine.

Are you for slavery or for liberty? Are you *pro*-slavery or *anti*-slavery? This is the issue. This is the test question of the hour. Spot the man who says, "I am pro-slavery"; who defends slavery; who, by sympathy, by counsel, by word or deed, defends slavery, or justifies those who are seeking to establish and perpetuate it as the governing power of the land. Whether he be priest or politician, whether in the pulpit, on the platform, in the school, in social or domestic life, in the street, or in the editorial chair, the man who would throw the sanctions of law or religion around this system of pollution and crime is the enemy of liberty, of man, of his country and his God. He is a spy and a traitor in our midst.

Had there been no *pro-slavery* spies and traitors in our midst, the present civil war had never existed. Let the North now be united, as one man, against slavery, and put forth its resistless energies to bring it to an end, and the conflict will soon be decided. The people of the North have no conflict with the people of the South; the North has no controversy with the South. But Liberty has a conflict with Slavery; the customs and institutions of Liberty have a conflict with the customs and institutions based on Slavery; and this conflict is irreconcilable and eternal. The friends of Slavery and its spirit and institutions will certainly betray Liberty and its spirit and institutions. The lamb may as well trust the wolf, or the dove the vulture, as Liberty Slavery.

Spot, then, the apologist of slavery in our midst. Spot him well; for he will betray the cause of liberty when and where we least expect. He will deliver us over to the tears and blood of the slave-pen, the slave-auction, the slave-driver's lash, and the slave-breeder's harem.

Every feeling and sympathy of my soul go with the *object* of this universal uprising of the masses—so far as that object is the abolition of slavery, and "the securing of liberty" to "ourselves and our posterity," without regard to sex, sect, color, clime or condition. "Give me liberty, or give me death." "Resistance to tyrants is obedience to God." Be these our watchwords. The "Stars and Stripes" are nought, except as they symbolize liberty. Patriotism is a mockery and a crime, except as it signifies the inalienable right of all men to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

Yours, HENRY C. WRIGHT.

THE TRUE INDEX.

"Well done, good and faithful servant."

No more significant act has been performed for months, than the re-nomination of our present excellent Governor. The manner in which he was again nominated is an encouraging indication. At a Union Convention, and by acclamation; it was a vote of thanks to him for his unceasing services *pro bono publico*, during the recent and perilous times of the nation. No civilian could have done better; and none could have tried harder to perform his part, in every particular. Not only did he proffer the words of a cordial welcome to the throngs rallying to defend the country, cheer them with encouraging hopes as they left for the theatre of action, greet them at their return from scenes of blood and carnage, as well deserving a nation's gratitude for their exhibited courage and patriotism, but he personally engaged in the work necessary to organize, uniform, officer, equip and provision the troops. He was at it day and night, wherever occasion called. He was and is almost ubiquitous. Nor did he desert the patriotic soldier disabled by wounds and sickness, or stretched out by death. His benevolence gushed from his very soul, and coined for his lips, Send them home *tenderly*. That word is characteristic of Gov. Andrew. We have known him for years, and can vouch for its sincerity and genuineness. His cardinal traits are fidelity, cordiality and earnestness. He means right; and whenever he does anything, it is, in his opinion, for the best; and we doubt whether any other man, in his place, would have done better for the cause than he has. Many, very many, would have done *worse*. His re-nomination has eloquently indorsed his policy, and his overwhelming reelection will rivet the proof of the popular sanction. Those who envy him, and those who were set aside by his rigid tests of unmistakable loyalty, altogether indispensable at such a crisis as this, when a large number were in masquerade, and it was difficult to know their real colors, have received the first reply of the people, and next month will declare their verdict by ballot.

Not only does the complimentary act indicate the popular satisfaction, but it was done with a full and fair understanding of his Excellency's views on the war. "The inauguration first, consultation afterwards." Public and unflinching was his course when summoned to Washington, at an earlier date, on the Harper's Ferry tragedy. Prompt and summary his policy at the discovery of fraud or peculation. Radical as were his opinions pronounced, the eminent Hunker of New York early, and the distinguished Hunker of Massachusetts more tardily, are not far in his rear, by profession at least. They, too, will see with his Excellency that the cause of the national difficulty is slavery, and that the only permanent cure of it is by a removal of the cause, if they do not already recognize it. There are many who do perceive this fact, but do not feel yet quite at ease to promulgate the same, to assert it publicly. However, the harvest is near, and the opinions are ripening. They will be ready in due time; and that Convention have put this State under the proper Governor to perform our part well, when the time comes. They have placed the man in advance of the time, that he may be ready to welcome its advent. Nor will it be many months before *emancipation will be demanded*, if not by the army, or the people, or the Administration, or the Confederacy, the stern mandate of necessity will not only demand, but will achieve it. The country will become relieved of its evil as the patient often is relieved from his disease, even in spite of his physicians. This Convention indicates our people to be prepared for the event, and the ballot-box will show them anxious for it; for, till then, they clearly see, there can be no permanent peace, and not even precarious safety for the United States.

As to the suffrage for his Excellency, there will be no need of urging voters to the polls, either for making a respectable display of ballots, or for defeating an antagonistic party; they will come forward with alacrity, and JOHN A. ANDREW will receive an almost unanimous voice from the loyal citizens of Massachusetts. They will award to him their appreciation of his ability, fidelity, integrity and philanthropy, and also by the same token coincide with him while pursuing the same straightforward policy. If we are not greatly mistaken, Massachusetts will yet have reason to be even more proud of her whole-souled Chief Magistrate. N.

THE FAST AND ITS USES.

President Lincoln's Fast has furnished another occasion to measure the tendencies of the national heart and mind. The people, through the pulpit, have again spoken in vast numbers, and with an emphasis that will be heeded through the land. When the infamous Buchanan proclaimed *his* Fast, the hearts of loyal citizens beat with indignation; now the response is unanimous.

In this response there seems to be no admixture of superstitious fear, no servile cringing, nothing like a blind faith that a little abstinence from food, or by mere lip service, the plans of the Almighty are to be changed.

In this terrible conflict between the sections, when slavery is pitted against freedom, barbarism against civilization; when war, to be war at all, would seem to require the impetus of all that is base and brutal in passion; it is refreshing to see so wholesome, so ingenuous and rational an acknowledgment of the short-comings of Northern men, mingled with so much pity and forbearance toward the victims of false social and political doctrines.

This truly Christian spirit seems to have been the life of our Fast; and if something of this spirit shall be borne away in every friendly breeze, to alight on hostile camps and battle-fields, and over the hearth-stones and homes of the South, it may beget a spirit, in return, which will be of more value than a hundred victories.

But with this spirit the Fast has rightly coupled the exigency of war—if need be, the bloodiest;—war against a base conspiracy, for the liberation of the misguided and innocent, among bond and free. The dove of peace, the Cross and the sword loom up against the sky—the olive-branch for the peaceful, the unsheathed sword for the enemy of his country. This is the lesson of our Fast. O! may its spirit find a home in every loyal heart, and crush out all traitors by its divine power! May the pulpit, now in the upward path of its duty, be made the fit exponent of all right sentiments and convictions of the people! Especially may the American pulpit have a just sense of its exalted function! As an instrument of instruction in the high truths which most concern man, may the wrongs inflicted on him by tyrants be ever held to be legitimate subjects of prayer and discourse! True to its divine office of unfolding the blessed nature of God and the destiny of man in their eternal relations, what a power may the pulpit, now and hereafter, become in this country, to mould and shape every means of human advancement! But for the mistaken belief of Christian ministers, that their duty lies in ignoring great social questions by substituting therefor the dry husks of sectarianism, we might now have been exempt from the trials which so sorely beset us.

The war is working a revolution in all our minds, as well as in matters of politics and government. Our theologies, our sciences and social systems will share the change. Every thing is tending to bind up anew diversity with unity in the bands of Christian charity, and the uses of "doubt" and "infidelity" are already visible in the light now ushering in a brighter day for humanity. The hand of Providence is beginning to be dimly perceived as it moves the machinery of society, and reminds good men, as well as the ambitious and self-seeking, that they are, in the "pomp and circumstance" both of peace and war, but instruments in His mighty hand to work the great problem of human destiny.

In the utterances of lamentation over our selfishness, and mean complicity with wrong as a people, which formed so striking a feature in our Fast, there is evidence of heart felt conviction that a nation, no more than an individual, however great the appearance of prosperity and power, can fail to suffer the penalties of violated justice and right.

As this war progresses, it is to be hoped that still other occasions, under whatever name, will be furnished by the Executive, to lay open the mind and the heart of the nation—through the clearer medium of the pulpit—to the view of those whose business it is to maintain and administer the government. W.

MR. FOSS IN VERMONT.

WEST RANDOLPH, (Vt.) October 1, 1861.

DEAR MR. GARRISON,—A. T. Foss is again in Vermont, holding meetings for the good of mankind—four million American slaves included. He is faithful to the society whose agent he is, and never unfaithful to his own highest convictions of truth and justice.

He has lectured in this town, and in Bethel, Braintree, and Brookfield, in all of which places he has had good and full meetings. Particularly at West Brookfield, on Sunday last, was there a very large, attentive and interested audience. His subject, the exciting and all-absorbing one, "THE WAR," draws many who have turned a deaf ear to the importunities for justice to the bondman. The "still small voice" was unheeded, and now the trumpet-tone of bloody conflict are awaking all to the demands of Justice, which pleads no longer, but, armed with deadly missiles, will be heard and felt. Mr. Foss was clear and forcible in his remarks, showing plainly that the present Rebellion cannot be put down without sheltering the great primal cause, Slavery, and that Emancipation is the vital point upon which hangs our success. Much as we lament over and suffer by this war, we must feel that it is but the natural and inevitable result of causes pointed out, and warned against by Abolitionists for thirty years, and more to be welcomed than apathy and subserviency.

Mr. Foss went from Brookfield to Roxbury, where, I am told, he had a very large audience, including one hundred recruits, "ready and eager for the fray." He gave great satisfaction. A. H.

TO A. HOGEBOOM.

I reply to your communication in the *Liberator* of October 4th. You would "have no objection whatever to a formal acknowledgment" of the fact of the separate existence of the Southern Confederacy, "if the South would peaceably abide the conditions" I propose. I have shown that they could be compelled to this easier than they could to allegiance, or emancipation by war.

"But why remove from them the character of *rebels*, and invest them with the character of legitimate nationality?" Because—1st, This is the truth; and it is ridiculous and disgraceful to prosecute a war on a falsity. 2d, Because we should unbind ourselves from constitutional restrictions, and might then conduct the war, as with any other foreign nation, by all legitimate martial methods, even to entire emancipation, without compensation. 3d, We should then not "divest the North, in the eyes of the world," of an obligation, but establish in their eyes a right to impose the conditions I insist on. The other remarks I do not understand. J. P. B.

"The Chicago *Tribune* sums up the meaning of the long resolutions passed by the Democratic State Convention of New York,—to the effect that while declaring they will sanction no peace tending to the separation of the States, they are equally determined against emancipation as a result of the war,—by saying this 'can only mean that a rebel's negro is more precious than a rebel's neck.' Was ever such nonsense? Mat. Carpenter names it right when he says it is treason."

Well, there are traitors in high places, then, for of just such "nonsense" has Mr. Seward, or, if you please, Mr. Lincoln, been guilty. "My dear friend," says the gentle author of the President's letter to Gen. Fremont, "my dear friend, your threatening to shoot the rebels does not trouble me; but it is positively shocking in you to deprive them of their 'property.' The Constitution doesn't allow that, you know." But what is "property" without life in which to enjoy it? Or, in the order of blessings, which comes first? A model slaveholder, truly, under the ground! "He shall have his Constitutional rights," says the sage of the White House. "He is welcome!" cries every slave, from the Potomac to the Rio Grande. G.

MR. SUMNER AT THE WORCESTER CONVENTION. The editor of the Dedham *Gazette*, who was a member of the late Convention at Worcester, thus speaks in relation to Mr. Sumner's speech:—

"The most significant feature of the Convention was the speech of Mr. Sumner, which was received with the strongest expressions of approval by the great mass of delegates present. The fixed and earnest attention with which every word was received, and the hearty and repeated applause which greeted every allusion to the doctrine of emancipation, proved conclusively that upon this question the people are far in advance of the Government."

In addition to this, the Boston correspondent of the Springfield *Republican* gives its readers the following, about the speech and the Convention:—

"Charles Sumner's speech was the great event of the day, however. It was an epoch and a victory in itself. The right thing was said in the right way, at the right time, by the right man. It was wise, conservative, practical, as Mr. Sumner always is, and it unquestionably met the views of four-fifths of the audience. Those who did not enthusiastically applaud, said, 'Oh, it isn't quite time; Sumner is right; this will be the *result*, we hope and expect; but let us wait for Providence and the Administration.'"

☞ The New Bedford *Standard* tells its readers, of Mr. Sumner's speech—

"Its perusal by all earnest and sincere lovers of freedom will no doubt be a rich treat, as it was to those who had the pleasure of hearing it from the Senator's lips. The manner in which it was received by nine-tenths of the Convention was a true indication of the state of feeling in the old Bay State."

Charles Sumner was present at the Convention, and made one of his best speeches on slavery and its relation to the war. It is sound in argument, and such a one as might be expected from its author. It was received with great applause; but the Springfield *Republican*, as usual, which is always afraid of *party damage*, calls it ill-advised and out of place, and proceeds to ridicule Mr. Sumner after its old habit. Why could n't the *Republican* afford to state what Mr. Sumner said, that was so objectionable, before creating an impression that it was something terrible, so that its readers could judge for themselves? Notwithstanding the *Republican* was so incensed, some of the New York papers were well enough pleased with the speech to procure an advance copy, so as to publish it entire on the morning following the Convention.

The *Republican* is always ready to condemn others for being consistent, and seems horrified if a public man discusses the same side of any topic more than once. We will defy any one to be *more inconsistent* than the *Republican* has been; and we would be willing to pay a small sum if the editor, or any one else, will define the position it has taken on any public question, either moral, religious, or political, within the last half-dozen years, and maintained it. After any great popular demonstration has been made, like the old lady whose cow swallowed the grindstone, it always chimes in with, "*Just as I expected; I told you so!*"

The idea of making a *popular* newspaper, suited to all localities, is so apparent that its theories and principles have been dealt out a good deal like Lord Timothy Dexter's punctuation marks, in his "Pickle for the Knowing Ones,"—all at the end of the book, with an invitation to the reader to use such as suit his fancy. If there is any one who can tell what the *Republican* has or has not advocated, or show where it has not contradicted itself at least half a dozen times in as many weeks, he is a much greater curiosity than the famous "What is it?" The *Republican* oftentimes utters noble sentiments, but they are no sooner said than it turns about and "kicks them over."—*Northampton Free Press.*

THE SLAVES AS A MILITARY ELEMENT IN THE SOUTH.

The total white population of the eleven States now comprising the Confederacy is 6,000,000, and, therefore, to fill up the ranks of the proposed army (600,000) about ten per cent. of the entire white population will be required. In any other country than our own, such a draft could not be met, but the Southern States can furnish that number of men, and still not leave the material interests of the country in a suffering condition. Those who are incapacitated for bearing arms can oversee the plantations, and *the negroes can go on undisturbed in their usual labors*. In the North, the case is different; the men who join the army of subjugation are the laborers, the producers, and the factory operatives. Nearly every man from that section, especially those from the rural districts, leaves some branch of industry to suffer during his absence. *The institution of slavery in the South alone enables her to place in the field a force much larger in proportion to her white population than the North*, or indeed any country which is dependent entirely on free labor. The institution is a tower of strength to the South, *particularly at the present crisis*, and our enemies will be likely to find that the "moral cancer," about which their orators are so fond of prating, is really *one of the most effective weapons employed against the Union by the South*. Whatever number of men may be needed for this war, we are confident our people stand ready to furnish. We are all enlisted for the war, and there must be no holding back until the independence of the South is fully acknowledged.—*Montgomery (Ala.) Advertiser.*

LETTER OF EX-PRESIDENT BUCHANAN.

At the Great Union Meeting at Hayesville, Chester County, Pennsylvania, on the 1st instant, the following letter from Ex-President Buchanan was read:—

WHEATLAND, near Lancaster, Pa., Sept. 25, '61.

Dear Sir,—I have been honored by your kind invitation as Chairman of the appropriate Committee, to attend and address a Union meeting of the citizens of Chester and Lancaster Counties, to be held at Hayesville on the 1st of October. This I should gladly accept, proceeding as it does from a much valued portion of my old Congressional District, but advancing years and the present state of my health render it impossible. You correctly estimate the deep interest which I feel, in common with the citizens who will there be assembled, in the present condition of our country. This is indeed serious, but our recent military reverses so far from producing despondency in the minds of a loyal and powerful people, will only animate them to more mighty exertions in sustaining a war which has become inevitable by the assault of the Confederate States upon Fort Sumter. For this reason, were it possible, waiving all other topics, I should confine myself to a solemn and earnest appeal to my countrymen, and especially those without families, to volunteer for the war, and join the many thousands of brave and patriotic volunteers who are already in the field. This is the moment for action, for prompt, energetic and united action, and *not for the discussion of peace propositions*. These, we must know, would be rejected by the States that have seceded, *unless we should offer to recognize their independence*, which is entirely out of the question.

Better counsels may hereafter prevail, when these people shall be convinced that the war is conducted, not for their conquest or subjugation, but solely for the purpose of bringing them back to their original position in the Union, without impairing in the slightest degree any of their constitutional rights.

Whilst, therefore, we shall cordially hail their return under our common glorious flag, and welcome them as brothers, yet until that happy day shall arrive, it will be our duty to support the President with all the men and means at the command of the country, in a vigorous and successful prosecution of the war.

Yours, very respectfully,
(Signed) JAMES BUCHANAN.

☞ An attempt was made on Friday last to throw a train on the Lexington and Louisville (Ky.) railroad off the track. The 14th Ohio Regiment was in the cars, which were stopped in time to prevent an accident. A detachment of soldiers immediately pursued the miscreants who thus attempted to destroy their lives, and caught two or three of them. Among them were two negroes, who asserted that they were compelled to place the logs on the track by their masters. One white man who plead guilty was taken to Louisville, and while under guard a German, who was passing by in a wagon, learning the cause of his arrest, jumped down, made his way through the guard, before they were aware of his approach, and cut the fellow's throat, vowing that he should try to throw no more trains off the track. The soldiers arrested the German, and committed him to jail. It was supposed the man who was cut could not recover.

JEFFERSON CITY, Mo., October 7. Information received here says that about three weeks ago a slave insurrection was attempted in Jasper county, and that about 35 of the negroes were killed, and a number of others are to be hung. The discovery of the plot proved that the insurrection was wide spread, and that the slaves intended to murder their masters and perpetrate all manner of barbarities.

IMPORTANT FROM HATTERAS INLET. On Friday last, 2500 rebels, consisting of a Georgia, South Carolina and Virginia regiment, came over the main land in six small steamers and schooners, with flat boats, and attacked the 20th Indiana regiment, who were obliged to retreat, with loss of 50 taken prisoners. Saturday morning, the Monticello steamed round the cape, and a few miles up the coast met the rebels marching down the narrow neck of land to attack our troops. They were in easy range, and the Monticello opened upon them with shells of five seconds pause, 218 of which were fired from three guns in three hours and a half, doing great execution. It is supposed that the loss of the rebels must have reached between two and three hundred in killed and wounded. An escaped prisoner reports that the first shot from her killed Col. Bartow, of the Georgia regiment, and the havoc was frightful.

☞ FRATERNITY LECTURES.

FOURTH SERIES.

The public of Boston and vicinity are respectfully informed that the FOURTH SERIES of FRATERNITY LECTURES will be inaugurated at TREMONT TEMPLE, on

FRIDAY EVENING, OCTOBER 18, 1861,

on which occasion

HON. CHARLES SUMNER

will pronounce an Address on

THE REBELLION: ITS ORIGIN AND MAIN-SPRING.

To be followed on successive TUESDAY EVENINGS by Lectures from the following gentlemen:—

October 22—JACOB M. MANNING.
" 29—GEORGE WM. CURTIS.
November 5—T. WENTWORTH HIGGINSON.
" 12—RALPH WALDO EMERSON.
" 19—WILLIAM R. ALGER.
" 26—HENRY WARD BEECHER.
December 3—FREDERICK DOUGLASS.
" 10—EZRA H. HEYWOOD.
" 17—EDWIN H. CHAPIN.
" 24—WILLIAM S. STUDLEY.
" 31—WENDELL PHILLIPS.

Organist - - HOWARD M. DOW, Esq.

Doors to be opened at 6 1-2 o'clock. Lectures to commence at 7 1-2 o'clock, precisely.

A limited number of tickets (admitting the bearer and a lady,) are offered for sale at $2 each; to be obtained at Oliver Ditson & Co.'s, No. 277 Washington street, John C. Hayes & Co.'s, 33 Court street, D. C. Goodrich's, 302 Washington street, of the several members of the Fraternity hitherto having the disposal of tickets, and at the Tremont Temple. Oct. 11

☞ JOHN BROWN.—GRAND EXHIBITION.—A Memorial of the Martyr Hero of Freedom will be exhibited at Joy Street Baptist Church, on Tuesday evening, Oct. 15. Doors to be opened at 7 o'clock; exercises to commence precisely at 8 o'clock, at which time Prof. W. F. Johnson will exhibit, by the aid of the Camera Obscura, five interesting Views, drawing a vivid picture of the JOHN BROWN RAID AT HARPER'S FERRY. The whole to be interspersed with liberty songs and instrumental music.

Tickets of admission, 15 cents.

Boston, Oct. 11, 1861.

☞ NOTICE.—Mrs. H. F. M. BROWN, of Cleveland, Ohio, has been appointed an Agent for the *Anti-Slavery Standard*; and is fully authorized to receive new subscriptions to the same, as well as payments on old accounts. Mrs. Brown's address is 288 Superior street.

OBITUARY.

Passed to the spirit life, in Princeton, July 13, 1861, ELIZA A., daughter of JAMES M. and SARAH P. EVELETH, aged 23 years.

In this departure of a cherished one, the afflicted friends have yielded up to the reaper Death the harvest of their hearts truest wealth. Miss Eveleth had been a number of years engaged in school-teaching; this being a favorite employment with her. In this capacity she was very much beloved for the faithful and cheerful manner in which she performed all its duties, and for the kind interest which she felt in the welfare of her pupils. Possessed of an amiable and loving disposition, she won the esteem and affection of all:—

"None knew her but to love her,
None named her but to praise."

Endowed with a remarkable degree of energy, she did with her might what her hands found to do. Indeed, it was through over-exertion and too close application to her labors, that she fell a prey to disease. She felt a deep interest in every enterprise which had for its object the elevation of suffering humanity. Her soul was in the various reforms of the age. The cause of the slave was one which lay near her heart, and the cry of distress every where found a response in her tender and sympathizing nature. Numbered in the earth-life with those who love noble deeds, the same love and benevolence, carried with her to the angel-land, will attract her to the bright and pure ones, who associate there for the redemption of the lowly, and elevate the degraded and fallen ones in either sphere.

While her physical system gradually wasted away, her mental energies remained bright and unclouded to the last. After her physician pronounced her [illegible] possible, she was asked by a fond and devoted [illegible] if she was willing to die; to which she replied in substance as follows:—Father, I have formed many plans for the future, and it is hard to leave them all unexecuted. I would like to live if I could be useful in the world. She did not feel that it was in the plan of the all-wise Providence with reference to his children here, that one at her age should fall a prey to disease, and leave the world just as she had become fitted for usefulness in it. She believed that our Creator has ordained that, by a wise attention to the laws of life, we should live to be useful to a good old age. She believed that such an experience, in this life, was desirable to better fit us for the duties of the next sphere; but, if she had, through an imperfect knowledge of those laws, or inattention to them, gone beyond her strength, and broken down her physical powers, the fault was not with Him who bestowed those powers at first, but with her who mistook their capacity of endurance; and she must submit and leave her work here, while she hoped to engage in a nobler work in another sphere.

She was a believer in spiritual intercourse, and felt that she was the recipient, day by day, of the sweet and holy influences, shed from their spirit home, of dear ones gone before. How real is immortal life to a soul resting in the full conviction of the reality of such teachings! What a gift of Heaven is such an assurance! It tears the veil of death in shreds, banishes all fear, and awakens and stimulates the energies of the soul to a vivid perception of the glorious realities of an unending life, an eternal progression.

With a noble fortitude she endured her sufferings, and, also, the trial of parting with friends she so dearly loved. She ever greeted them with a cheerful smile, and with words of affection. Many times she summoned them to her bed-side, to give them the parting blessing, and offer comfort and consolation, assuring them that she was not going *far away*, and would be often with them, and share with them their joys and sorrows—and when they, like her, languished upon beds of sickness, she would be near them, to soothe them by her spirit presence, and gladly meet them when they, too, should pass the borders of the grave. She cheerfully and calmly conversed with her parents with regard to her funeral and burial, expressing a wish that bro. Adin Ballou and Prof. Britton should attend her funeral; which request was cheerfully granted. Only a short time previous to her departure, she requested a friend to sing,

"I hear the angels calling, I must soon be gone,"

in which she joined her sweet but faint voice, so soon to join the melodious strains of Heaven's sweetest minstrels. So tranquilly and peacefully did she bid adieu to parents, brothers, sisters and other attendants, tenderly thanking them all for the many tokens of kindness they had bestowed upon her during her sickness, and bidding them all to be hopeful and happy, that a foretaste of Heaven seemed truly ours—and we were led to exclaim, "Oh Grave! where is thy victory? Oh Death! where is thy sting?"

East Princeton, Sept. 22, 1861. S. M.

☞ A. T. FOSS, an Agent of the American A. S. Society, will speak on "The War," at

L. Waterford,	Vt.	Friday,	Oct. 11.
McIndoes Falls,	"	Sat. eve'g,	" 12, and Sunday, 13.
Ryegate,	"	Tuesday,	" 15.
Topsham,	"	Wednes.,	" 16.
Washington,	"	Thursday,	" 17.
Newbury,	"	Friday,	" 18.
Bradford,	"	Sunday,	" 20.
Cornish Flat,	"	Friday,	" 25.
Croydon, E. Village,	N. H.	Thursday,	" 24.
Brattleboro',	"	Sunday,	" 27.
Springfield,	"	Tuesday,	" 29.

Diseases of Women and Children.

WM. SYMINGTON BROWN, M. D., and
MRS. MARGARET B. BROWN, Accoucher,

HAVE opened an office at 274 Washington Street, Boston, and will devote special attention to the treatment of the above diseases.

Office Hours, from 10, A. M., to 4, P. M.

Boston, Oct. 4, 1861. 3m

Poetry.

From the New York Independent.

THY WILL BE DONE.

BY JOHN G. WHITTIER.

We see not, know not; all our way
Is night; with Thee alone is day.
From out the torrent's troubled drift,
Above the storm our prayer we lift,
Thy will be done!

The flesh may fail, the heart may faint,
But who are we to make complaint,
Or dare to plead in times like these
The weakness of our love of ease?
Thy will be done!

We take with solemn thankfulness
Our burden up, nor ask it less,
And count it joy that even we
May suffer, serve, or die for Thee,
Whose will be done!

Though dim as yet in tint and line,
We trace thy picture's wise design,
And thank Thee that our age supplies
The dark relief of sacrifice.
Thy will be done!

And if, in our unworthiness,
Our sacrificial wine we press,
If from thy ordeal's heated bars
Our feet are seamed with crimson scars,
Thy will be done!

If, for the age to come, this hour
Of trial hath vicarious power,
And, blest by Thee, our present pain
Be Liberty's eternal gain,
Thy will be done!

Strike, Thou, the Master, we Thy keys,
The anthem of the destinies!
The minor of Thy loftier strain,
Our hearts shall breathe the old refrain,
Thy will be done!

From the National Anti-Slavery Standard.

FREMONT FOREVER!

Fremont has spoken! Wide speeds the word:
"The slaves of rebels are henceforth free men!"
Fremont has spoken! The Gulf has heard;
Her traitors stagger like drunken seamen.
Fremont forever!

The North has heard! and her ancient hills
Toss back the sound from ocean to ocean,
And up from the heart of the people swells
The tidal wave of a grand emotion!
Fremont forever!

Oftener the banker spares his gold;
The face of the lonely wife grows brighter;
The farmer recks not of cheese unsold;
And the soldier grasps his rifle tighter!
Fremont forever!

The thrill of a holy purpose peels
The film of self from their blinded eyes—
Heaven's Angel, LIBERTY, reveals
In the dread War-Angel's thin disguise.
Fremont forever!

Who murmurs now, while all rejoice?
Stamps with his heel on a deed undying?
Lends to the bloodhound's bay his voice?
And stops his ears to the people's crying—
"Fremont forever"?

Oh, fool and blind! the golden morn,
That might your statesman's brow have gilded,
Has passed, and ages yet unborn
Shall stone the tomb your madness builded.
Fremont forever!

Oh, brave young man, whose heart hath leapt
A league beyond its sluggish keeper,
Fear not! nor dream that God has slept
While man has bound his Harvest-Reaper.
Trust that thou still art Œdipus,
Our guilty riddle to unravel;
Still the Pathfinder unto us,
Through Rocky Mounts of toil and travail!
Fremont forever!

[illegible], Sept. 17, 1861. L. S. N.

☞ The following is copied from the Boston *Traveller*. We hope its freedom-loving spirit will prove contagious.

A YANKEE SOLDIER'S SONG.

I harkened to the thund'ring noise,
And wondered what 'twas for, sir;
But when I heard 'em tell our boys,
I started up and swore, sir.
Yankee boys will fight it out!
Yankees brave and handy!
Freedom be our battle-shout!
Yankee doodle dandy!

They said that traitors tore our flag,
Down there in Dixie's land, sir:
Then more I loved the striped rag,
And swore by it to stand, sir.
Yankee boys will fight it out! &c.

I knew them Southern chaps, high bred,
Had called us "mud-sills" here, sir;
If on these sills they try to tread,
I guess 'will cost them dear, sir.
Yankee boys will fight it out! &c.

Down South I marched, rat-tat-a plan,
With heart brim full of pluck, sir;
I held my head up like a man;
A righteous cause brings luck, sir.
Yankee boys will fight it out! &c.

So proud was I of fatherland,
Where humans all are free, sir,
I found it hard to understand
Some things I lived to see, sir.
Yankee boys will fight it out! &c.

To us one day a brown man came,
In Dixie's land a slave, sir,
And pleaded hard, in Freedom's name,
That him we'd try to save, sir.
Yankee boys will fight it out! &c.

Of course we will, our men cried out:
All free beneath this flag, sir!
Then he began, with hearty shout,
To cheer the starry rag, sir.
Yankee boys will fight it out! &c.

But, whip in hand, a master came,
And drove that man away, sir:
We felt it was a burning shame,
But could not have our say, sir.
Yankee boys will fight it out! &c.

To us it seems a coward's shirk;
It makes us feel less brave, sir;
We call it mean and "mud-sill" work,
This sending back a slave, sir!
Yankee boys will fight it out! &c.

We did not leave our homes to do
Such dirty jobs as these, sir;
Our hearts within us, warm and true,
It chills and makes 'em freeze, sir.
Yankee boys will fight it out! &c.

The man who works with heart is strong;
And right keeps up the pluck, sir;
We cannot feel so bold for wrong;
We cannot hope for luck, sir.
Yankee boys will fight it out! &c.

We long to have our flag unfurled
To make the *whole* land free, sir;
For we can proudly face the world,
When we that day shall see, sir.
Yankee boys will fight it out! &c.

O, how we'll hail our banner then!
Its fame all clear and bright, sir!
When all can feel that they are men,
And all have equal right, sir.
Yankee boys will fight it out!
Yankees brave and handy!
Freedom be our battle-shout!
Yankee doodle dandy!

The Liberator.

REPLY TO DR. GRANDIN'S INQUIRIES.

DEAR GARRISON:

Your correspondent, D. S. Grandin, an old coadjutor in the cause, calls for proof of certain statements in the communications of David Lee Child, on the contraband doctrine, and the war power of the United States over slavery. The following is the first of the statements which he specifies:—

"Citizens of Free States in the service of the United States, endeavoring to take on board the steamer Star of the West, some of the troops betrayed by the black traitor Twiggs, and afterwards captured in their unarmed state, contrary to capitulation, and their safe-guard violated, by the blacker traitor, Van Dorn, were seized by the rebels, and sold at public auction as slaves. These unhappy men—unhappy, I fear, are all who trust this government for protection, except Secessionists and spies—were marched off by their purchasers to life-long servitude in the interior, nobody can tell where, and nobody thus far seems to care! That no circumstance of aggravation and national insult might be wanting, they were carried a thousand miles from Indianola to Montgomery, that they might be put upon the block, and knocked off under the nose of Jeff. Davis!"

Our friend declares that he had never seen a word of this in any paper before, and that the public know nothing of it. He is thus a witness to the truth of the averment that "nobody thus far seems to care."

My authority for the principal fact was the narrative of a number of the crew of the Star of the West, which was published in the Chicago *Tribune*, and republished on the 13th of June last in the Boston *Atlas and Bee*. I should be glad to see it reprinted here, if you can spare the space.

FREE SAILORS SOLD INTO SLAVERY.

Ten of the crew of the unfortunate Star of the West, Captain McGowan, which, after her mishap at Charleston harbor, was captured by the rebels at Indianola, Texas, arrived in this city yesterday afternoon, on their way to their homes in New York. Our reporter had an interview with them at the Michigan Southern depot last evening, and found them, as might have been expected, a rough, hardy set of fellows, bronzed from exposure and fatigued by travel, but with the genuine characteristic of the sailor, ready to sail again the same cruise if called upon.

They report that the Star of the West, manned by a crew of forty men all told, with a cargo of provisions, arrived at Indianola, on the Texas coast, on the afternoon of the 17th of April, and anchored off the town, awaiting, as per orders, the arrival of a detachment of federal troops from the northern part of Texas. About one o'clock on the morning of the 18th, the lookout discovered a steamer approaching them, and called the captain. The stranger craft came alongside and hailed them, informing them that they had three hundred and fifty United States troops on board, and wished to transfer them. Captain McGowan suspecting nothing, called up the crew, and employed every facility for transferring about one hundred rebels into his steamer. He did not discover his mistake until the captain of the rebel force established guards in every part of the vessel, hauled down the stars and stripes, and run up the lone star flag of Texas.

The rebels were so elated with their success in capturing an unarmed merchant vessel, that they fairly danced on the decks for joy, but were suddenly checked in their extravagant demonstrations by the gallant captain of the steamer, who intimated that he did not consider the capture of an unarmed steamer with a defenceless crew, by a detachment of troops twice their number, and armed to the teeth, a very courageous performance. The rebels, although intensely enraged, swallowed their feelings, and sneaked off to their guard duties, which were kept up closely during the night.

At daybreak the leader of the rebels summoned the crew of the steamer and gave them their option: to work the steamer to New Orleans or to be thrown into irons. They chose the former, and at sunrise weighed anchor and set sail for New Orleans. Every step of the crew was followed by the bayonet. The sailors performed their duties, ate their meals, took their turns at the wheel, and slept in their berths, with the point of the bayonet in close proximity to them.

At length the steamer reached New Orleans, and was towed up to the levee as a prize, in the presence of thousands of the rebels of that city, who indulged in the same wild and jubilant extravagances which had characterized the rebels on board. They crowded around the craft, demanding that the d—d federal Yankee troops should be led out. Their surprise and mortification may be imagined when the hundred rebels marched out forty unarmed sailors in their blue shirts and tarpaulins. The crowd would not be satisfied until they had carefully examined the vessel, that there were not some of the d—d Yankee troops on board.

A consultation was held by the authorities, and not knowing what to do with the forty, they sent them to the Gulf of Mobile, strongly guarded. The steamer, when they left, was rapidly being converted into a war vessel.

Arrived at Mobile, the forty again witnessed another carnival over their capture. Another consultation was held, and the rebels at Mobile not wanting them, and not knowing what to do with them, sent them, under a strong guard, to Montgomery. At Montgomery another consultation was had. The mob violently clamored that they should hang them. The leaders not feeling warranted in hanging peaceful merchant sailors, summoned them to the State House, and by offers of high wages and other flattering inducements, tried to persuade them to enlist in the rebel navy. They urged as inducements that they had no sailors, and would pay them any sum if they would serve in their navy. The entire crew, with the exception of one coward, gallantly and firmly refused, and demanded that, as they were not in the service of any government, they should have their rights. The leaders, enraged at their ill success, then told them that they must enlist or leave in half an hour. They chose to leave in half an hour, and long before that time they were on their way back to Mobile.

Three of the colored sailors, all free men, were taken by the leaders, put up at auction the same day, sold and hurried off into slavery. As soon as they arrived at Montgomery, these unfortunate men were seized, not allowed a word of defence, and hurried off like cattle into the interior, under the tender mercies of the slave driver.

From Mobile the crew left for the North in different directions. Captain McGowan was allowed to go to New York from Montgomery by the eastern route. The ten who arrived here yesterday left New Orleans, whither they went from Mobile, on the 30th, and worked their passage up the river, arriving at Cairo on Sunday night.

During the sail up the river, they were treated like dogs, insulted and jeered at at every landing place, and allowed scarcely enough of provisions to keep them from starving.

At Cairo they reported themselves to Colonel Prentiss, who promptly attended to their wants, and procured for them free passes over the Illinois Central road to Chicago. The crew speak in the highest terms of the Colonel as a gentleman, every inch of him; they were also highly pleased with the reception from "our boys" at Cairo, and give it as their opinion that the rebels will think twice before they attack them.—*Chicago Tribune, May 8th*, 1861.

The second statement of which your correspondent desires evidence, is the last clause of the *thirteenth* in the catalogue of Southern crimes, as follows:—

"Repeatedly provoking wars of extermination against those simple and upright peoples by disguising themselves as Indians, murdering whole families of their white neighbors, and then summoning, in well-feigned terror, the ready ruffians of the frontier and the nearest garrisons of the army to the harvest of death."

The grounds of this charge, so far as they are not sufficiently known to need no repetition, are contained in the following note to the pamphlet edition of the communications referred to. This and other notes were designed for publication in the *Liberator*, but omitted by me on account of the length of the *fourth* and last part:—

An explanation is due for bringing this charge specially against slaveholders. The reasons are that theirs is the exclusive guilt and infamy of persecuting the Aborigines, as a persuasive to quit their ancient homes and accept banishment to strange lands. Theirs also is the peculiar guilt, failing this persuasive, of plucking them up, in violation of forty treaties, negotiated and ratified with them from the time of Washington down to 1829, and forcibly transplanting them into new and remote regions. The purpose of this unjust and cruel policy was the extension of slave plantations over the fertile "Indian reservations," and the procurement of the most valuable lands at a low or nominal price. The pretext was, that Indians cannot live within the limits of a *civilized* State.

Massachusetts, old and circumscribed as she is, and none too good in her treatment of Indians, has tribes of them, embracing considerable numbers, still living harmless and unharmed in her bosom, cultivating and enjoying extensive and valuable reservations, and managing their internal affairs in their own way.

It is a striking and characteristic fact, that the first and last very bloody and disgraceful quarrel of this State with the natives was caused by a drunken and dissolute captain and crew of a Virginia coaster. This man, named Stone, having been fined a hundred pounds and costs in Boston, and banished from the colony on pain of death, departed for home. His evil genius led him to deviate and enter the Connecticut river, where, coming in collision with the Pequots, a proud and powerful nation, he and his followers, seven in number, were slain.

The Massachusetts magistrates, seriously disquieted by the danger which all were supposed to incur by permitting the death of any white man by the hands of Indians to pass with impunity, undertook to treat as murder that which was probably nothing but an execution, justifiable by Indian law. But the allegations of the Pequots, though they were the only surviving witnesses of the occurrence, were pronounced "false pretences." Hildreth [Hist. U. S. A., vol. 1, p. 238] says—"The Pequots insisted that the Virginians had been the aggressors, a thing in itself sufficiently probable." Palfrey [Hist. N. E., vol. 1, p. 457] says that the Pequots "protested that the affair was in part accidental, and in part a revenge for ill treatment from Stone; the latter branch of which allegation was thought not unlikely to be true, as Stone had conducted himself ill in Massachusetts, and had gone away under sentence of banishment, with the threat of being put to death if he should return."

The slayers were demanded as murderers, but not given up. This was in 1634. The affair dragged on with mutual irritations and cumulative causes of animosity—the natural increase from the Virginia seed—until it ripened into the deadliest hate, and until war by firebrand and sword, unpitying and unsparing of sex or age, ensued. The entire nation, as noble, perhaps, as any of their brave and generous race, was swept from the face of the earth, apparently without a hearing. They cannot now have a hearing.

Of crimes committed by whites, disguised as Indians, I have heard and read more than thirty years. They have occurred at various points of the frontiers, Northern as well as Southern, though oftenest on the latter. It is but just to add, that our Indian system, Indian quarrels and Indian agencies have been managed exclusively by the Southerners and a few "Northern men of Southern principles," or rather, of no principle, for fifty years. The aim of their policy has been to make them feel that they are "a subject race," to break their spirit, humble their pride, debase their character, and appropriate their mines and lands.

The white fiend's game of enacting the murderer at the expense of the unhappy natives has been played most in Florida, where peace was often made only to be broken by the incredible depravity of men eager for kidnapping Seminole negroes, and for the restoration of the corrupt and wasteful expenditures of the War Department in that dismal region.

It is difficult to obtain positive testimony to the allegations in the text. From the nature of the case, the facts are known only to the culprits themselves. The following is an extract from a letter dated "Fort Myers, Fa., May 24, 1856," and published in the *Boston Telegraph*:—

"The *Tampa Peninsular* of this week contains a regular affidavit of a man or two, who got frightened, and confessed to Capt. Hooker, of the Florida Volunteers and others, *that they belonged to a regularly organized band of* WHITE MEN, *who disguise themselves as Indians*, and go about plundering and murdering through the country."

The third and last charge against the traitors, of which evidence is demanded by Dr. Grandin, is the *fifteenth* in the aforementioned catalogue, as follows:—

"Corrupting and subverting, by fraud and force, the vital prerogative of the elective franchise, and thereby foisting into the highest dignity in the Republic, and, as we have proudly boasted, "the highest upon earth," two false and usurping, to the exclusion of two legally elected Presidents; and because fraud and violence, striking at the ballot-box, could no longer serve their purpose of ruling the nation, resorting to treason and rebellion to ruin it."

I should have supposed that the crimes set forth here were too well known to men on the stage in 1844 and since, to admit of the equivocation, that this may mean the election of Davis and Stephens as President and Vice President, by the conspirators. Of course, this was a violent offence, the highest known to the law, against the United States; and it was probably a fraud upon the seceding States themselves. But this was not the meaning of the text.

An outline of the evidence, with references to more ample details, is given in the following note to the pamphlet edition:

The principle, on which the proof of this deadly outrage upon the Republic and upon the whole human family rests, is this: The number of voters in any community where the right of suffrage exists, bears a certain proportion to the whole population, the proportion being determined by the qualifications required for the enjoyment of the right. Where it is so far universal as to vest in every male citizen, who has arrived at twenty-one years of age, and is not a lunatic, idiot nor convict, the proportion is, *one voter* to about *four and a half* inhabitants. In the New England States, where, in addition to the requisites of age and sex, the payment of a tax within a certain period, and a previous residence within the election district for a certain term prior to the election, are prescribed—and where, by an exact and rigorous Registration of all qualified voters at an ample time before opening the polls, illegal and fraudulent voting is rendered well nigh impossible—the proportion varies from *five* to *six* inhabitants to every voter. In the Presidential election of 1844, very closely contested, the average in all the New England States was *one* voter to every *five* and *six-tenths* inhabitants.

In New York, where there was then no Registration, the proportion at the same election was *one* voter to every *four* and *five-tenths* inhabitants, including the free colored disfranchised; in Pennsylvania, *one* to every *five*, including the same disfranchised; in Georgia, *one* to *four* and *seven-tenths*, including the free colored non-voters.

In any long-established State, or where the generation of pioneers has grown aged or passed away, the number of voters under any American law can never, in any given election district, exceed *one* to every *four* or *five* inhabitants.

In the memorable contest between Henry Clay and James K. Polk in the above-mentioned year, turning on the question of annexing Texas, it was proved, in the Judicial Courts of Louisiana, that steamboats were chartered by the partisans of Polk, took on board all the riff-raff that could be raked together, consisting of aliens, minors, convicts and vagabonds of every description, under the enticement of liquor and pay; and then steamed up and down the Mississippi, landing their pestilent freights to vote at every bustings, which steam power enabled them to reach during the day of election. Witnesses testified on the stand that they voted for the Democratic candidate in two, three, or more counties, in that election, and that the crowds which they accompanied voted in like manner!

The case of *Plaquemines*, one of the river Counties—commonly called Parishes—of Louisiana, will illustrate the whole matter.

At the three State elections preceding the Presidential of 1844, and at the latter, the votes of that County stood as follows:—

	Whig.	Dem.	Total.
1841	40	250	290
1842	93	179	272
1843	36	310	346
1844	37	1007	1044

A gain of 698 democratic votes, a little over 200 per cent., in one year! At that time, the whole white male population of that County was only 803, of whom, according to the census, 315 were minors, leaving only 408 who could by any possibility be legal voters, even if the qualification of twenty-one years of age had been the only one required; but it was not. The Constitution of that State requires one year's residence in the County, and the payment of a State tax within six months previous to election day.

It is a loathsome task to stir such mortal putrescence! *John Slidell* was the chief political engineer of that steamboat fleet, with its ladings of corruption and death—he that could not interfere to save the life of a fellow Senator, because he was not on speaking terms with him! he who is now an open traitor, and said to be destined by his confederates to proceed soon on an itinerant mission!

The illegal and fraudulent part of Mr. Polk's vote in the County of Plaquemines alone, say 650, at least, fell but little short of his majority over Mr. Clay in the whole of Louisiana; and with less than *one-twelfth* as much fraud in any one out of forty-three other Counties, would give him the six electoral votes of that State, where Henry Clay was absolutely adored.

"An eagle, towering in his pride of place,
Was by a mousing owl hawked at and killed."

New York, Pennsylvania and Georgia, all deemed doubtful States, and therefore fields fit for the fertilizer, corruption, presented, in the results of those districts, where the slave party was in a majority, and appointed the judges of elections, similar proofs of illegal and fraudulent voting. Having no Registration, and no check lists, slave-partisans and office-seekers admitted to the ballot whom they pleased.

It was discovered and demonstrated, upon the full official returns of the votes of those States, that in many of the districts above described, the vote was so swelled by the increased slave-democratic majorities, that the ratio of voters to population rose to *one* for about every *three* inhabitants! The facts may all be found in the New York *Tribune* of that day, and some of them in the *Whig Almanac* of 1845.

Polk's majorities in the States above mentioned were:—

New York,	5106,	in an aggregate of 535,882 votes.
Pennsylvania,	6332,	" " " 331,876 "
Georgia,	2147,	" " " 86,247 "
Louisiana,	693,	" " " 26,865 "

Mr. Buchanan was elected, or rather accomplished an usurpation, by a repetition of the same corruption, applied as before to doubtful States. Thus, in Illinois, Indiana and Pennsylvania, his majorities were won by notorious and audacious fraud and violence, brought to bear upon the ballot-box. One fact is decisive. It is known that he was lost without Pennsylvania; it is known that he carried the State by only 750 majority, and there were issued in and from the city of Philadelphia, about 6000 false and forged naturalization papers, to make voters there and in Reading and other cities of the State.

D. L. C.

LIMITS OF PRESIDENTIAL POWER.

Has the President a right to enslave persons legally and constitutionally declared to be free?

ELKHART, (Indiana,) Sunday, Sept 22, 1861.

DEAR GARRISON:

The contest deepens. Every day this war continues deepens and extends the anti-slavery sentiment, and the conviction that slavery is the cause and abolition the only cure of our national troubles.

Are all the slaves of all the rebels free in Missouri? free, absolutely and unconditionally? made so by the act of Major General Fremont? Fremont is the military ruler of Missouri. By virtue of the power vested in him by the Constitution as military commander of Missouri, he put the State under martial law. This he had a legal right to do. He had a legal, constitutional right to adopt any measures which, in *his* view, were essential to secure victory to his arms, and bring security to life and property in the State. As the most speedy, certain and constitutional way of ending the blood and carnage of the civil war, he gave liberty to the 25,000 slaves claimed by rebels in that State. Had he a legal, constitutional right to do it? Nobody doubts it, under the *war power*, whenever, in his view, that was necessary, to crush rebellion, and give triumph to justice and loyalty. He issued the decree; he gave the law—as he had the moral and legal right to do—freeing all the slaves of all the rebels, whether in the field or elsewhere. By law, by constitutional and positive law, those 25,000 slaves are free.

Has the President of the United States a right to enslave these freemen? Has Lincoln, authorized by the law of Congress, or by the Constitution, the power to reduce to chattel slavery 25,000 men, women and children who are free by the law of God and man? For the law of *man*, as well as the law of God, had pronounced them free. Fremont had, obedient to the voice of God, and to the behests of the Constitution, (giving him the power, as a military chieftain,) broken the fetters of every slave of every rebel in that State, and rescued these human chattels from the horrors of their condition—as a military necessity—to put down rebellion, and to save the State. There is scarcely a human heart or head in all the North that does not see in this act of justice and constitutional law, on the part of Fremont, the certain end of rebellion and civil war in Missouri. Whoever shall reduce those 25,000 freemen to slavery is a kidnapper, a man-stealer, before human law as well as divine, as really as if he had taken 25,000 of the sons and daughters of the old Bay State, and made them slaves.

Has the President a right, a legal and constitutional right, to reduce the free men and women of Massachusetts to slavery, for any cause, or under any emergency? Has he a right, as President, to enslave the citizens of all or a part of them, of Boston, New York and Philadelphia, as a military necessity? Not one will dare pretend it. Yet he has assumed the power, and "cheerfully," as he says, assumed the responsibility of consigning to the hell of slavery (most of them whiter than himself) 25,000 free men, women and children of Missouri, who, by the Constitution and laws he is sworn to administer, are entitled to liberty as really as he is.

Will the Republican party—will the loyal, liberty-loving, Constitution and law-abiding people of the North, allow the President of their choice—in defiance of the Constitution and laws which he is sworn to support—to engage in the business of enslaving human beings? the very things for which the pirates of the South are now fighting. They begun the war, *solely*, to secure to themselves the right to enslave men and women. Is the President, is the North, fighting for the same piratical right? If not, why does the President join them in reducing men and women to chattels?

But—patience! *patience*!! PATIENCE!!! "Wait a little longer." The signs are unmistakable, that the President must, at no distant day, and before the war *can* end, make the Proclamation of Fremont *national*, as the only means of "securing the blessings of liberty" to the nation and the continent. SLAVERY OR THE REPUBLIC MUST DIE. So say all who are now seeking the destruction of the government to sustain slavery. Let the North speed to the conclusion, that if they would save the government, THEY MUST ABOLISH SLAVERY. Fremont has begun the work of saving freedom and free institutions. Who shall hinder him?

Yours, HENRY C. WRIGHT.

THE RIGHTS OF WOMAN IN OHIO.

DEAR MR. GARRISON:

I wish to give your readers a brief history of the progress and present position of the Woman's Rights movement in Ohio.

About the year 1850, a Woman's Rights Association was formed, and some publications were circulated, showing the inequality and injustice of many of the laws of Ohio in regard to woman, and petitions to the General Assembly, asking redress, were circulated. In 1854, a memorial in behalf of woman's rights in respect to property and the exercise of the elective franchise was presented to the Senate of Ohio by Mrs. Caroline M. Severance. This memorial, after setting forth the grievances sanctioned by the laws as then existing, asked redress in the following particulars.—

1st. That marriage shall not destroy the legal individuality of woman.

2. That the husband shall not have power to control the personal liberty of the wife.

3d. That the husband may not have power to bind or apprentice the children without consent of the wife.

4th. That the wife may sue and be sued independent of the husband.

5th. That the wife may maintain, in her own name and right, an action for injury done to her person, reputation and property.

6th. That property acquired during marriage shall be owned equally by husband and wife.

7th. That separation by divorce shall entitle the party not in fault to the care and custody of the children, and to half the property of which the parties shall be possessed at the time.

8th. That the wife, upon the death of the husband, shall be entitled to the care of the children, and to all the property acquired during marriage.

9th. That there shall be no taxation without representation.

10th. That women shall have the right to engage in any laudable pursuit. [By the laws of Ohio, women are excluded from the practice of law, and probably also from some other lucrative and proper pursuits.]

11th. That women may have the right to sit on juries.

12th. That women may enjoy the elective franchise, and the right to hold offices of trust and profit under government.

An examination of these particulars in which redress was sought shows the nature of the disabilities to which woman was at that time subject by law. Most of these disabilities involved the liability and frequent exposure to great wrongs for which there was no legal redress. For instance, any father, however unfitted for such a prerogative, might bind out his minor son or daughter to any service, however unsuitable, and to any person, however unfitted for such a trust, without the consent of the wife and mother, and against her most earnest and just objections. No wife or minor daughter could maintain an action for injury to her person or character, however gross and atrocious. The husband or father, however imbecile or mercenary, had the sole power to prosecute, or compromise the injury, and to appropriate whatever damages might be obtained. In case of divorce, though decreed in consequence of the most flagrant wrong of the husband, he was still entitled to the custody of the children, and the woman could claim only such share of the property as the court should decree in the shape of alimony. At the death of the husband, the widow was permitted the guardianship of her children, the males till fourteen years of age, and the females till twelve; after which age, the law required them to choose guardians, or have them appointed. But even this limited right of the widow to control her children might be taken from her by the written will of her husband, and to which her infant, though unborn at the time of his death, was subject. Her right in the estate, the result of their joint industry, or perhaps wholly of her own, was limited to the decree of one third of the real estate, if any, and half the personal estate, not exceeding $400, and a few trivial articles of housekeeping, the enumeration of which, (including six knives and forks, six cups and saucers, six plates, &c. &c.) looks like a lampoon on legislation; and then pauper perquisites were allowed to the widow only so long as she should live with and provide for her children.

A provision particularly derogatory to the just rights of woman, and often involving much hardship, was that requiring widows to take out letters of administration to settle the estate of the deceased husband. This was an expensive process, and when the estate was of small value, or much encumbered, often consumed what would otherwise be the support of the bereaved family. This proceeding is as unnecessary, and as unjustly required of the widow, as would be the same proceeding enforced upon the husband at the death of his wife. If woman were allowed the same right as the husband, no such proceeding would be required.

The foregoing memorial was not followed by any action of the State Legislature till 1857, when a law was passed restraining the husband from selling, without the consent of his wife, such personal property as was by law exempt from sale upon execution. Previous to the passage of this law, the husband might sell the last article of furniture from the house, and even the clothes from his wife's person. The same act also empowered a deserted wife, or the wife of a husband incapacitated by intemperance or other cause from providing for his family, to make contracts for her own labor, and that of her minor children, and sue for and collect their earnings.

By an act of the same year, a former law giving to the widow of a childless husband the use of all the real estate acquired, and the use of one third of all obtained by inheritance, was so altered as to give the fee simple of the acquired estate, and the use of all the estate of inheritance, to the widow.

These acts were small steps in the right direction, and showed a disposition on the part of the Legislature to ameliorate the unjust restrictions upon woman's rights. But, in 1860, a bill was framed by Thomas M. Key, and by him urged to a final passage, materially diminishing the already too limited rights of the widow. This Thomas M. Key is familiarly known as Judge Key. He has lately been appointed to the rank and pay of a Colonel under Gen. McClellan, and his commission is dated back so as to secure pay and emoluments from August 19, 1860, as a reward, it is said, for his services as a civilian in Western Virginia, the most conspicuous of which was his passing sentence of slavery upon some fugitives who had found their way into the camp, a most gross and despotic usurpation of authority for which he could plead no law and no necessity, and for which he should receive the execration of every friend of justice and humanity. Judge Key has contrived, by plausible professions and some cheap exhibitions of liberal feeling, to gain a reputation, with a few generous-minded persons, as a friend of reform, especially in the matter of woman's rights, but his influence has always been sinister, and his action injurious to the cause. Previous to 1860, the widow of a man dying intestate, and leaving no children, inherited his whole acquired estate, and the use during her life of inherited estate, or, if she chose not to accept a will left by the husband, her portion would be the same as if he had died intestate. By the act of 1860, known as Judge Key's bill, the widow must submit to the will of her deceased husband, however unjust, or be turned off with the miserable pittance to which she would be entitled by law, had her husband died leaving children, viz., the spinning wheels, looms, family Bible, school books and other miserable provisions already referred to. It is said that Judge Key's motive, in using extraordinary efforts for the passage of this law, was, to meet a particular case of personal interest. Whatever his motive, his act was certainly a mean one.

In 1861, Mrs. J. Elizabeth Jones, Mrs. Cutler and Mrs. Gage addressed a committee of the Legislature, in behalf of the legal rights of women, and especially the right of woman to manage her own property and control her earnings. Judge Key shortly afterward introduced a bill, apparently favorable to the movement, but so contrived that, so far as it effected any important change, it was only for the worse! An examination of Judge Key's law of 1861, by the side of the laws previously existing, is calculated to let in new light upon the mysteries of legislation,—if double-dealing jugglery is really a department of that sublime art. Judge Key's bill, professing to be framed for the security of woman's rights, actually steals away two of the most important rights granted by previous laws, and gives nothing valuable in return, though it makes the false pretence of doing so by reënacting the provisions of laws already existing, which it repeals for that purpose! A law of 1854, already noticed, prohibited husbands from selling personal property exempt from execution, except with consent of the wife. This law protected from utter destitution the wives of intemperate and spendthrift husbands. Judge Key's bill repeals this wise and humane provision, and authorizes the brutal and drunken tyrant to sell the last shred of decency or morsel of existence from his suffering family! The law pretends to give to woman the rents of real estate belonging to them at marriage, or coming to them by gift or inheritance; but a clause of the bill limits this clear right to only such as receive their inheritance or gift after the passage of the law, and gives no remedy for the wrong and robbery already in operation. These are the only important effects of the bill, and the only credit Judge Key deserves is that of deceiving those who trusted in him. The report of Mrs. J. Elizabeth Jones gives a more favorable view of the results of the woman's rights movement, but it will be found, on close inspection, that hitherto nothing has been gained but experience, and that the essential rights of woman are about as far as ever from being acknowledged by the laws of Ohio.

DANIEL MANN.

WHO IS RESPONSIBLE?

Dr. Adams—author of "A South-Side View"—is reported to have said in a sermon which he preached on the occasion of the late National Fast, (see *Journal* of the 27th,) "Whoever shall be responsible for the destruction of this American Union will have a heavy reckoning with the human race."

While the Government is being convulsed as it has never been before, and while there are many indications of its speedy downfall, it becomes a question of vital importance—WHO IS RESPONSIBLE for this sad state of things?

The wise man has long since said: "The curse causeless shall not come." See Prov. xxvi. 2. We have long felt that the Church has been the "chief of sinners" in bringing our country into her present condition, and, hence, we are gratified to discover that our view of this subject—which, by many, has been considered "infidel"—has recently been fully indorsed by some of her greatest lights, as will be seen by the following, of which we ask a careful consideration.

DR. FRANCIS WAYLAND, of Providence, R. I., in "An Appeal to the Disciples of Christ of every Denomination, in reference to the approaching day of prayer,"—which has just been published in tract form by the American Tract Society at Boston,—uses the following language:—

"We have been guilty of the greatest moral recklessness in the choice of the officers of government. The right of suffrage can never be properly exercised without the consciousness of a solemn responsibility to God. In choosing our rulers, we are under moral obligation to select men of intelligence and virtue, and we act wickedly if we violate this obligation. But of the millions who annually vote, who thinks of this? Without regard to the ability, intelligence, or moral character of the candidate, we vote at the instigation of party leaders, and merely to accomplish the purposes of party. Hence the dearest interests of our country and the world are wantonly sacrificed by committing them to manifestly wicked and incompetent men."

Again he says:—

"Unless the character of the Church be such as, by its practical exemplification of Christ's precepts, to condemn the world, it is a church only in name, and the light of the world is so far extinguished. But what is the fact? By what, except outward forms, is the church in many cases to be distinguished from the world? Are there not in many of our churches some whose well-known character is a disgrace to their profession? Are not the places of amusement so frequented by professors of religion as to leave the impression that amusement is with them an end of living? Go to the assemblies, where now do congregate the utterly frivolous and gay, and there you find the lowly, self-denying Jesus largely represented by his professed disciples. Observe the customs of business, the maxims of trade, the modes of accumulation, the carelessness about truth, and the eagerness to overreach, and who of the disciples of Christ are heard entering their protests against all or any of this iniquity?

Let us go into our houses of worship, and what do we see and hear? In buildings of immense expense, adorned with every superfluity of luxury, with a style of music which the world recognizes as its own, fashion rioting in childish extravagance,—what do you hear that alarms the conscience, or sanctifies the heart? We exclude the poor, and make the worship of God a means of intensifying the detestable spirit of caste and social exclusiveness. Would any man, whose knowledge of religion was derived solely from the New Testament, suppose that these persons were disciples of Christ, or that this was intended for the worship of Jesus of Nazareth?

Let us rise from this slough of practical atheism in which we are floundering. Let us compare our conduct as individuals, and as a nation, with the revealed law of God. We cannot do this without being convinced that we are sinners exceedingly. We are such especially, for we have been blessed with abundant spiritual light, and every possible material and intellectual advantage. Of us it may be emphatically said, 'They knew their duty, but they did it not.' We have not liked to retain God in our knowledge, and have acted as if there were no God, and no other moral law than each man chooses to frame for himself. We who profess to obey God, and to be disciples of his Son Jesus Christ, come under his most solemn reproof."

In conclusion—after speaking of the duty and manner of prayer—he says:—

"And while we thus pray for ourselves, we must never forget that we shall not be heard, unless we put from us every feeling of malice, or vindictiveness, or uncharitableness. We must pray for our enemies as we pray for ourselves. Let us ask that God would enlighten their minds, that he would grant them true repentance, and fill their hearts with love to him and to us, who would cheerfully receive them to our hearts as brethren, if they would render it possible. We must pray for 'them that are in bonds,' our unhappy brethren.

But if all this will be our duty on the 26th of September, it is our duty at this moment. Let us then make haste to return to God, and, with an humble and contrite heart, ask of him to remove this chastisement from us. Let us do it as individuals and as a nation, as ministers and people, and 'God, even our God, will bless us.'"

Let this faithful testimony against the corruptions of the Church, by one of her ablest exponents and most popular teachers, be carefully pondered by those who have branded us as infidels for saying no more severe things of her, for the last twenty-five years, and then say,—if Dr. Wayland is right,—whether we have not been right in our estimate of the Church, and the Church wrong in its estimate of us.

But we have another valuable testimony to the correctness of our position, in our estimate of the Church as the chief cause of our national derelictions and troubles, in the following sentiments, uttered by Rev. EDWARD N. KIRK, D. D., in the great "Union" prayer meeting, in Park Street Church, on the morning of Fast-day. He said, alluding to slavery:—

"This great evil which is upon us might have been avoided if you, my brethren, and I, had been what we ought to have been. What reason we have for humbling ourselves before God! IF THE CHURCH WOULD ONLY RISE AND DO HER DUTY IN RELATION TO THIS SUBJECT, HOW SOON SHOULD WE HAVE PEACE!"

Speaking of the Constitution, he said—

"We have nothing to do, as Christians, with the *political* views of that instrument, but *only* with the moral view of what it involves. *Let us not evince greater love for a white than a black skin.* We have met to pray and talk for the slave as well as the white man."

When the reader shall have finished this communication, let him examine, carefully, 2d Timothy, iii. 1 to 5,—Rev. 3: 14 to 18,—and Ezekiel 33, 1 to 6,—ALL SPOKEN OF THE CHURCH,—and he will not fail to perceive that the Bible, as well as her ablest ministers, recognized the Church as the cause of the world's troubles, for which God holds her responsible. May she hear Him saying to her in the great events which are causing "distress of nations," and "men's hearts to fail them for fear, and for looking after those things which are coming on the earth"—"Behold, I stand at the door, (of the Church,—Rev. 3; 20,) and knock! If any man (in the Church) hear my voice, and open the door, I will sup with him, and he with me." That the Lord may bless every effort of her faithful ministers to make her as "terrible as an army with banners" to wicked men, of every class in the community, and that she may become "eyes to the blind," and "ears to the deaf," and the savior of the world, is the prayer of her sincere well-wisher,

Boston, Sept. 29, 1861. JUSTITIA.

THE GENIUS AND ENERGY OF FREMONT.

Referring to the eminent services of Gen. Fremont, the St. Louis *Democrat* of the 16th ult. says:

"He reached our city a few weeks ago, to find the army composed largely of three-months' volunteers, whose term of service had nearly expired, and who, for causes which may have been unavoidable, but were not the less to be regretted and removed, had become exceedingly dissatisfied. These troops were to be paid off, and another army raised, in the face of the wide-spread complainings of the three-months' men, and of the gloom which the disaster at Manassas had diffused over the country, while the finances of the Government were at a low ebb, and the energy and temporary success of the rebels were adding to their numbers thousands whose timid treason urged them to make haste to be on the winning side. And yet the genius and energy of Gen. Fremont have triumphed over all obstacles, and secured for us an army of soldiers, with all the muniments of war, that may proudly challenge comparison in numbers, equipment and discipline, with any body of troops that were ever mustered into the service of any government, in the same space of time. The call of Gen. Fremont, as though there were a spell connected with his name, has aroused the patriotism of the hardy freemen of the West, and they have enrolled themselves under the banner of the Union by thousands and tens of thousands, and are only eager to have an opportunity to meet and scatter the murderous hordes of the secession banditti. We can see and feel that, under such a leader, Missouri will soon be delivered from the polluting tread of traitors. Let us, then, stand by the man who seems raised up for the terrible crisis that is upon us. Let the breath of complaint be hushed, or utterly consumed by the glow of an unselfish patriotism. Let jealousies, bickerings and heartburn alike be buried in oblivion. Let politics and parties vanish, but let Whig and Democrat and Republican vie with each other in devotion to the Union, and in sustaining and honoring the man who will lead us on to victory over the advocates and abettors of this infernal rebellion."

There is the true ring in language of this sort, and it seems to be the tone universally of the Western press. Fremont's name seems indeed to be a name to conjure with, and the change must be very great ere the common people will be persuaded that he acts from any selfish or base motive, or is moved by a rash and hasty judgment.—*N. Y. Tribune.*

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Refuge of Oppression.

GERRIT SMITH vs. THE BIBLE AND THE CONSTITUTION.

This notorious fanatic, who aspires to high rank as a philosopher, and who claims to have been the friend of freedom, and a Democrat of the Wendell Phillips school, has recently delivered a Lecture against slavery, of abuse against the Bible, the Constitution, and the President of the United States; and it is well known that, owing to the success of his father in accumulating a large property through speculations in lands, Mr. Smith came in possession of an immense fortune early in life. Instead of using his wealth for the purpose of benefiting his fellow-citizens, his charities have been almost wholly devoted to the colored race, and his great study of his life has been to make a negro as good as a white man. In the furtherance of this great object, Mr. Smith has gained some little notoriety, and has paid usually a hard cash for the very small notoriety he has gained. Until the last Presidential election, Mr. Smith acted independently of the political organizations of the day, and has been honored on divers occasions with the votes of some score of benighted, but very intelligent, citizens, for the Presidential office. But in 1860, he gave the Republican party, designated as that time in the "fifteenth of freedom," the full benefit of his Herculean labors, in the political line, and ever since the inauguration of that worthy gentleman who now presides over the destiny of a free people, he has been in a state of high pen and voice, to the full extent of his moderate abilities, to aid of the revolutionary scheme to turn the side of war from its legitimate purpose to an unconstitutional onslaught against the institution of slavery. On the day when Mr. Smith read the proclamation issued by the General commanding the Western Department of the Army, he spoke for an exceeding great joy in the full belief that the collapse of slavery had at last arrived; and he was the man to do it. He was the President, relating the immense projects of the "Publicans," Mr. Smith is well, the fool-guise of his wrath, and since that day he has filled the air with his denunciations of everything sacred and profane, in which he can see the least subversion towards the extinction of slavery and with cries for vengeance against the President of the United States, and all others in authority, excepting, always, those selected from the "Publicans" recently appointed to office in and for the State of Massachusetts, "God bless her!"

To show the temper of this hurly-headed ass of fanaticism, and the wickedness of his new-fangled doctrines, we present our readers with a few choice extracts from his Lecture—extracts, we say, which may be found recorded in a recent number of that useful journal known as the *New York Tribune*.

SMITH ON THE BIBLE.

"But there is much in the Bible which cannot be proved. Its semi-barbarous morality, its want of great principles and sentiments, speaks for itself and condemns itself. But nearly all else in it is not proved not only of conclusive, but even of considerable proof. The wars of God's people are generally mentioned and described as the wars of other as old books. And its miracles, its prophecies, its groundless inspiration, its whole fiction, as see the admirers of other books of those ancient times, when the empire of superstition was universal, and the popular appetite for marvels so ravenous."

SMITH ON THE CONSTITUTION.

"Nor does the Constitution of the country, let the Constitution be thrown to the winds. To that end, the Devil may trample it as deep under foot as the South has done. The democratic principle, which our people cherish, will yet compel a Constitution as often as there may be occasion for them."

SMITH ON THE PRESIDENT.

"President Lincoln would be as base as a lion in the presence of the highest gun in the whole Southern army. But his position forces him to unconstitutional obligations to Slavery—in other words, only take him where he has already taken his stand against Freedom and he becomes as weak as a Seythian slave. Howevers and strivings he is clawless, neither can he, in the fine of his weakness, he is nothing but weakness."

We trust the reader will follow the Lecture (the position of Mr. Smith as a Christian and as a patriot; whether his claim to full membership in the Republic" Republican, and he is accounted, and is not the "like of us" to say. We have indeed fallen upon an evil day, when such immoral sentiments, and divine writings, the solemn compact of the Constitution, and the author of the Executive, is treated by the authorities. Where is the pomeant Superintendent of the Metropolitan Police? let him make an example of this man, who has shown greater malignity against the Government, than all the distinguished guests who are now confined within the walls of the Hotel de Lafayette. Where is the good Mr. Kennedy, and take within the potent grasp of your myopic official authority the person known as the Gerrit Smith, "Publicans" of Northern New York.—*Brooklyn (N. Y.) City News.*

THE PREMENT (EMANCIPATION) PROCLAMATION DEPRECATED.

The account which we gave with some feeling of doubt last week, of the partial character of the Fremont's proclamation of negro emancipation in Missouri, is fully borne out by the accounts which has now reached us, and is as follows:—

"The property, real and personal, of all persons in the State of Missouri, who shall take up arms against the United States, or who shall directly or indirectly give aid or comfort to the enemies of the union in the field, is declared to be confiscated to the public use, and their slaves are hereby declared free to the public use."

This is a sad feature in the civil conflict, and may well inaugurate an entirely new phase. Its importance cannot be over estimated, and demands the most careful consideration. . . . We feel pretty certain that Gen. Fremont, in issuing this bold proclamation, must have acted without his advisers, and probably against the wishes, of his superiors. Even if it be so, however, though he may be thrown beyond and unsharmed then, he has, we fear, effectually injured them. It may be advisable for man to be lightly disavowed; he is employed on an expedition of vast consequence and peril, and any interference with his authority and free action may be fatal to success. It may be able to plead something very like necessity on behalf of his daring assumption; and he this as it may, a revelation of his proclamation by the Supreme Government would be now peculiarly difficult. It would betray the divergence of feeling in the several sections of the party on one of the most imminent and vital questions involved in the strife; it would go far to cool the zeal, if not to effect the entire alienation of the Abolitionists, who are the most energetic and determined supporters of the Union; and it would virtually be a promise to the secessionists that the terrible weapon of negro insurrection would never be used against them,—as we feel tolerably confident it never will.

If, however, the Government at Washington, in the view of the difficulties before them, should have determined upon crossing the Rubicon which cannot be repeated; if they should either have authorized Gen. Fremont's emancipation proclamation or should adopt and act upon it now that it has once been promulgated,—what will be inevitable inference, and what must be the practical result? There can be no reason for pursuing one course in Missouri, and another in South Carolina and Tennessee.

Can it be for a moment believed that the Federal Government can really be such a weakness and fearful measure? Have we any reason to suppose that their government is so desperate as to necessitate so questionable and so terrible an expedient? Will not the merchants of Boston and New York recoil from a proscribing which, if it produces the desired emancipation, will inflict upon them and universal desolation on these fertile territories from whose prosperity so large a portion of their own has always been derived; and which, if it be not effective, will have manifested a design and a temper which the Southern Confederacy cannot but dread. Will not all the solemn, and wise, and gentle spirits of the Union, however earnest and sanguine in their political predictions,—will not all who think from reflection and long habit, and for the Republic,—try out against the inauguration of a policy which, if it succeeds, will be a disgrace to necessitate to

On Sept. 14, it said:—

"The way in which Fremont and his associates are working up the rebels in Missouri is altogether encouraging."

And so on, brightly and cheerily, until Sept. 18, when, lo!—

"President Lincoln has officially promulgated the important fact that he does not approve the late emancipation proclamation of Gen. Fremont. In this, the President has acted very properly. The General acted without authority, and without discretion in the matter."

On Sept. 20, fast and furious in its pursuit of the new scent, the *Herald* said:—

"The proclamation of *Mr.* Fremont was a piece of dictatorship akin to the mutiny and insubordination in California, for which he was tried by court-martial and found guilty, in the Mexican war. He was sentenced to death, but saved by the influence of his father-in-law. His recent act is far more reprehensible, because involving more serious consequences."

As a general specimen of blowing hot and cold from the same mouth, the foregoing is tolerably successful; but in the way of more particular and direct examples, we submit the following.

On the 6th of September it blue hot, thus:—

"The true path to victory and a speedy termination of the war is down the Mississippi; and in order to a successful expedition in that direction, Fremont ought to be vigorously supported."

On the 24th it blew cold, thus:—

"He planned wild expeditions prematurely, some down the Mississippi," &c. . . . "It is contrary alike to the dictates of common sense and military science, to proceed with an expedition down the Mississippi."

Here is a recent cold blow, dated Sept. 21:—

"Lyon was sacrificed for want of a reënforcement of 5,000 men. Owing to the failure of Gen. Fremont to send him reënforcements, the grand object of his expedition was lost."

Here is the hot blow to match, dated Sept. 9:—

"He (Lyon) died of red tape. He would have been reënforced, as it was, by Gen. Fremont, but for lack of means of transportation."

Cold, Sept. 19:—

"An ill-advised proclamation, which carried out the ideas of the Abolitionists. A high-handed piece of insubordination."

Hot, Sept. 6:—

"The result of careful deliberation, and will operate to make practical men of many Missouri slaveholders."

And, once more, cold, Sept. 24:—

"But for the President's letter, Kentucky would have been by this time precipitated out of the Union by the conspirators, who seized upon Fremont's proclamation as the instrument by which to accomplish their nefarious design."

Answered, in advance, by hot, Sept. 3:—

"We presume that the insidious conspirators in loyal Kentucky will at once seize upon this edict of Fremont to drag their State into the morass of this rebellion. But we have no fear of the result."

This will suffice to show up the *Herald's* twistings and turnings upon this single topic. The value of its hue and cry against Gen. Fremont can now be better estimated. It says, of late, that it has "convictions" in the matter. The *Herald* never had a conviction, (except in certain libel cases,) but it has plenty of unprincipled caprices, and to one of these we must attribute its vicious attacks upon General Fremont.—*New York Tribune.*

FREMONT.

The *Daily Advertiser* of this morning publishes a letter from St. Louis, written with great ability, candor and command of information, defending Fremont from the charges made against him, and placing his conduct in a new light. Far from being deficient in comprehensiveness and power of combination, in vigor and vigilance, it is shown that he has from the first understood his position, appreciated the magnitude of the work he had before him, and done all that intelligent energy, working with insufficient means, could possibly perform.

This position is sustained by an elaborate review of the facts of the case—facts which have been so distorted by Fremont's enemies and misapprehended by the public, that they have passed from facts into falsehoods, and need to be stated in their real nature [illegible] relations in order to be properly appre[illegible] Among [illegible] bitterest assailants are men who [illegible] sible for the confusion of his department, its lack of arms, ammunition and men, when he took the command. The writer says—"He has not had the opportunity of carrying his plans fully out, and the threat of removal has for a past month been hanging over his head. But he has accomplished an immense work, and if he were superseded now, would leave things in a condition to enable his successor, *if properly sustained at Washington*, to finish what he has begun."

Indeed, it is plain that a reaction in favor of Fremont has begun, and if he succeeds in his present campaign, he will be second in popularity to no man in the country. The gross injustice from which he has suffered will, when an official investigation of his Department has demonstrated his integrity and capacity, make the people more than ever desirous of doing him honor. The only hope of his enemies was to create a furious prejudice against him by making him responsible for disasters he did his utmost to guard against, and then to get him dismissed from his post.—*Boston Transcript.*

OUR GUILT AND OUR DUTY.

Extract from the Fast-Day Sermon of Rev. Dr. Stebbins, of Woburn, (formerly President of the Meadville Theological School,) a very able and eloquent performance:—

We had laid the flattering unction to our souls that by putting our hands over our eyes and our fingers in our ears, we should not see oppression or hear the cry of the oppressed; but the roar of the traitor's cannon startled us, and, lo! we see four millions of men, women and children whose future condition is to be determined by us. We cannot avoid the responsibility. We cannot say the South must take care of its own institutions. All that has passed by forever. When we were at peace, it might be so. But old things are done away. The Constitution is trodden under foot by the traitors. War has silenced laws. They ask, they will receive, no favors. What is bestowed when the rebellion is put down will be a grant from the victor, not a claim of right by the vanquished. The state before the treason cannot be regained. What is to be done with these enslaved millions now that their destiny is put into our hands? This is the question, and we must answer it. There is no such thing as throwing off the responsibility. We cannot escape it. The South have chosen to rebel, to plunge the country into civil war; they have voluntarily put their destiny into our hands. They say to us, "If you conquer us, do what you will with us; for if we conquer, we shall do what we will with you." What *shall* we do with them? "Conquer them first, and then determine," does one say? That cannot be done. It is impossible. The moment our armies invade slave territory, the inevitable question comes up, "What is to be done with these slaves?" They rush into our camps; they offer service; they can be efficient soldiers, able and most devoted laborers on fortifications; they can work our heavy cannon; pass cartridges; heat balls; carry shells; drive our wagons. "What is to be done about it?" We cannot march a mile into slave territory without being *compelled* to act on this subject, to answer this question. It is simply impossible to delay this answer to the end of the war. What then shall be done? What shall be *the policy* of the nation? Though no settled policy has been developed, I cannot doubt that the Government has one which time will unfold, for it would be the sheerest folly as well as the completest impossibility to prosecute this war without one. But we, the people, ought to have clear and decisive views on this subject. It is the most momentous question of the war. There is far less danger that we shall fail of victory, than that we shall *fail of wisdom how to use it.* There is vastly more danger that, having put down the rebellion, we shall leave all the elements of future strife and of this strife ready to break forth into treason again, than that our arms will be victorious. Indeed, this question of "What is to be done with the slaves?" hangs like an incubus on the army itself; and were it not for the treasonable neutrality of Kentucky, which is now changed to loyalty, thank Heaven, long ago the question would have been answered. Now it must be. The moment the army marches South, the sphinx must speak, those granite lips must open, the silence of that tongue of stone must be broken.

Revolutions make their own laws; and as fast as our army advances the slaves, should be freed; *all* slaves should be freed. Rather it should be presumed that *every person is free*, and should be treated as such. The so-called property of the citizens which is destroyed by the United States for the purposes of the war should be paid for, if it belongs to loyal citizens, but they must prove their loyalty. If the United States has freed from his indenture a person, white or colored, owing labor or service to a loyal citizen, let the damage be paid; if to a rebel, he must suffer the loss he has invited or risked.

But we must not be impatient with those in power. There will be mistakes made, there will be difference of opinion about methods of action, but all will work itself right if *the people* keep a sharp eye upon all movements. The recent proclamation of Gen. Fremont has been modified by the President. It may have been prematurely issued, it may have been unwise to modify it, but both have been done. It will not answer to stop for personal criticism in the great contest. As the General did declare martial law, and by that declaration all the slaves of the rebels within the lines specified were actually set free, no modification made by the President can effect any, except the slaves of such as may become rebels *after the date of his modification* of the General's proclamation; and nothing hinders another proclamation of martial law over still another territory, before which the feeble and impotent act of Congress will go down as a reed before a tempest. And this will be done. The so-called property in men and women and children will certainly be held no more sacred than that in land and ships and goods and cattle. It is painful to witness the tenderness, the chariness, which the government manifests toward slave property, while all other property is seized without stint, without caution even. If Southern property in Northern ships is seized with due diligence, to the great annoyance and loss of Northern loyal part owners, why not seize Southern slaves, which is no annoyance but a blessing to heart and pocket of the supporters of the government? Why should the *goods* of rebels from Maryland be confiscated, and not their slaves? These questions will be asked in louder and louder tones by men who are pouring out their blood and treasure like water to put down the rebellion. Why not accept regiments of our colored citizens in the free States, and form regiments of the freed slaves in the slave States? No men fought better than the "contrabands" on board the Minnesota off Hatteras. They worked the great guns which they manned, with a relish. With flashing eyes and open lips, they watched the parabolic track of the shell which bore their compliments as well as confusion and dismay into the midst of their late masters. One thing at least is due to the North. It is due to-day. Command should be given this hour along our lines from Washington to Kansas, and round the ocean and gulf shore, *that no soldier,—officer or private,—shall aid in returning a fugitive, or permit the camp to be entered in search of one.* It is due to law as well as to patriotism, that the army shall be neither made nor permitted to be slave-catchers. If we are to spend a thousand million of dollars, and pour out rivers of blood merely to drive these traitors to their dens, and leave the real cause of this war untouched, and blot out the hope of freedom of four millions of God's children, better pause where we are, infinitely better. I would not march a rod or pay a cent—I hope I should have both principle and nerve enough to suffer any penalty first, either of bullet or brand—to support the government. This great question of slavery must be settled forever, by blotting out the word from our vocabulary. And it will be done, unless we show that we are unworthy of our freedom by bowing our necks to tyrants. And we ought to bear their yoke and be scored by their lash, and despised for our pusillanimity, if we come back from those bloody fields leaving a single bondman behind us.

Having freed the slaves, we shall have a police of four millions to see that no harm is done to the republic. Put arms in their hands, and those who are now their masters will keep the peace. We shall have no more rebellions against freedom. One thing at least will be settled.

I know that some persons are fearful that great evils will befall the nation, if freedom is given to the slave. I have none. Doing justice brings no judgment. We all see what we have got by servitude, bloody fields and rivers. The negroes could work as owners on the soil which they now till. Let the plantations of the rebels, those in arms, be given in part to the former slaves, and the other part sold as other public lands are to settlers. In a few years, society would be adjusted to the new state of things, and peace would pervade the land. It is said, I know, that white men cannot work in the Southern States. This is true but to a very small extent, and if it were wholly true, what would be the inference? that the white man must own, sell, beat, brutalize black men and women to make them till the soil? or let those have the soil who can till it in the freedom which God gives to every one of his children? Because a white man cannot work in a rice field, is he authorized to seize a black man by the throat to make him work for him? Rice is not necessary for man; but righteousness is. And it seems to me that nothing can be more self-evident than that God does not design me to do that which I cannot do; and if there are tracts of country where no man can live a freeman, it is evident enough that the Creator made it for reptiles and reeds. Let His will be done. I am sick at heart when I hear men estimating the priceless boon of freedom by bales of cotton, hogsheads of sugar, and tierces of rice. My soul loathes all estimates of the value of one's liberty. A great statesman once said he "never estimated the value of the Union." It was a noble testimony from eloquent lips to its worth. I never estimated the value of freedom; but the immortal Henry of Virginia, in the fervor of his soul, exclaimed, "Give me liberty or give me death." Think of the great army of the Potomac, its officers mousing round the camp to see if a panting fugitive has not hidden in the stuff, and finding him trembling with terror, sending him back to the lash of his master! Merciful God! save my eyes from such a sight! Save my ears from hearing it! Is this what we have risen to arms to do? Never! Never! We have risen to arms as one man to put down this rebellion, and when it is done, we mean this soil shall be trodden by none but freemen. By the madness of the masters, the door has been opened to free the slaves, and it will not be closed till the humblest has passed out.

This, then, must be the *people's* policy. As the army of liberty advances, the oppressed must be set free, and when the rebellion is crushed, and the rebels driven out of the country or punished, all loyal citizens who suffered loss must, as far as possible, be compensated. "As far as possible," I say, for it is to be borne in mind that no compensation can be made for some losses. Is the loyal Northern merchant, whose debts have been repudiated, whose ships have rotted at the wharf, to go uncompensated while we are making Southern men, who have lost their slaves, as comfortable as possible? Are Northern mechanics, whose bread has been taken from their mouths by this barbarous treason, to be passed by, while we are freely distributing gold among those who have lost their so-called property in men and women? We sometimes hear statements made implying that no persons will be sufferers by this war but these precious slaveholders, and that all other property must stand in abeyance till their accounts are posted and settled. Bear this in mind, and when you hear a recreant son of one who fought at Lexington or Bunker Hill, asserting that property is sacred and that the slaves must not be freed, ask him if property is not as sacred in Woburn and Boston as in Norfolk and New Orleans? If slaves are taken from their masters by force to work for the country, let compensation be made as for any other labor; but if slaves are declared free by the necessities of war for the peace of the country, there is no more reason why their masters should be compensated even though loyal, than that owners of shipping in Boston should be compensated for the loss of freight produced by a blockade of Southern ports. We have become so accustomed to go down on our knees before the demands of slavery, that even now we forget our own losses in wondering how we shall pacify and satisfy slaveholders for theirs. O, be men! Up, upon your feet. Be manly, erect men. Cringe, crouch, fawn no longer. Be just, and fear not. Do righteously, and God will bless you.

☞ The number of colored persons in the New England States was as follows, at the periods named:

	1850.	1860.
Maine,	1,356	1,195
New Hampshire,	520	450
Vermont,	718	582
Massachusetts,	9,064	9,454
Rhode Island,	3,670	3,918
Connecticut,	7,693	8,542
Total,	23,021	24,141

The Liberator.

No Union with Slaveholders!

BOSTON, FRIDAY, OCT. 18, 1861.

"I lay this down as the law of nations. I say that the military authority takes, for the time, the place of all municipal institutions, slavery among the rest. Under that state of things, so far from its being true that the States where slavery exists have the exclusive management of the subject, not only the President of the United States, but the commander of the army, has power to order the universal emancipation of the slaves."

"From the instant that your slaveholding States become the theatre of war, civil, servile or foreign, from that instant the war powers of Congress extend to interference with the institution of slavery in every way in which it can be interfered with, from a claim of indemnity for slaves taken or destroyed, to the cession of the State burdened with slavery to a foreign power."

"If civil war come, if insurrection come, is this beleaguered capital, is this besieged government to see millions of its subjects in arms, and have no right to break the fetters which they are forging into swords? No! The war power of the Government can sweep this institution into the Gulf." John Quincy Adams.

☞ The following Memorial to the next Congress has been prepared for universal circulation, with the belief that it will readily be adopted by all but those who are in favor of eternizing the accursed system of slavery—who, while pretending to be on the side of the Government, are secretly in hearty sympathy with the Southern traitors—and who would prefer to see the Federal forces every where defeated, the blood and substance of the people expended to no purpose, and the rule of the Southern Confederacy victorious over the whole country, rather than have the oppressed set free under law, even though a satisfactory adjustment is proposed in the case of the so-called loyal slaveholders. Let the most active measures be at once taken to procure the signatures of men and women, voters and non-voters, to this Memorial, in every city, town and village. A million such can be easily obtained by energetic and concerted action—but no time is to be lost. In a note just received from Gerrit Smith, he says—"I am glad to receive this morning from Boston, three copies of a Petition of excellent form. I immediately put my name to one, and will, without delay, have them all in circulation. Let the enclosed draft be accepted as my share of the expense in scattering copies of the Petition over the country."

☞ Printed copies of the Petition, for gratuitous circulation, may be obtained at the Anti-Slavery Offices in Boston, New York and Philadelphia.

MEMORIAL OF THE PEOPLE TO CONGRESS.

"Proclaim liberty throughout all the land, to all the inhabitants thereof."

To the Congress of the United States:

The undersigned, citizens of ______, State of ______, respectfully submit—

That as the present formidable rebellion against the General Government manifestly finds its root and nourishment in the system of chattel slavery at the South; as the leading conspirators are slaveholders, who constitute an oligarchy avowedly hostile to all free institutions; and as, in the nature of things, no solid peace can be maintained while the cause of this treasonable revolt is permitted to exist; your honorable body is urgently implored to lose no time in enacting, under the war power, the total abolition of slavery throughout the country—liberating unconditionally the slaves of all who are rebels, and, while not recognizing the right of property in man, allowing for the emancipated slaves of such as are loyal to the government a fair pecuniary award, in order to facilitate an amicable adjustment of difficulties; and thus to bring the war to a speedy and beneficent termination, and indissolubly to unite all sections and all interests of the country upon the enduring basis of universal freedom.

☞ *Editors of newspapers are requested to give this Memorial one or more insertions in their columns.*

THE LONDON ECONOMIST.

Among the various pro-slavery assaults made upon Gen. Fremont for his just, righteous and constitutional Proclamation, emancipating the slaves belonging to all in Missouri who are treasonably at work to overthrow the Government, none has been more venomous than the one that may be found on our first page, in the "Refuge of Oppression," from the London *Economist*. Indeed, so thoroughly pro-slavery is it, in spirit and expression, that it seems as if none but a base-hearted American could be the author of it. Commenting upon another villanous article from the same paper, on the same subject, the *London Anti-Slavery Advocate* pointedly remarks:—

* * * Does the *Economist* forget, that when they were emancipated in the British West Indies, the blacks were to the whites in the proportion of more than 10 to 1, whilst throughout the American slave States they are outnumbered in the proportion of 2 to 1; that in only two of the States—South Carolina and we think Mississippi—are they equal in number to the whites, whilst in most of the others they are greatly outnumbered; that they are unarmed; that they are rarely gathered in large numbers, because the large plantations are scattered at wide intervals, with scanty means of concert or communication; that very few of them can read or write; that they are by far a gentler race than their owners, who are the most bloody, lawless, and vindictive of all people claiming to be civilized; that none of the horrors shadowed forth by the *Economist* were justified by the events of West Indian emancipation, and would be impossible to any great degree under the actual circumstances of the slave States; that the abolition of slavery is the only remedy for the evils which afflict America; that such a measure, besides its inherent justice, would be amply justified by its necessity; and that the real or supposed interests of 350,000 slaveholders should no longer be regarded as paramount to those of the rest of the people of the United States.

It should be remembered that all the measures of preparation, provided by the British Parliament in 1830, were baffled as far as possible by the West Indian planters; and that such indignation was called forth in England by their opposition that the local legislatures were obliged, by the apprehension of imperial interference, to abolish the apprenticeship system, and to proclaim complete and immediate emancipation—a measure which was followed by no violence, turmoil, or bloodshed whatever.

Everett and Sumner. On Wednesday evening last, Hon. Edward Everett gave the opening lecture of the Mercantile Library Association course, before a brilliant and crowded audience. It was on the Rebellion, and was delivered with that grace of action and rhetorical eloquence for which he is so distinguished. It was a graphic, comprehensive and felicitous sketch of the rise, progress, and disastrous results of the Great Conspiracy, characterizing it in fitting terms of indignant reprobation, and was rapturously applauded; but it left "Hamlet" out of the play, by ignoring the whole question of slavery as the producing cause, and emancipation as the only remedy for disunion. He marked out no course of policy to be pursued by the government in any contingency, except blindly and "patriotically" to fight for the flag.

This (Friday) evening, Hon. Charles Sumner opens the Fraternity course at the Tremont Temple, on the same subject. Of course, the house will be packed, and what Mr. Everett (through constitutional weakness and characteristic timidity) "remembered to forget," we doubt not Mr. Sumner will elucidate in a forcible and telling manner,—cheered by the smiles of the friends of freedom, and unintimidated by the frowns of its enemies. Get your tickets!

Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society. The annual meeting of this faithful and steadfast auxiliary of the American Anti-Slavery Society will be held at West Chester, on Thursday and Friday next. Having been urgently invited to be present, (though needing nothing of the kind as a matter of desire,) we have made our arrangements to do so, and anticipate a great deal of pleasure in again meeting the old and tried friends of the noblest of causes in that section.

STILL ANOTHER REJOINDER.

As the rejoinder of the reply of the *Liberator* of Sept. 27 to J. W.'s communication therein is stated as a "Final Reply," and, moreover, does not appear to answer his arguments at all, (which was J. W.'s object, so that the subject might be fully elucidated,) it would be to only repeat his sentiments and arguments to proceed any further in the general discussion. The *Liberator* itself furnishes a witness (in the article from the *Edinburgh Scotsman*, copied in the same number) to J. W.'s position at first—that the war is to *preserve* slavery in the Union. If this is not so, will the *Liberator* say what it *is* for as respects slavery? But what J. W. only intended to say, at present, was, that disliking slavery as much as any man, he has always deemed it wise to found the opposition to it *upon the evils we see in the system*, rather than upon Bible authority, which, to say the least, is contradictory, and where testimony is not clear on one side, it is never worth while to use it. For instance, the *Liberator* says, "If there be any thing in the 25th chapter of Leviticus contrary to the 58th of Isaiah, then it is no 'offset,' but only a cool assumption, on the part of our correspondent, that what is right in one instance is nullified by what is wrong in another." That is, God is wrong in his express commands as to perpetual slavery in the 25th chapter of Leviticus, but the prophet (His prophet or agent) is right in what *he* says, Isaiah 58:6—"to loose the bands of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens, to let the oppressed go free, and that ye break every yoke." Is one sentence of this verse more imperative than another? Why don't we "break the bands of wickedness" in our own midst? Why do we allow gambling, prostitution, intoxication, avarice, &c., to keep untouched their bands around us? Again, are there no oppressed but slaves? Are not tyrants every where? And lastly, how do we know what species of oppression the prophet intended, local and of that period, or of universal application through all time? Nay, the last clause, "break every yoke," might be quoted by the ("soi-disant") oppressed secessionists themselves.

Not only, therefore, does the *Liberator* not sustain its proposition of the "cool assumption" of J. W., but it shows that it is far better to take the tenable ground of J. W., *the palpable evils of the institution*; and the more, because both the Hebrew and Greek words rendered "servant" in the Bible do in fact mean slave, and both Christ and his apostles recognize them as such. Of course, it must always be a question what was the kind of slavery of the whole Jewish dynasty, and of other nations, and whether worse or more lenient than ours. God permitted the Hebrews to be as much or more oppressed for four centuries, in Egypt, as he now does our slaves. In His own good time, He changed His policy, but he provided a preparation of forty years, and then only allowed freemen born in the wilderness to rule a free country; not of their own devices, but in strict laws of His own providing.

Why God has recognized slavery, both in the Old and New Testament, and why, on the other hand, he has in the latter established doctrines opposed to its cruelties, we cannot know. It may be that the unvarying command of "Love" was to have a greater scope under the slave system; that, placed by God's providence in his hands, the master was never to oppress but love his dependants as his children. Such an one is no oppressor; but his next neighbor may be the vilest of oppressors. Against the one, Isaiah's prophecy has full force; certainly not against the other, unless he can see clearly beforehand where he can place his dependants so as to have all the love and care he bestows, and freedom besides. All these considerations render a general plan of emancipation or emigration a stupendous difficulty. But in the meantime, as the institution of slavery seems recognized by the Bible, it is better for us to take our stand upon the manifest evils of the whole system, as a system; and, full of holy love and zeal, tempered with prudence and reason, calmly look out for some remedy not worse than the disease—some progressive measure, so as not to destroy the body politic by one rude exit of the cancer, so long existing and so firmly rooted. It was in this view, O friend *Liberator*, J. W. first entered your columns, to ask, Is War that safe and efficient remedy? and if so, how? J. W.

Remarks. We had supposed this discussion terminated, but our correspondent is still dissatisfied. Entirely willing that he should have the last word, if he desires it, we deem it proper to notice one or two points in his present rejoinder.

He says—"The war [on the part of the government] is to preserve slavery in the Union. If this is not so, will the *Liberator* say what it is for as respects slavery?" And if this is the object of the government, why, in the name of reason, is the slaveholding South in hot rebellion? It is neither to support nor sanction slavery, in itself considered, that the people of the free States have simultaneously taken up arms in defence of the government; but they have done so under such an inspiration of freedom as has not been felt since the recognition of American independence by England. Their object, primarily and essentially, is to maintain free institutions, and the right of the people to elect their own rulers; though it is true that, if they should succeed in restoring the old order of things, they will be ensnared by constitutional complicity with slavery, in certain particulars, as hitherto, to their curse and condemnation. To prevent this complicity being renewed in any form or to any extent, we are doing what in us lies; and as it must be plain to all who are not idle dreamers, that the Constitution of 1787 can no longer bind the States together, and that either slavery must be abolished under the war power, or the independence of the Southern Confederacy acknowledged, it follows that freedom is to be the gainer by the conflict, even if the latter alternative ensues; for, in the language of Mr. Arnold of Tennessee, "the dissolution of the Union will be the abolition of slavery."

"J. W." says he "dislikes slavery as much as any man." If he were to make that declaration aloud in the hearing of the traitors, it would be his death-warrant, and he would write no more confused, querulous and contradictory communications for our columns! If the rebels would give him time to be heard, however, he would soon satisfy them that he meant nothing by it; that he had never seen nor heard of any reasonable or safe plan for the abolition of slavery; and that he had endeavored to neutralize the "fanatical" abolitionism of the *Liberator*, by writing for its columns a series of semi-treasonable and essentially pro-slavery articles, every one of which had been promptly published, without any recognition on his part of the courtesy and fairness thus extended to him!

We, too, believe that the Southern slave system must be tested by what it is, and what it legitimately produces, and not by any text in the Bible; but "J. W." is himself text-ridden, and not we—for, professing to believe that the 25th chapter of Leviticus is in direct antagonism with the 58th chapter of Isaiah,—the one in favor of slavery, the other in favor of liberty,—he attributes them both to the same divine source! As to the 58th chapter of Isaiah, we expressly said, "We refer to it because it is based *upon the reason of things, upon everlasting truth, upon the nature of man and the law of the living God*, so far as it relates to oppression." And we reiterate the declaration; at the same time, denying the correctness of the construction placed upon the 25th chapter of Leviticus by "J. W.," though not disposed to go again into an exegesis of passages, which, since we commenced the *Liberator*, have been worn threadbare by critical manipulation.

"J. W." will occupy his time profitably in tracing the difference between the "recognition" and the sanction of a crime. He says that "God has recognized slavery, both in the Old and the New Testament." Again he says—"The institution of slavery seems recognized by the Bible." So are adultery, theft, lying, and many other iniquities; but to recognize is one thing, to approve quite another. Strange that he should urge any one to "look out for a remedy" for that which God and the Bible "recognize"!

A PAMPHLET FOR THE TIMES.

The Rejected Stone: or, Insurrection *vs.* Resurrection in America. By a Native of Virginia. Boston: Walker, Wise & Co., 245 Washington Street. 1861.

This is a pamphlet of 132 pages, on good type, and in a style creditable to the publishers. We do not know, but only surmise, who the author of it is; but from its affluent style, its earnest spirit, and its unfettered utterance, we have no doubt that he and Moncure D. Conway, the brave and eloquent preacher in Cincinnati, are the same person. It is the most glowing production that has appeared on the War and Slavery since the rebellion broke out, and ought to secure a rapid sale. Below we give a specimen of it.

When we stand true Knights of Humanity; when we have set our hearts to strike for the innocent and wronged; when we have bound ourselves in a holy compact, as a Legion of Honor, to strike down those who raise themselves upon the weak,—then the royal Soul of our race shall rise and return to lead us, and the sword that never failed shall carve the path of our victory through every "bar," and bring back the thirty-two stars as jewels in its hilt.

As yet the watchers must sit by the foaming, seething sea of events, awaiting the great hand, and the sword which alone can win the day for America. Not yet, not yet. As yet, our leaders turn their faces from the hunted fugitive, even if forced to receive him; as yet, the soldier's sword has not the calibre to carve the iron of the slave's manacle. When our Anglo-Saxon blood mounts to its royal height, and grasps its final, noblest weapon, four million chains will fall,—nay, six million hearts, whose drugged blood owns the same fountain with ours, will cast off the virus which has maddened them, and every State hasten as a Knight to the Table where Arthur reigns.

Why does not this nation at once draw this sword? Why does it not, owning what is whispered in every heart, that this war means *freedom for all or chains for all*, at once inscribe Emancipation on its banner?

No one questions that Slavery is the cause of this rebellion.

No one questions that to recover the Union as it was—i. e., with slavery in it—is to recover the elements that have led to this collision, and must bring it on again whenever the slave interest thinks itself strong enough for another effort.

No one questions but that the only alternative of this will be the subjugation of the North in a moral sense,—the suspension over the ballot-box of the hair-strung sword of Civil War, so that Fear, and not Conviction, shall decide every election.

No one questions that Slavery is the one stain and blot which disgraces our flag and cripples our progress, and that, but for the protection given it by the Constitution, the nation should and would have abolished it for ever.

No one questions that, by the appeal which Slavery has made to an arbitrament beside the Constitution, compelling the temporary obedience to military law and military necessity, by which the Constitution itself has provided for its own possible suspension, our nation has a right to strike at the very root of the evil, which, so long as it remained subject to the Constitution, it must protect.

No one questions the position of John Quincy Adams, that the power to abolish Slavery is contained in the War power.

Yet in this War, law has been as often suspended in favor of Slavery as against it; for it is a direct violation of law for one of our soldiers or military officers to return a fugitive slave, such return being provided for in due form of law, and assigned to appointed civil officers. Where, by the growing compulsion of events, our government has been compelled to liberate slaves, it has done so with all the tenderness for the South that a mother might show for her pet babe. To-day comes the news that, by a final decision, escaping slaves shall be retained, whether belonging to loyal or disloyal; but, as if frightened at reaching this dizzy height of resolution, the order of the Secretary of War immediately provides that any slave wishing to return to the service from which he has escaped shall have no let or hindrance! We quote this, not as an instance of unfaithfulness to Freedom, but as an example of the infatuation and terror which seem to seize upon and confuse all our public men, when they touch this question of property in man. Any one whose wits are about him can see that, by this order, any treacherous negro of Gov. Letcher's household may be bribed into escaping to Fortress Monroe, and, after suitable observations, "voluntarily return," to give such information as, at Manassas, the rebels had, by their own account, to pay $100,000 for.

Why this timidity? Why this overweening tenderness with human bondage? One would suppose that a system, repulsive to all the instincts of Humanity, which can exist only by a toleration almost barbaric, would be at once crushed when it became an outlaw and a foe; but here we are, pirouetting amongst its interests as daintily as Mignon among the eggs she dare not break. Wherefore?

Not because any member of this Administration loves Slavery, but because the government fears to divide its physical forces; that is, to alienate certain persons in the North and (supposed) in the South from the cause of the Union itself, as separate from the Slavery question. In fact, *for the sake of certain persons who, in case of a direct issue between the American Union and Slavery, would take sides with Slavery.*

But if such men should, unwashed, put forth their hands to defend the Union, would it not be a sure proof that it would be the old tar-and-feather Union—a Union not fit to be saved?

Unto their assembly, mine honor, be not thou united!

Indeed it is, in the eyes of every lover of universal Freedom, the highest mission of this conflict to liberate this land from the influence of that vile Northern Mephistopheles, the party which has in every way fostered the arrogance of Slavery, and encouraged the madness of the South, which it is now forced to abandon in the conflict to which it has seduced that misguided section. The guilt of this rebellion is not heaviest on Dixie's Land, by any means.

These tories would be a drag and a curse to our side, if they should espouse it. The hearts of freemen, the world over, would shrink back chilled and distrustful.

"We shall march conquering,—not thro' their presence;
Songs shall inspirit us,—not from their lyre;
Deeds shall be done,—whilst they boast their quiescence,
Still bidding crouch whom the rest bade aspire."

FREMONT.

I.

Thy voice, Fremont, hath broke the fatal spell!
Now all the wizards may, with busy hand,
Wave, to renew it, each his ancient wand,
Potent erewhile to bind with influence fell
The faith that in the nation's soul doth dwell,—
Potent no more for ever,—we are free!
Questioned with one heroic touch by thee,
The nation's heart rings out,—as if a bell
In heaven, by some archangel smitten now,
Did as a signal through the azure say,
"A damning stain from Earth is washed away,
And she henceforth shall wear a whiter brow,
Joyous among the stars." And, Hero, thou
Art as a star preluding light of day!

II.

O eye, that canst discern the cloud and flame!
O eagle spirit, fit for high career!
True thou continuest to thine early fame,
And art, as erst, the people's Pioneer,
Across the desert teaching it to steer;
Mid all the terrors of the time, the same
As when through mountain cloud-rack, void of fear,
Thou held'st toward lands of gold high-hearted aim.
O'er darker desert now and craggier peak,
Stormed on, alas! with a more blinding snow,
And buffeted by winds more bitter-bleak,
Thine eye, thy footstep must before us go
To lands with joy of justice all aglow—
To lands of which all hopes and prophets speak.

D. A. W.

IS THE HOME MISSIONARY SOCIETY ANTI-SLAVERY?

Having been providentially led, last Sunday morning, to the Berkeley Street Church, (of which Rev. H. M. Dexter, editor of the *Congregationalist*, is pastor,) I heard a sermon from Rev. Dr. H. B. Hooker, Secretary of the Massachusetts Home Missionary Society, which is auxiliary to the American Home Missionary Society.

The Home Missionary Society has for several years past chosen to hold a middle ground between pro-slavery and anti-slavery, refusing to help the worst class of slaveholding churches, and claiming a right, when its aid is asked by a church composed more or less of slaveholders, to inquire into the extent and the circumstances of that relation before granting the request. This course has occasioned the Society to be called "anti-slavery" by two different classes of persons—some using that word as a reproach, and others as a commendation. This position of the Society, however, necessarily implies that its managers tolerate slaveholding to a certain extent as right and Christian.

To any impartial examiner of the state of our country for half a century past, it must be evident that slavery, which has so enormously corrupted our manners and morals, our politics, our literature, our social life, and the administration of our Federal and State Governments, has had a like pernicious influence upon our religion. All the great religious denominations, and all the great Societies formed to aid the diffusion of religion, (such as the Bible, Tract, Missionary and Sunday School Societies, and the Young Men's Christian Associations,) have shown themselves *deeply* tainted with this infection. The church is the main bulwark of slavery, and all these Societies have been formed and managed by leaders in the church.

After a long continuance of this pernicious influence, slavery meanwhile increasing in power, twining itself into closer and closer connection with all our concerns, and getting to be openly defended in the name of religion by a larger and larger number of reputable clergymen, a crisis has arisen in our national affairs which offers the opportunity of throwing off its yoke, and (according to the measure of our earnestness, zeal and faithful perseverance) either expelling it altogether from the nation, or at least thoroughly purging the North from complicity with it. Every individual worker, even towards this latter end, helps the overthrow of slavery, helps the ultimate triumph of liberty. Every already established organization can do very much, by turning its working machinery more or less in that direction. And labors of the Home Missionary Society in that direction would be exactly and directly in the line both of its duty and interest. No work could be more *appropriate* to such a body than the movement to clear away one of the greatest corrupters of our morality and our religion.

The Northern people, united in opposing the rebellion, are very much divided in their views respecting slavery. Some of them positively defend it; but a very great number determinedly resist opposition to it, saying that its continuance or discontinuance should be left to the decision of the States where it exists. Both these classes probably exist in larger proportion *in* the church than out of it. And this proportion is probably yet larger among the clergy than among the laymen of the church. Nevertheless, a feeling of opposition to slavery has of late been spreading from "the world" to the church, faster than ever before; and the critical circumstances of our time compel church-members as well as others to consider and debate the question of the continuance or non-continuance of slavery. Never before (within our life-time) have the minds of our countrymen been so open to truth and reason on this subject as at present.

If now the preachers connected with the Home Missionary Society (probably far exceeding a thousand in number) would interweave with their professional labors a systematic attempt to awaken their people to the pernicious character and tendency of slavery, its malign influence on religion and morality, and the imperative necessity of using the present peculiar circumstances of our nation to effect its abolition, they would not only accomplish far more than ever before towards the purification of our religion and morals, and the diffusion of evangelical truth, but they would sensibly and very greatly assist the nation to overcome its present difficulties, and to become in fact that "free" country which it has hitherto only pretended to be. Nay, if the Secretaries only, of the State and National Home Missionary Societies, (in those preaching tours which they are constantly making to urge the claims of their cause, and collect the funds for its support,) would devote one quarter of their sermon in each place to a statement of the immense obstacle now presented by slavery to the diffusion and reception of the Gospel, and of the immense aid to missionaries and all other preachers of that Gospel which would spring from the abolition of slavery, they would at once greatly forward their professional object, help their country in her hour of need, and aid in the permanent establishment alike of religious purity and civil liberty.

These things being so, I was very glad of the opportunity to learn, from the Secretary of the Massachusetts branch of this great Society, whether it made any effort in this direction—whether it really cared to oppose slavery—whether it were at all distinguishable from that American church at large which is "the great bulwark of slavery," and from that *Foreign* Missionary Board which has so persistently sheltered slavery in its churches!

Not the slightest movement towards leading the minds of his hearers in this direction was even attempted. Although, both in prayer and sermon, Dr. Hooker repeatedly turned aside to make allusion to the war we are waging, and the creditable zeal of the people to defend their government, he avoided even to hint at the precious opportunity now presented to remove the greatest obstacle to the success of the missionary work; and, instead of showing any right in his Society to be favorably distinguished from the openly pro-slavery *Foreign* Missionary Board, he claimed support for it as the ally and coädjutor of that body; presenting, as distinguished specimens of success in Home Missionary labor, the case of two churches which, having originally been raised from poverty and feebleness by the aid of this Society, were now among the largest contributors to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.—c. k. w.

TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

It has been conceded by all statesmen, from the day your form of government was set up, that it was to be an experiment. To be sure, it had the wishes of all good men that it might succeed; yet there were not wanting many ardent lovers of freedom, and many strong minds, who doubted the capacity of the people for self-government. They had not forgotten that Adam had been placed in Eden, surrounded with every thing that could satisfy the most perfect, with only one restriction, "not to eat of the fruit of the tree of knowledge"; neither did they forget, farther down the descent of centuries, the experiment which was so graciously permitted at the time of the Jewish theocracy, when the Israelites had the Almighty for their President, and Moses for their Secretary of State. They could not but recollect how jealously this able statesman guarded the purity of the Jewish Commonwealth; how expressly the people were commanded not to introduce among them the worshippers of strange gods; and when, led away by avarice and the love of ease, they broke the law, how continually did ruin in the State make the wisdom of that law apparent:—or when, leaving behind them the wreck of Israel, they stepped forward a thousand years, and stood upon the threshold of ancient Rome, (a free republic,) and were compelled also to pass that by, with its fallen fanes and crumbling palaces, its people extinct and their language forgotten, could they fail to bring the truth home to themselves, that Adam was yet a weakly child, and unable to go alone.

How much better has your experiment succeeded than those of former years? Wherein have you progressed to a purer form of government, than

when you began by stating that all men were of right free, and at the same time made provision to enslave every seventh man, woman and child under the Constitution?

Is it a matter plain to the common sense of freemen, that it is a free government you seek to establish, (if necessary, by the sword,) when you peril life and property, as you do at present, to make it a sure thing, an absolute, unalterable fact, that five slaves shall give to the owner the political power of three freemen? How many years have the people of the United States had cause to rejoice in the good effects produced, by giving such power into the hands of persons who do not hold themselves responsible for the observance of any agreement whatever?

Is that form of government worth contending for on the part of freemen, which will enslave any man? and if it is, how much more worthy is that which will enslave no man? It becomes freemen, who take arms, to know what they fight for; and if it is to establish the fact that five slaves are worth (politically) three freemen, then it is not for a free government they contend.

Under any circumstances, from henceforth the Constitution is dead; you can never live again united under it. Why, then, war to reëstablish it as a rule of government, which all can see is untrue and incompetent?

Cunning men who favor your enemies, and who see the dilemma you are placed in, are strong in their expressions of respect for that tainted instrument; for, by keeping your aim fixed upon a false issue, they succeed in preserving the weakest point and most vulnerable part of your enemies untouched. As long as Democrats, or no-party men, or Republicans, (so in name,) can persuade you to war for the reëstablishment of the three-fifths vote, so long are they quite sure that slaves, who can tell the difference between black and white, will not trouble themselves to get rid of their present tyrants by rising to help a cause which recognizes slavery as a fundamental political power in the government.

If your commander, supported by the military necessity of the case, should have the wit and the grit to proclaim martial law, with freedom to all slaves, and accept military service from them, with promotion for good conduct in action, a widely different aspect of affairs would be presented. There would be no want of a war material to essentially weaken your enemies. He would set in motion a centrifugal force, which, true to the laws of political dynamics, must tear them asunder. How many pitched battles would your enemies be able to fight on the sea-board, or along their left behind a servile people who had every inducement men can have to quit slavery and unpaid labor for freedom, certain pay, and military respectability and self esteem? It is needless to answer such questions; for every man, capable of holding a plough or a sword, can answer them for himself.

What have you gained since 1776? Well, you have gained numbers, land, wealth, THREE AND A HALF MILLIONS OF SLAVES, and a civil war: but you have not obtained a free government, neither can you educate the masses that have grown up around. All through the western and southern portions of your country are multitudes who can neither read nor write, who accept from sheer ignorance that Christ's gospel is the corner stone of slavery, and that manual labor is degrading. Where can you point to the annual report of your minister of public instruction from the Bureau at Washington, of the degree of education afforded to every child in the whole country? What law exists, compulsory upon every parent to so educate his children as to make them perfectly acquainted with the principles which lie at the roots of free government? Without a foundation, it is madness to attempt the building of a superstructure: how mad, then, must a people be who would seek to establish a free government, without educating the whole body of their youth as freemen, and by enacting that five slaves are worth, politically, three freemen's votes, and fighting to establish such INSANITY?

You have had eighty years' experience of the political effects of a union of two deadly opposing elements in your Constitution. Thirty years has the moral and religious aspect of the case been most faithfully preached in your ears; and now, with two hundred thousand men marshalled in the field, with all nations as spectators of the fight, you are preparing to strike for the immense fact, that five slaves are as good as three freemen! If this is to be your progress,—if you are so doltish that you cannot fully see, and entirely comprehend, that it is a religious, a moral, a political, and a military necessity to proclaim all men free, in order to secure freedom to yourselves,—then are you unworthy of being freemen, and unfit for, because incapable of self-government. Prophecy is not needed in your case: it follows, of necessity, that your enslavement will follow, unless a principle is sought to be established more powerful than slavery.

Your enemy has the advantage in seeking to establish a greater evil. If his aim cannot be met by the more powerful aim of establishing a greater good, then the victory is his, as you may be able, *when it is too late*, to realize, that your ruin was as necessary a consequence of your action, as that substraction increases diminution. CARBON.

A FLAX COTTON DODGE.

"The man whose genius shall perfect machinery for the manufacture of flax into cotton at a low cost, will do more for the abolition of slavery than a thousand Senators who confine themselves to making speeches against the institution, without offering a single practical idea toward the abolition of it. And that machinery being once perfected, every farmer who produces a ton of flax becomes a practical, working abolitionist, (without perhaps giving a thought to the subject,) of far more influence than a distinguished Senator who thinks and talks of nothing else."—*Boston Journal, 14th inst.*

The weakness of this assault upon Senator Sumner is only equalled by its malignity. The Senator, forsooth, has not "offered a single practical idea toward the abolition of slavery," but the *Journal* has.

The Senator proposes the most expeditious and feasible plan—the most "*practical*" to be conceived—a proclamation of freedom to the slaves of the rebels, by virtue of the war power, conceded by the rebels in inaugurating and prosecuting the war.

The *Journal* proposes the transmutation of flax into cotton, by some machinery to be invented. This is belling the cat with a witness. Flax cotton has been produced by experiment, but whether it can become "*a cheap substitute*" for the fibre now extensively in use, and now a king, is problematical. The experiment is worthy of the utmost effort, but, like many other plausible and seemingly hopeful inventions, it may prove a failure. It is not a "practical idea." The plan proposed by "a distinguished Senator" is. It was practical in South America, and will be practical and effectual in these United or Disunited States, if put into vigorous execution. The thing can be done in a comparatively short time, and with comparatively little cost of blood and treasure; but if we depend upon the success of our arms and the invention of machinery for the successful transmutation of fibres, the rebel States will achieve their independence, or years of warfare, bloodshed and expense will impoverish the country, and accumulate a public debt like that of Britain, with a consequent exhausting taxation. The economical problem is worthy of the most attentive consideration—the humane is infinitely more important.

The writer of this article has voted for freedom more than twelve years, and belongs strictly to the Republican party. He offers his contribution to the *Liberator*, because he does not know of another Boston paper that would be likely to publish it. CIVIS.

☞ The fact is well worth recording, that nearly all the men in the last Congress who voted against the prosecution of the war—with the exception of those from the free States—have either entered the rebel army within a short time past, or are preparing to do so—John C. Breckinridge among the number.

MEETING OF COLORED CITIZENS IN NEW BEDFORD.

A meeting of the colored citizens of New Bedford who are in favor of using their influence in behalf of the government to put down the rebellion of the South, assembled in the City Hall on the evening of the 9th inst. A very general attendance was present.

The meeting was called to order by Mr. Wm. Henry Johnson, who read the following list of officers for the meeting, which was adopted:—

President—WILLIAM P. POWELL.

Vice Presidents—Wm. Bush, John Gowing, Wm. Berry, Alfred Swan, Lewis Betts, Peter Nelson, Rev. Wm. Jackson, Rev. Wm. Giles, Alfred Smith, Wm. Ferguson, Charles Carter, Lloyd H. Brooks.

Secretaries—Wm. H. Johnson, J. C. Richmond, Wm. P. Powell, Jr., John Freedom.

The President addressed the meeting as follows:—

FELLOW CITIZENS—It is with no small degree of pleasure we give our consent to preside over the deliberations of this patriotic assembly; because we believe that it is the duty of every citizen of whatever complexion, however humble, to throw the whole weight of his influence on the side of the government under which he lives; because, notwithstanding the invidious distinctions so prevalent all over the country against our race, "for no color of crime, but for the crime of color," we equally feel the burden of our country's trouble in common with our other heretofore highly favored fellow-countrymen; because the signs of the times clearly indicate that the non-slave-owning States are now reaping the bitter fruits of their base servility to the interests of the Slave Power; because, to use the language of another, "If you fasten a chain on the ankle of another, a retributive Providence will surely fasten the other end around your own neck." If the doctrine of enforced, unrequited labor "is a holy and wholesome thought," then it is right to enslave white as well as black men. "What's sauce for the goose is most certainly sauce for the gander." If it is right to enslave black men in *South Carolina*, under the U. S. Constitution, then it is right to enslave white laborers in *Massachusetts*, and put them, their wives and their children, on the auction-block, and sell them to the highest bidder. The Richmond *Enquirer* thus speaks on this topic:—

"Until recently, the defence of slavery has labored under great difficulties, because its apologists (for they were mere apologists) took half-way ground. They confined the defence of slavery to mere negro slavery; giving up the slavery *principle*, and admitting other forms of slavery to be WRONG.

The line of defence, however, is now changed. The South maintains that slavery is RIGHT, natural and necessary, and does not depend upon differences of complexion. The laws of the slave States SUSTAIN the holding of WHITE MEN in bondage."

Ex-Senator Downes, of Louisiana, thus speaks:—

"I call upon the opponents of slavery to prove that the *white laborers* of the North are as happy, as contented, or as comfortable, as the slaves of the South. In the South, the slaves do not suffer one-tenth of the ills endured by the white laborers of the North. Poverty is unknown to the Southern slaves, for as soon as the master of slaves becomes too poor to provide for them, he sells them to others who can take care of them. This, sir, is one of the excellencies of the system of slavery, and this the superior condition of the slave over the Northern WHITE laborer."

Such, fellow-citizens, are the declared purposes of the lords of the lash. We, as uncompromising Abolitionists, contend that chattel slavery is a violation of man's inherent, God-given right; that no system, custom, tradition, usage, precedent framed into law, except for crime, is a justification for the enslavement of any of God's children. The election of Abraham Lincoln to the Presidency is only a pretext for secession; the great contest now going on all over the country, disguise it as we may, is between Slavery and Freedom—"Slavery sectional, Freedom national." Also the disintegration of this American Union, now almost divided North and South—the one by God's blessing to be forever free, and the other, slave only for a season, till the negro Goths and Vandals, like the white slaves of classic Rome, wipe out the accursed sin in rivers of blood. Of course, we are all deeply sensible of the existence of this terrible war—terrible in its brutality as well as destructive in its ravages. The Revolution of 1776 was nothing in comparison with this of 1861. Then, it was only against a 3½d. impost duty levied on tea, and the Stamp Act, insignificant of themselves, which the colonies successfully resisted. Now, the final struggle is, that the South slave States, not satisfied with the pro-slavery guarantees of the U. S. Constitution, which, for eighty-two years, has secured to them their property in human flesh, now demand greater security for the preservation of negro slavery, and that the re-opening of the African slave trade shall be legalized all over the American continent by unalterable law forever!

Never in the history of our unfortunate country have the Stars and Stripes been held in greater veneration by Abolitionists, even by colored men, than now. For one, I must confess that, heretofore, I have held in *utter contempt* the United States flag, because it gave us no protection, and have often exclaimed, in the language of the poet Campbell—

> "United States, your banner wears
> Two emblems—one of fame:
> Alas! the other that it bears
> Reminds us of your shame.
> The white man's liberty in types
> Stands blazoned by your stars:
> But what's the meaning of your stripes?
> They mean your negro's scars."

But now the Stars and Stripes, with the exception of fifteen slavery stars, which are rapidly approximating to the sun's centre of the world's political progress, and soon to be forever lost in the immensity of Freedom's space, never looked more beautiful, more hopeful. It represents, in this fearful crisis, the express will of the free States, the total annihilation of negro slavery.

Fellow-citizens, I believe that God's own time, long wished for, has now come; slavery *must* come to an end, and that speedily. Whether by bloody massacre, exterminating the slave-owner, or by peaceful means, God only knows; but by whatever means, in God's name, let it come!

The great change now witnessed all over the free States is truly encouraging. Pro-slavery flunkeyites, old line Whigs, Democrats, Political Abolitionists, Garrisonians, Republicans, disfranchised colored Americans, and non-resistants, all vie with each other in support of the government, and look up to the Stars and Stripes as the John the Baptist of the slaves' coming redeemer, and will defend it, in whatever way their own convictions of duty may dictate, to the bitter end.

We regret the necessity which calls this extraordinary distinctive meeting. It should not be so. It is no fault of ours that we are not this day *mixed* "in this imminent deadly breach." It is no fault of ours that we are not standing shoulder to shoulder in battle array with the men of the North, "to put down the rebellion of the South." It is no fault of ours that we are standing still, with folded arms, whilst government is straining every nerve in the maintenance of its legitimate constitutional authority. We stand now on the same "broad ground of our common humanity," where our fathers stood in 1776 and 1812, and are ready and willing to follow their illustrious patriotic example. But why should government stand halting between two opinions? Why hesitate, and stoop to pander to the sickly sentimentalities of "conscience and the Constitution"? If custom makes law, then the past history of the country's struggles fully justifies government calling into active service every muscle, without regard to the texture of the hair which adorns the head, or the color of the cuticle which covers the body. We are not begging this question; neither do we mean to rummage among the musty pages of history to find a precedent upon which to hang a doubt. Neither do we care for legal or illegal technicalities, or constitutional prohibitions: these all sink into insignificance as compared to the fearful exigencies into which the country is now plunged.

There is a law,—a higher law, if you please, a law as old as the Bible,—viz: *Inter arma silent leges*: "In time of war, there is no law." This law should more particularly be now enforced to the very letter, because the nation is at war *with itself*, to put down high treason, backed up by 300,000 slave-owning rebels, against 27,700,000 freemen, and the constituted authorities. In time of war there is no law, only the law of superior force. It is only when the rebels are whipped into submission and sue for peace, that their "sober second thought" will be made to obey the powers that be, ordained in form of physical force. Hence we advocate this law of necessity, because it obviates the slow process of doubtful legislation. Proclaim this law, and 50,000 able-bodied men of our race will not wait to be asked to take up arms to defend the liberties of the country. Proclaim this law of liberty, and four millions of our race will rise up as from the sleep of death, and leap into the front ranks of freemen. Proclaim this law of strength, and our country will not present the shameful spectacle to the sneering gaze of the world, as being too weak to defend herself without foreign aid. Proclaim this law of retaliation, and we shall have given the rebels in exchange "a Roland for an Oliver." Proclaim this law of righteousness, and this afflicted, but, we trust, repentant nation will then have vindicated the cause of truth, justice and liberty.

Mr. Powell's remarks were received with considerable applause.

The Chairman read the following resolutions:—

Whereas, the United States government are now at war to put down the Southern slave-owners' rebellion; and, whereas, in several engagements with the rebels, the Federal troops have been out-numbered, out-generaled and defeated; and, whereas, notwithstanding the existence of negro slavery in the rebel States, which they are at war with the general government to perpetuate, yet the rebels do not scruple to employ slaves, free negroes and Indians to fight against the Federal Union, thereby abandoning the dangerous doctrine of teaching negroes the art of military defence; and, whereas, the militia laws of Massachusetts still retain the invidious distinction which precludes free colored citizens from bearing arms in their country's defence, contrary to the Constitution of the United States; therefore,

Resolved, That speaking for ourselves as citizens of Massachusetts, anticipating that this law will be repealed at the next session of the Legislature, we hereby tender our services for the second time to the Governor of this State.

Resolved, That a committee of five ladies and five gentlemen be appointed to circulate petitions, asking the next Legislature to strike the word "white" from off the statute laws of the Commonwealth.

Resolved, That this meeting recommend the formation of a military company.

Resolved, That the proceedings of this meeting be published in the *Evening Standard, Mercury, Liberator, National Anti-Slavery Standard*, and the *American Baptist Journal*.

Hon. Rodney French was the first speaker, who urged the colored people to commence drilling, for he thought that their services would very soon be required by the government.

Other speeches were made by Wm. H. Johnson, Rev. Mr. Jackson, Rev. Mr. Jones, Wm. Berry, and His Honor Mayor Taber, after which the resolutions were adopted, and the meeting adjourned.

IS THERE HOPE?

Disguise the fact as we may, it is nevertheless a *fact*, that slavery draws its life from the great national heart. See how every pulsation of that heart beats in sympathetic obedience to slavery! See how this great national heart quivers and palpitates when slavery is menaced! Its life seems mysteriously bound up in the life of the slimy monster. Let that monster but hiss, and the sympathetic chord is touched, as seen in the present developments of the extent to which slavery has coiled itself around the national heart. Poor heart! how it lies quivering under the poisonous stings of the monster! How sensitively it anticipates any tightening of the coils, as though it looked for no life beyond the slimy embrace in which it lives!

Not content with having plunged the country into the horrors of a most savage and bloody rebellion—a rebellion the most unprovoked of any in all the annals of time—Slavery has now the matchless effrontery to demand for that rebellion the protection of the assumed guarantees of the Constitution!

A little fiery hissing and tightening of the coils, and the representatives of our nationality at Washington succumb. Martial law must not be martial law, i. e., the assumed sanctities of the Constitution in favor of slavery must not be transcended, *even under the most pressing military necessity!*

To out-Herod Herod, or go beyond either the spirit or letter of the Constitution, pro-slavery as it is held to be, the slaves of rebels are regarded as *property*, i. e. decreed to be *contraband*, &c. Let the commander of any department presume to treat them as *men*, by decreeing their emancipation, rather than the holding of them as property in *sacred trust*, to be re-delivered to rebel masters whenever those masters may affectedly ground the weapons of their rebellion, and forthwith the *head*, at least, of the national heart fidgets till it brings forth a quietus for a decree embodying a high and holy principle.

A. HOGEBOOM.

MIDDLESEX A. S. SOCIETY.

WINCHESTER, Oct. 18, 1861.

FRIEND GARRISON—There was a meeting of the Middlesex Anti-Slavery Society at Reading, Sunday, Sept. 15, all day and evening. The meeting was the largest held in the county for a long time. The Anti-Slavery spirit seems to be reviving again in old Middlesex. The meeting was addressed by A. T. Foss and C. L. Remond. The Hutchinsons were present, and added very much to the pleasure of the meeting by singing some of their patriotic songs. In the afternoon, a business meeting was held for the choice of officers. Samuel Barrett was reëlected President, J. G. Dodge of West Cambridge, and Reuben Locke of Stoneham, Vice Presidents, Andrew Wellington of Winchester Secretary, T. W. Hartshorn of Reading, and Reuben Locke, Finance Committee. The sum of five dollars was collected.

ANDREW WELLINGTON, *Sec'y.*

LETTER FROM GERRIT SMITH.

PETERBORO', Oct. 8, 1861.

Mr. W. W. CHAPMAN, Oswego Co., *Chairman of State Abolition Committee:*

MY DEAR SIR,—Election is again approaching, and you and others are asking me to lead in the work of bringing the Abolitionists to the polls. Whilst confessing my gratitude for these expressions of continued confidence, I must, nevertheless, say that, if it was ever proper to regard me as one of the leaders in the Voting Abolition Party, it is certainly no longer so.

The lessons which were read to me by Abolitionists a year ago, I can neither mistake nor forget. In one State and another, Nominating Conventions could not bear with me because of the unsoundness of my Religion. In Pennsylvania, this unsoundness was so abhorrent that a good man disdained to have his name on the same ticket with mine. In some States, the complaint was not only of the unsoundness of my Religion, but the unsoundness of my Abolitionism also.

Surely, surely, if I have any remaining modesty, such facts as these must make me shrink from putting myself forward, or from allowing others to put me forward, among Voting Abolitionists.

My Religion and my Abolitionism must bide their time! Your friend,

GERRIT SMITH.

☞ The only persons exempted from military service at the South are overseers. Consequently most "gentlemen" have assumed the watch on their own plantations, from their aversion to "villainous saltpetre," and dismissed the usual chevaliers of the lash to exercise their functions on the soldiers of the North. No apprehension of negro insurrection is felt at Richmond. The negroes are not only lied to about the dispositions of our soldiers toward them, and our Government's measures toward them cited to indorse the lies, but they are also treated unusually well. It is remarkable that no friend of the Union from the far South has arrived in the North but regards the proclamation of Fremont concerning the slaves as a home thrust, and wonders at the President's modification thereof. —*Correspondent of the New York Tribune.*

And well may the rebels laugh at such folly!

CARD FROM CAPTAIN JOHN BROWN, JR.

CLEVELAND, Ohio, Oct. 12th, 1861.

EDITORS LEADER,—A rumor is current that my company of "Sharp shooters," in camp near Camp Wade, Cleveland, Ohio, is about to disband from lack of sufficient numbers to organize a company. This rumor I wish to *contradict* through the medium of your columns and the columns of all papers friendly to my success in raising this company. The above rumor has gained some credence chiefly from two causes.

First cause: It has been industriously circulated by designing men, who are at least *disguised secessionists*, that my company is a mere independent guerilla band, notwithstanding I have over my own name emphatically stated that the company is for *United States service for three years or the war* in the Regiment of Col. Montgomery, Brigade of Gen. Lane, and Division of Major General John C. Fremont.

Second cause: In consequence of the proclamation of Gov. Curtin, of Pennsylvania, giving effect to the Pennsylvania law of May last, which forbids the citizens of that State to join and serve in Regiments not belonging to that State, some twenty of my best riflemen, whom I had enlisted and transported to Cleveland from the head waters of the Allegheny river, though enlisted *prior* to the Governor's proclamation, got frightened by the penalties of the Pennsylvania law, and left my company and returned home. Yet, Messrs. Editors, in spite of these discouraging circumstances, I have yet left from sixty to seventy men, good and true, and the places of those who have left are rapidly being filled.

Early in September last, I proposed to the Secretary of War to raise a company of one hundred riflemen, to serve as above specified. Not receiving an immediate reply, I made the same proposition to Gen. Fremont. An acceptance of the company finally came from Secretary Cameron, with the proviso that it should be in readiness for marching orders Sept. 22d. The company was also accepted by Gen. Fremont. On the 21st September, I telegraphed Gen. Fremont that the company had just gone into camp of temporary rendezvous at Cleveland. Since then have arisen the above named causes for a rumor, *which shall not prevent ultimate success.*

The chief expense of recruiting this company has thus far come out of my very limited means. Perhaps in the end I may get it back from the Government, perhaps not, since it remains *to be* proved whether or not we are to have a Government. At least for the present, I very much need the "material aid" which I know many of my friends can furnish. I need it *now*, and perhaps now more than I ever shall again. I am aware gentlemen are now being pecuniarily bled in support of this war. But I would say these *are* and *must be bleeding times, if we would save anything we have that is worth preserving.*

Faithfully yours,
JOHN BROWN, JR.

REV. JOHN PIERPONT.

The Massachusetts Twenty Second Regiment (Col. Wilson's) had a very flattering ovation given them at New York, last week, on their way to the seat of war. In the course of the speech-making—

Rev. Mr. Pierpont, Chaplain of Col. Wilson's regiment, was next called for, and delivered one of the most stirring addresses of the day. He said he was a son of both Massachusetts and Connecticut. (Laughter.) He could not say whether he was delighted, or surprised, or overwhelmed by his reception. He did not know that he was to speak at this table. A friend had told him that he had been announced in the *Herald*, but, since that veracious journal had called him a saint, (laughter,) he had not relied upon the general accuracy of its information. (Applause and laughter long continued.) Ever since, he had not had what his friend Bryant called an "unshaken faith" in its statements. Therefore he did not know that he was to speak. (Laughter.) What had brought them here? They wanted to put down civil war. They might perhaps differ in their opinion as to the cause of the war. Some might suppose that the war grew out of the conflict between Freedom and Slavery. Some might entertain that idea, but not all, he supposed. One gentleman of his cloth, and of Dr. Bellows' cloth, (though not Dr. Bellows,) had said he supposed the war grew out of the abolition of capital punishment. (Laughter.) He assumed that it grew out of a conflict of ideas as to the true liberty of man and abject slavery, (applause,) and that one or the other of these ideas must conquer before this war could cease. The question was whether the Government must be all slave under Jeff. Davis, or whether it should be all free. (Applause.) In his unsophisticated mind that was the issue. And they were prepared to argue that issue at the point of the sword. Some of them had been asking for thirty years, as God asked of the prophet, "Art thou he that disturbs Israel?" It was too late now to preach; they must practice. (Applause.) Some of his people in Boston would not allow him to preach for fifteen years past, but, by the blessing of God and the charity of Gen. Wilson, (laughter,) he had now found some opportunity to practice. (Laughter.) It would be exceedingly difficult to disabuse the South of the idea that they were born to command, but, he judged by the force moving to Washington, the South would have an opportunity to stand corrected. (Applause.) For many years the noble women of Massachusetts who had had the boldness to denounce slavery had been termed Cassandras, but the people were beginning to see that they were not Cassandras but Deborahs. (Applause.) He related, with thrilling effect, the story of the officer's struggle with that deadly serpent, the *cobra de capello*, and startlingly compared it to the struggle between Freedom and Slavery. He said that now was the time to give slavery its death-gripe, and end the contest. His speech was received with vociferous cheering, and concluded the exercises at the breakfast—or rather dinner-table.

A SLAVE WHO TOUCHES THE SOIL OF SPAIN DECLARED TO BE FREE. A decision of Marshal O'Donnell, Minister of War and the Colonies, published by the Madrid *Gazette*, and addressed to the Captain-General of Porto Rico, declares, in principle, that a slave who has touched the soil of Spain must be considered as emancipated, even without the consent of his former master. The Marshal's letter is thus worded:—

"I have laid before the Queen the letter which your Excellency's predecessor addressed to the Ministry of War and the Colonies, dated the 27th of October, 1858, accompanying it, by way of proof, with the documents of the examination relative to the slave Rufino, who sold himself at the Havannah after having resided for several years in the Peninsula, on which matter he solicited an explicit declaration relative to the Royal order of the 29th of March, 1836, regulating the condition to which slaves from the Antilles are subjected on coming into Spain. In conformity with the decision of the Council of State, and in virtue of the above-mentioned decree, Her Majesty has been graciously pleased to declare that slaves coming from that island and from Cuba into Spain with their masters must consider themselves emancipated, without the consent of their owners being indispensable; that the freedom granted to the said slaves, in virtue of the decision of the 29th of March, 1836, is not revocable; and that they acquire, by their arrival in the mother country, without any other act being necessary to confirm it, the quality of free men, even should they return to a country where slavery is authorized by the laws.

O'DONNELL."

☞ In view of such a decision, how shameful and humiliating is the contrast presented in what follows!—The Washington correspondent of the New York *Evening Post* makes the following statement. From other sources we learn that there were never so many alleged fugitives in the jail at Washington as there have been for the last six months, and, what is more, they are arrested and imprisoned without the slightest legal process, and given up *without examination* to any body who claims them:—

"Our district jail is used at present as a receptacle for 'contraband' negroes. A friend who was over it yesterday was astonished to find in it so many unclaimed fugitives from slaveholding injustice. Among them he discovered a slave belonging to the notorious rebel John A. Washington. According to the Confiscation act of the extra session, this slave is free. It is understood that he will soon be brought out on a writ of *habeas corpus*, and nearly all the slaves kept in the jail are there without the color of the law. A writ of *habeas corpus* would show that no legal charge lies against them, and no master appears to claim their services. Every suspicious negro is instantly put into jail, as if he were guilty of treason, instead of being suspected of being a slave. Why these arrests are made, no one can tell. The jail-keepers seem to know nothing about it, and to care nothing about the matter, as nearly all of them are bitterly pro-slavery."

THE SLAVES IN VIRGINIA. One of the Massachusetts volunteers,—a correspondent of the Milford (Mass.) *Journal*,—writing from a position near Alexandria, and referring to a Mrs. Scott, says—

"Next morning, I took occasion to visit her slaves, and gather what I could of their story. It was the same sad tale they all tell. I have learned much of slavery from these victims' own simple minds, and cannot discover any of the mitigating conditions others have. I saw in one of Mrs. Scott's cabins an old slave woman, who, through over one hundred years of bondage, had served five successive masters of the Scott family. One hundred years of slavery! think of it, you who live enjoying the blessings of freedom! Her great-great-grandchildren were playing about her. I looked in one of their innocent faces, and thought of a hundred years of bondage. One bright-eyed boy, with bright skin, too, and well-formed features, was particularly pleased with the gold in my teeth; and when I took out two false ones that I have in front, he was amazed. I remarked that there was white blood in his veins. 'Lor' bless you, yes there am, and a smart good lot, too,' was the reply. Sweet and I ate the hoecake they had prepared, and left for home."

Referring to the case of an aged slave, he adds—

"Those who think the slaves do not know any thing should hear him. He is a Christian man, and believes God has sent this war upon the nation to deliver the slave. I gave him what consolation I could, which was but little. Fifty-five years he has lived a slave; his children have been sold away from him. He had never seen a man like me before. I turned and drove from him, with fresh resolutions for the struggle. This war must be his jubilee."

ELEGANT EXTRACT. A correspondent of the Memphis (Tenn.) *Appeal* uses the following elegant language. It would disgrace the Hottentots:—

"If hell does not break loose under the feet of every Federal soldier and every Federal adherent—aye, every persistent Union man—in Missouri, Kentucky and Maryland, it will be because there is no such place as hell, or those States are unworthy to join our glorious Confederacy.

"We know what vast pyramids of human bones they are in imagination erecting all over our Southern plains; and every Southern man, with even a piece of soul in him, should brace himself like steel for the rush of Scythian hordes that Lincoln is preparing to hurl upon us. Ho! every Southern man; ho! every man on this side of the border—fling yourself from this day forward heart and soul into the conflict, each in his appropriate sphere of action.

"Let the brutal minions of a beastly despotism come on! The slaughter pens are ready, and Yankee blood shall flow as free as festal wine."

REBEL BARBARITIES. From Linn Creek, the intelligence still is, that the rebels are remorselessly sacking and plundering the premises both of Union families and secession residents, to meet the necessities of army subsistence. The entire region for ten miles along the river and seven or eight miles back into the country, in Camden county, is occupied by the enemy, and the property of every other inhabitant is taken, with no other limitation than its utility to the marauders. Wagon loads of the booty are daily being conveyed to Lebanon.

In the Southwest, Judge Chenault's bandits are ravaging the border counties, and fiendishly maltreating as well as robbing the Union citizens. *Eleven of the latter had been hanged for the crime of being Americans as well as Missourians.* Their sole offence was the expression of Union sentiments.

These every-day incidents, together with the sacking of the Insane Asylum at Fulton, the ransacking of the Asylum for the Deaf and Dumb, and the atrocious system of impressing persons of nearly all ages and conditions into their ranks, fairly indicate the diabolical spirit possessing the rebels. Unless soon and effectually checked, they will convert the lately blooming garden of Missouri into a "waste-howling wilderness."

A REVOLUTIONARY SOLDIER OUTRAGED. A North Carolina correspondent of the N. Y. *Tribune* writes—

"When the news came that Fort Hatteras was taken by the United States, a serious turn was given to the popular mind, and some were in favor of having the State, by the Legislature, resolve itself back into the Union. Hereupon sides were taken and blows were struck. The secessionists had all the arms, and they of course had the upper hand. One man declared 'He was a Union man, and not ashamed to confess it.' At this expression, he was taken into a shop, his nose put into a vice, and screwed nearly out of his head; and the lips which uttered the sentiment were treated in the same way, and both nearly pulled out of his face. A lady just from Washington, N. C., tells me that about the same time a company of men were assembled in a store, and extolling the secession flag, when an old Revolutionary soldier (the only one known to be living in North Carolina) interfered, and asked the secessionists if they knew how much the old Stars and Stripes cost? He said he did, for he fought under them, and saw them when first raised, and that he would never recognize another. At this he was taken, his head half shaved, a plaster put on, and the plaster covered with tar, and the tar with feathers, and then he hurled into the street! Who would think that a soldier of Washington would ever be subjected to such treatment in the land where Washington himself was once almost worshipped as if he were a god? How long will Americans allow such things to be?

These are but samples of a series of barbarous acts, which, to mention separately, would fill a dozen pages, and only make one's blood curdle in his veins to think of them."

JOHN BELL. A Nashville (Tennessee) correspondent of the New York *Tribune*, speaking of John Bell from a personal knowledge of his position, says:—

"Once a great leader, famed all over the land, honored far beyond the usual measure of man, he is now without friends, without influence—an unpitied ruin—a living monument of weakness, error, folly and self-degradation. There really seems none left to do him reverence. His lot is that of complete political isolation. He stands unreconciled to the present, and parted with the past. The leaders in the false cause that brought about his fall have no honor, no sympathy for him, while those that once clung to his political fortunes have grown indifferent, and lost their trust in him. And thus he lives, an unenviable, lonesome, hopeless existence, embittered, beyond all doubt, by the consciousness of having, by one false step, inflicted a stain upon his record that obscures all glory of his past, and can never be fully wiped out.

"He resides here with his son-in-law, one of the numerous Yateman family. He is not only politically, but also financially ruined, and his love of liquor is said to have increased greatly of late."

FROM THE SEAT OF WAR. There are slight daily skirmishes between the rebel outposts and the Federal pickets in Virginia, Kentucky and Missouri; but a pitched battle between the hostile armies, within a few days, is confidently predicted.

Intercepted letters from Price's army represent that he is within eight miles of the Osage river, near Papinsville, with from 18,000 to 20,000 men.

The Louisville *Evening News* states that Messrs. Breckinridge and other secession notables are organizing a large rebel camp at Prestonburg, Floyd county, Kentucky. They have a force of 6,000 or 7,000 men, whom they are drilling eight hours per day.

A detachment of forty men, of the 39th Indiana regiment, attacked, without loss, 300 rebels, eight miles from the encampment on Green river, killing five, and driving the whole force beyond Bacon Creek.

The Norfolk *Day Book* contains a report from New Orleans, that Col. Wilson's Zouaves were attacked on the night of the 8th inst., at Santa Rosa island, and, although they fought with great bravery, their guns were spiked, and all their camp equipage destroyed. The rebels claim to have committed great slaughter, and to have carried off a number of prisoners, but admit a loss themselves of forty killed, and about double that number wounded.

GERMANS IN THE ARMY. The following is given as a very nearly correct statement of the number of Germans in the Federal Army, from different sections of the country:—New England 200; New York 12,000; New Jersey 2,000; Pennsylvania 10,000; Ohio 5,000; Indiana 4,000; Illinois 6,000; Missouri 13,000; Minnesota 500; Wisconsin 2,000; Michigan 1,000; Iowa 1,000; Kansas 500; California and Oregon 2,000; Western Virginia 1,000; Maryland and District of Columbia 400; Kentucky 500; Delaware 100—total 59,000.

A COSTLY REBELLION. A Leavenworth (Kansas) paper says that it has information to the effect that one hundred slaves leave Missouri every day for Kansas. At this rate, should this rebellion hold on for a year or so, it will need no emancipation proclamation to make Missouri a free State. In fact her manifest destiny is already clearly foreshadowed. So much for secession in Missouri.

SOCKS FOR THE SOLDIERS. Women of all ages and conditions are entering with alacrity upon the business of knitting socks for the troops of our army. It is decidedly the fashionable employment at present.

A VENERABLE AND PATRIOTIC STOCKING KNITTER. The New Bedford *Mercury* states that Mrs. Samuel A. Frazer, of Duxbury, is now engaged in knitting stockings for the soldiers in our army. She was employed eighty-five years ago in knitting stockings for the soldiers in the revolution. She is now 92 years of age.

THE ARCTIC EXPEDITION. The polar expedition of Dr. Hayes returned to Halifax on Tuesday of last week, the party being in good health. Two have died—August Sontag, the astronomer of the expedition, and Gibson Carruthers. Dr. Hayes reached Smith's Strait on the 26th of August last year, but could not penetrate it with his vessel either last season or this. He wintered at Port Foulke, near Cape Alexander, and with a dog sledge reached latitude 81 degrees 35 minutes, May 18th, this year. The latitude attained by Dr. Kane's party, in 1854, was 82 degrees 27 minutes. The results of this last exploration, if any, remain to be stated. Dr. Hayes put into Halifax for repairs and water, after a stormy passage.

☞ In one of the Troy pulpits, on Sunday last, the pastor made a special prayer for Gen. Fremont, whom he alluded to as a man between two fires—the enemy in front and a distrustful and slanderous people behind. [A mistake—the people side with Fremont.]

LOSS OF A RUSSIAN GUN SHIP AND EIGHT HUNDRED LIVES. A letter from Paris states that the Russian gun ship, the Swelthna, has foundered on the coast of Japan, and that all on board, numbering eight hundred, perished.

OBITUARY.

A very old friend of the Anti-Slavery cause, (a very old friend in both senses,) Mrs. SALLY BRADFORD of Duxbury, has ceased to be mortal. On Thursday, the 10th inst., having almost completed her 90th year, she reached that stage of life which we call death. Her husband, the late Capt. Gershom Bradford, herself, and her four surviving daughters, were among the earliest to embrace, and the most steadfast to hold, and the most diligent to diffuse, the truths taught by the pioneers of abolition. In aid of such truth, they gave not only money, as others did, but self-denying and persevering labors, and the ready exercise of their utmost social influence. Their house has ever been a centre of reformatory action, and a chosen resting-place, not only of anti-slavery, but various other departments of unpopular truth. It was early given them to see the corrupt complicity held by the popular churches, Orthodox and Unitarian, with slavery; and they had the rare courage and fidelity to testify against it.

Mrs. Bradford gave a beautiful example of cheerful, serene and happy old age. Eminently social in disposition, warm in her affections, and hospitable alike to her personal friends and the friends of truth and righteousness, her attachments and her benevolence extended also to the animal creation. Her heart and her sympathies remained always young. Favored beyond most persons of her age with bodily health, she preserved also a healthy frame of mind, looked upon the bright side, and sympathized with youth, kept up an acquaintance with modern literature, and felt an unfailing interest in human progress. A great lover of home, she was also a "keeper at home"; but she will be remembered and missed by a large circle of friends.—C. K. W.

☞ FRATERNITY LECTURES.

FOURTH SERIES.

The public of Boston and vicinity are respectfully informed that the FOURTH SERIES of FRATERNITY LECTURES will be inaugurated at TREMONT TEMPLE, on

FRIDAY EVENING, OCTOBER 18, 1861,

on which occasion

HON. CHARLES SUMNER

will pronounce an Address on

THE REBELLION: ITS ORIGIN AND MAIN-SPRING.

To be followed on successive TUESDAY EVENINGS by Lectures from the following gentlemen:—

October 22—JACOB M. MANNING.
" 29—GEORGE WM. CURTIS.
November 5—T. WENTWORTH HIGGINSON.
" 12—RALPH WALDO EMERSON.
" 19—WILLIAM R. ALGER.
" 26—HENRY WARD BEECHER.
December 3—FREDERICK DOUGLASS.
" 10—DANIEL S. DICKINSON.
" 17—EDWIN H. CHAPIN.
" 24—WILLIAM S. STUDLEY.
" 31—EZRA H. HEYWOOD.
January 7—WENDELL PHILLIPS.

Organist - - HOWARD M. DOW, Esq.

Doors to be opened at 6 1-2 o'clock. Lectures to commence at 7 1-2 o'clock, precisely.

A limited number of tickets (admitting the bearer and a lady,) are offered for sale at $2 each; to be obtained at Oliver Ditson & Co.'s, No. 277 Washington street, John C. Hayes & Co.'s, 33 Court street, D. O. Goodrich's, 302 Washington street, of the several members of the Fraternity hitherto having the disposal of tickets, and at the Tremont Temple. Oct. 11

☞ A. T. FOSS, an Agent of the American A. S. Society, will speak on "The War," at

Newbury,	Vt.	Friday,	Oct. 18.
Bradford,	"	Sunday,	" 20.
Cornish Flat,	"	Friday,	" 25.
Croydon, E. Village,	N. H.	Thursday,	" 24.
Brattleboro',	"	Sunday,	" 27.
Springfield,	"	Tuesday,	" 29.

☞ AID FOR FUGITIVE SLAVES.—The fund raised to aid fugitive slaves is now, and has been for some time, exhausted. Those who are disposed to contribute to this deserving charity are respectfully invited to leave their contributions with FRANCIS JACKSON, Hollis st., or R. F. WALLCUT, at the Anti-Slavery [illegible].

☞ NOTICE.—Mrs. H. F. M. Brown, [illegible], Ohio, has been appointed an Agent for the *Anti-Slavery Standard*; and is fully authorized to receive new subscriptions to the same, as well as payments on old accounts. Mrs. Brown's address is 288 Superior street.

☞ MERCY B. JACKSON, M. D., having had fifteen years' experience in the Homœopathic treatment of diseases, offers her professional services to the Ladies and Children of Boston and vicinity.

References.—David Thayer, M. D.; Luther Clark, M. D.; John M. Tarball, M. D., Boston. Eliphalet Clark, M. D., Portland, Me.

Rooms No. 20 Bulfinch street. Office hours from 2 to P. M.

$40 PARKER $40

Sewing Machines,

PRICE FORTY DOLLARS.

THIS is a new style, first class, double thread, Family Machine, made and licensed under the patents of Howe, Wheeler & Wilson, and Grover & Baker, and its construction is the best combination of the various patents owned and used by these parties, and the patents of the Parker Sewing Company. They were awarded a *Silver Medal* at the last Fair of the Mechanics' Charitable Association, and are the best finished and most substantially made Family Machines now in the market.

☞ *Sales Room*, 188 Washington street.

GEO. E. LEONARD, *Agent.*

Agents wanted everywhere.
All kinds of Sewing Machine work done at short notice.
Boston, Jan. 18, 1861. 3m.

IMPORTANT TESTIMONY.

Report of the Judges of the last Fair of the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association.

"FOUR PARKER'S SEWING MACHINES. This Machine is so constructed that it embraces the combinations of the various patents owned and used by Elias Howe, Jr., Wheeler & Wilson, and Grover & Baker, for which these parties pay tribute. These, together with Parker's improvements, make it a beautiful Machine. They are sold from $40 to $120 each. They are very perfect in their mechanism, being adjusted before leaving the manufactory, in such a manner that they cannot get deranged. The feed, which is a very essential point in a good Machine, is simple, positive and complete. The apparatus for guaging the length of stitch is very simple and effective. The tension, as well as other parts, is well arranged. There is another feature which strikes your committee favorably, viz: there is no wheel below the table between the standards, to come in contact with the dress of the operator, and therefore no danger from oil or dirt. This machine makes the double lock-stitch, but is so arranged that it lays the ridge upon the back quite flat and smooth, doing away, in a great measure, with the objection sometimes urged on that account."

J. B. SWASEY,
BOSTON.

LAW OFFICE, 114 STATE STREET, ROOM 11.

Diseases of Women and Children.

WM. SYMINGTON BROWN, M. D., and
MRS. MARGARET B. BROWN, *Accoucher,*

HAVE opened an office at 274 Washington Street, Boston, and will devote special attention to the treatment of the above diseases.
Office Hours, from 10, A. M., to 4, P. M.
Boston, Oct. 4, 1861. 3m

TRANSIENT BOARDERS.

THE subscriber has just opened house No. 77 Myrtle st., for the accommodation of transient Boarders. The location is a pleasant one, within a few minutes' walk of the most central portions of the city. Every exertion will be made for the comfort of those who may favor the house with a call. Rooms furnished with or without board. Terms moderate.
Boston, Jan. 7. S. NEWELL.

Poetry.

From the Boston Transcript.

FREMONT'S PROCLAMATION.

A CHIME FOR THE HOUR.

Hearken! Borne upon the breezes blowing from the wakening West,
Freedom's first deep throb is struggling from the nation's mighty breast.
Do ye hear it, oh ye people, over all the storm and strife,
Over all the clash and clamor, sword to sword and knife to knife?
Do ye hear the throb prophetic, prophesying coming life?

Lo, the very heavens are brightening! Through the rifted cloud I see
Glimpses of the mighty Future, promises of what shall be.
Oh, the beauty and the glory! Faint and weak I turn away,
Dazzled even unto blindness by the dim yet certain ray:
If the dawning be so glorious, who then shall endure the day?

God be merciful! A nation groping in such dreadful night,
That the first faint flush of morning palsies all its powers of sight!
God be merciful! A people pledged to Liberty and Truth,
Hugging still the old delusions clinging round its cast-off youth,
Worshipping its olden Idol, grim, unholy and uncouth!

Is it true that Christ, the Master, walked the earth in years agone,
Having all the garb of Godhead like a glorious garment on?
Have ye heard his Proclamation? "Liberty" these lips proclaim:
"Open every door of bondage, open, in my Father's name!"
Have ye heard, and do ye falter? Shame upon ye, Christians, shame!

"Nay," ye say, "but this is folly, for the hour has not yet come."
Could ye in His presence say so? Would not your white lips grow dumb
'Neath the quick, majestic kindling of that eye whose sacred ken,
Clothed with more than human vision, sees the inmost thoughts of men!
Could ye say so in His presence—could ye? would ye falter then?

Oh, my brothers, fling your flimsy logic to the mocking wind,
Lay in dust your smitten foreheads, saying, "Master, we have sinned!"
Sepulchre your guilty weakness, yield it to the pitying sods,
Then arise and front the nations, face the hour with all its odds;
Rise and rally to the watchword, "Duty's ours, the Issue, God's."

For the truest cause is surest, and the nation or the man,
Rallying at the call of Freedom, sees Jehovah in the van;
He it is shall lead our armies when they battle for the Right,
Marshalling his own grand legions to the brave, victorious fight.
Do ye see the signs, ye watchmen, watching from your mountain height?

Ay, the dawn begins to brighten! One great venture has been cast,
And the deed has shook the nation like a trumpet's pealing blast!
He, the Hero of the Epoch, striking Freedom's morning chime,
Foremost of the generations, standing on the height sublime,—
Sends his name adown the ages, noblest of his race and time!

Link your hands with his, my brothers; so shall dawn the golden year
Spoken of by all the prophets: "Lo, the Lord our God is here!
Alleluia, for He reigneth! Through the earth the chorus rings:
Every bondman's yoke is broken,—praise Him, all created things!
[illegible] He reigneth, Lord of Lords, and King of [illegible]s!"

But, if still ye shrink and falter, with the black brand on your brow,
Warding off His blessed purpose with your impotent "not now,"
Hear your doom, oh guilty nation; for, as God in heaven is true,
Though to His poor suffering millions Peace and Freedom shall ensue,
All without your help or hindrance, His dark curse shall rest on you!

Fitchburg, Mass. CAROLINE A. MASON.

From the Boston Journal.

OUR COUNTRY'S GUILT.

BY MARY G. HARPINE.

Before His dread and awful throne, the Righteous and the Just,
Do thou, my bleeding country, lay thy forehead in the dust;
Fling at His feet thy starry crown, and humbly lay aside
The haughty ensigns of thy power, the robes of state and pride.
Let the coarse sackcloth wrap thy proud and lofty form instead;
Upon that day, let ashes strew thy tall and stately head.
Where all the countless hosts of heaven their shining foreheads lay,
Columbia, low in the dust bewail thy sins that day!

A few short years ago, oppressed 'neath England's iron rod,
A people small and weak, we raised th' imploring hands to God:
Our cry came up before His throne, He hearkened to our prayer;
A mighty nation have we grown beneath his fostering care.
Than ours, beneath th' all-seeing sun no fairer land may be;
Proudly our stately cities rise, our ships ride every sea;
But, woe to all our land this day! as strong we grew, and great,
We wronged the stranger, and oppressed the poor within our gate.
We have heard, with smiling lip and brow, the cruel despot's plea,
Who would spread through all the glorious West the curse of slavery.

Long has God borne with us, but now has risen in his might;
Has come with gleaming fire and sword that fearful wrong to right;
For this has brought us low, for this has hedged with thorns our path;
Caused us with heavy hearts to drink "the wine-cup of his wrath."
And as for us, we can but lay our humbled lip in dust,
And own, in penitence and tears, our punishment is just!
The sword within their hands we've placed, who've done this treacherous thing,
And the vipers warmed to life, who now our fostering bosom sting?
But God is merciful as just, we shall not plead in vain;
If humbly we return to Him, He will turn to us again,
He will lift our forehead from the dust, take our reproach away;
His mercy lasts through endless years, His wrath but for a day!

THE BATTLE OF LIFE.

Wearied and worn one, stricken in spirit,
Fret not at feeling the gall in thy lot;
Seemingly favored ones do not inherit
All thy imaginings—envy them not.

Think, when the battle of life at the hottest
Presseth thee downward on every hand,
A truce, or a triumph, may come ere thou wottest;
Let hope ever gird thee, imperilled, to stand.

Faint not, nor falter, nor whine broken-hearted;
Thousands are fighting in common with you;
Thousands have fought—has the spirit departed
That nerved for the conflict and carried them through?

The Liberator.

For the Congregationalist.

DR. ANDERSON'S "MEMORIAL VOLUME."

The senior Secretary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions has just published an octavo volume of 462 pages, purporting to give, as fully as that space will allow, a sketch of the history and chief characteristics of the missionary enterprise conducted by that body, in its half century of labor, completed a year ago.

An editorial notice of this book in the *Congregationalist* regrets "that the relations of the missionary churches to slavery have not been stated as freely as those which they sustain to caste and polygamy." This seems to imply that these relations *have* been stated there, though too briefly. The fact, however, is, that in this octavo volume, purporting to be historical, no mention whatever is made of the Board's relation to slavery, or of the numerous and important transactions growing out of that relation, except the incidental mention—in speaking of two deputations, which were sent, in 1848 and 1855, across the whole breadth of the United States to visit the Cherokee and Choctaw missions—that they were designed, the first, to show the relations of those missions, and their churches, "to the subject of slavery"; the second, "to make further efforts for removing the difficulties growing out of the question of slavery." The book contains nothing more upon this immensely important subject.

Examination has shown me, not only that one important class of facts, most seriously affecting the character and credit of the Board, is carefully avoided and kept out of sight in this volume, but that certain claims made in it in favor of the Board, in regard to their success in their missionary work, are in melancholy conflict with existing facts. Since the matters in question are suited to attract the interest of all Christians, and since those who furnish the large sums annually required by the Board are entitled to know that which relates both to the Board's faithfulness in labor, and its success in accomplishing the object of labor, I request permission to speak, as briefly as may be, on these two points, to the readers of the *Congregationalist*.

1. The facts in regard to one very important department of the action and influence of the Board have been carefully left out of this volume.

No mention is made in it of the fact that, during forty years of the Board's half-century here commemorated, the action of its missionaries in the Cherokee and Choctaw nations was such as to confirm and increase the habit of slaveholding which those tribes had already formed, and to give to that evil habit the strength and respectability naturally resulting from the free admission of slaveholders to the mission-churches as Christians.

Again, no mention is made in it of the very important fact that, in almost every year from 1837 to 1860, strong remonstrances against the continuance of the Board's complicity with slavery were made by some of its members and patrons. And it is equally silent in regard to the very significant fact, that these remonstrances were *never* complied with by the Board, but were met, sometimes with uncourteous silence and neglect, sometimes with the mere show of consideration and action, sometimes with deceptive evasion, and sometimes with replies compounded of sophistry and fraud.

Even if shame at his own large share in the commencement and continuance of the Board in this unchristian policy sufficed to keep the senior Secretary from a *full* account of it, he might at least have given one page to the bare statement of facts so important as those above mentioned. That he has altogether omitted such facts is a serious drawback to the historical value of the book.

2. But, bad as is the omission of one important branch of the Board's history, from a book purporting to give that history, this volume contains something worse, namely, a misrepresentation of some of the results of their missionary labor.

Nobody knew better than Dr. Anderson that the Prudential Committee's declaration (in their Annual Report for 1860) that "The Cherokees are a Christian people," was a gross misrepresentation, not only unsupported by facts, but contradicted and proved false by the statement respecting the Cherokee nation in that very Annual Report which he had just prepared.

The ground on which the Board declared the 21,000 Cherokees to be "a Christian people," if carefully scrutinized, is found to be this, and only this. The Board's four mission churches in that nation contained 136 Cherokee church-members; and the preaching at these four stations (one of them holding only a monthly meeting) had average *congregations* (church-members included) of 40, 60, 80 and 75; making in all, saints and sinners, Cherokees, white people and colored people, only 255 customary hearers of the Board's preaching. Rather a small basis for the declaration that a nation of 21,000 persons is "a Christian people."

It is not, however, the smallness of these numbers merely on which I rest the assertion that the Prudential Committee's claim in regard to the Cherokees is a gross misrepresentation. A little genuine leaven leaveneth the whole lump. If the Board's 136 Cherokee church-members were thorough, zealous and active Christians, no doubt they would exercise a strong influence upon their 20,800 countrymen, and do much towards giving the nation the aspect of "a Christian people." But the Prudential Committee's own statement of the character of these churches *in another place, where they are urging the very small prospect of any further improvement among the Cherokees, and of any advantage whatever to be expected from continuing the mission*, throws serious doubt upon the question whether even the 136 church-members are properly entitled Christians. Here are the admissions of one of the missionaries in regard to the discouragements of his brethren:—

"They are laboring under a complication of disadvantages; at a great expense—greater, I suppose, in proportion to the extent of their operations, than that of any other denomination; shut out, at least for the present, from adding to the number of their stations, or exchanging them for more promising localities; regarded with jealousy by a very influential portion of the community; with *no active native preachers;* with small congregations; with *very few young persons* connected with their churches; with a membership that has not materially increased for many years, and *with scarcely any promise of future accessions.*"—Ann. Rep. of 1860, p. 140.

To these admissions of the missionary, the Prudential Committee add the following on their own account, under the same head, namely—"Difficulties in the way of further operations by the Board":—

"The proportion of the people now reached by our ministrations is comparatively small. The audience at Park Hill is not far from forty; that at Fairfield (a monthly meeting) is sixty; at Dwight, it is from sixty to one hundred; and at Lee's Creek, seventy-five. Moreover, all the missionaries preach through interpreters. If it were possible, as it is not, to procure native pastors for the small churches at each of these places, the people could not be induced to support them."—*Ibid.*

How deep is the significance of these admissions! When we consider that the missionaries and the Prudential Committee join in confessing that of their 136 Cherokee church-members (the last result of a forty years' mission, conducted at an expense of three hundred and fifty-six thousand dollars—$356,421) not one is active and zealous enough to preach to his own people, in his own language, the religion he is assumed to have learned, and that, *if such could be found*, his (assumed) fellow-Christians *could not be induced to support him*, how monstrous seems the claim made by the Prudential Committee, and repeated by Dr. Anderson in the volume before us, that "the Cherokee people have been Christianized"!

These admissions of the Board respecting the spiritual destitution of the Cherokees are well suited to remind us of the description of the Laodicean church, "wretched, and miserable, and poor, and blind, and naked." But the Cherokees are not merely "lukewarm"; they are actively vicious.

Not only are they determined slaveholders, not only has their slaveholding steadily increased during the forty years of the Board's labors among them, not only did this slaveholding include (by Mr. Secretary Treat's admission in 1848) "cases of gross cruelty and oppression," and laws forbidding the teaching of slaves and free negroes to read the Bible, but the habits thus cherished by the nation out of the church, *and by the Board's missionaries* IN the church, have now brought forth their natural fruit, in the decision of the Cherokee nation to join the rebels in their war upon the United States for the extension and supremacy of slavery. Here is the evidence, which I find in the *Transcript* of the 1st inst.:—

"THE CHEROKEE NATION JOINS THE CONFEDERATES.—Rev. Mr. Robinson, a missionary teacher in the Cherokee Nation, has arrived at St. Louis, and reports that the Chief of that Nation finally succumbed to the secession pressure, and on August 20 called the Council together at Telequah, and sent in a message recommending the severance of their connection with the United States and an alliance with the Southern Confederacy. The Council approved of the recommendation, and appointed Commissioners to make a treaty of alliance with the Southern Government. The Confederate Commissioner had assumed the payment of the annuities hitherto received by the Cherokees from our Government."

This action, be it observed, is not forced upon the nation by their Chief, but forced upon the Chief by the nation. And this is the nation which, only one year ago, the American Board declared to be "a Christian people"!

This last shameful conduct of the Cherokees—making war upon our nation without the pretence of any present ill treatment on our part, or ground of complaint against us—has occurred since the publication of Dr. Anderson's book. But the union of the *Choctaw* nation with the rebels in the prosecution of this atrocious war took place earlier, and *before* the publication of the book; yet Dr. Anderson has the hardihood to represent them also as "a Christian people"; exceeding, in so doing, even the misrepresentations previously published by the Board.

Not only did the Prudential Committee (in discontinuing the Choctaw mission in 1859) make no claim of *Christian* character for the Choctaw nation, but their language in proposing the discontinuance, and their voted resolution accomplishing it, and their comments in the Annual Report for 1859 respecting it, show *the* reason to have been something altogether different. Here is the evidence.

The letter of the Prudential Committee, *proposing* this discontinuance to the Choctaw mission, mentions as its cause "the unceasing embarrassments and perplexities" connected with that mission.—*Ann. Rep. for* 1859, *p.* 140.

The subsequent letter, *accomplishing* the discontinuance, gives the formal vote in regard to it as follows:—

"Resolved, 1. That in view of the embarrassments connected with the missionary work among the Choctaws, which affect injuriously, as well the labors of the brethren in that field, as the relations sustained by the Board to its friends and patrons, it is incumbent on the Prudential Committee to discontinue the Choctaw mission; and the same is hereby discontinued."—*Ib., p.* 145.

In commenting upon this correspondence, the Prudential Committee admit that—

"They have felt themselves greatly embarrassed by facts and considerations which they cannot properly submit to the public eye."

And they add, immediately after—

"In presenting to the Board, therefore, a letter which has closed its responsibilities in a part of the great missionary field, the Prudential Committee wish it to be understood that the whole case is not here."—*Ib., p.* 143.

This is mysterious and suggestive. In the two years that have passed since the Prudential Committee's use of this very peculiar language, they have given no solution of the mystery. But at least they have the negative merit of having refrained from claiming *a Christian character* for the Choctaw nation. They were then ignorant (so, at least, their Secretary, Mr. Treat, declares) of the burning alive of one of their Choctaw church members by another, without prejudice to the good standing of the latter in the Stockbridge church. Moreover, the Choctaws had not then joined the South to fight against the United States in aid of the extension and perpetuity of slavery. Still, the Prudential Committee did not venture to say that the Choctaw nation had been Christianized by their labors. This amount of hardihood was left for the senior Secretary; and he is not deterred from it even by the knowledge of the shameful facts above mentioned.

The slaveholding of the Choctaw nation—continued, with the Board's consent, during the forty years of their mission—is already extensively known, however little regarded by the corrupt churches of this pro-slavery American people. The alliance of the Choctaws with the Southern rebels will soon publish itself, in the tomahawking and scalping of our citizen soldiers. But the claim of Dr. Anderson that such a nation is "a *Christian* people" renders it indispensable that a wider publication be made of some portions of their *church* history—of the demeanor *to each other* of the Board's "converts" in the Choctaw nation. Here are five facts in regard to the Choctaw churches, which need to be read, marked, learned and inwardly digested by all Christians—especially by all who are asked to give money to the "American Board."

I.

A female slave, a member of the Stockbridge mission church, (under the pastoral care of Rev. Cyrus Byington,) was burned alive on Sunday, Jan. 2d, 1859, by the instigation of her mistress, a *sister* in the same church, who was present, with others of the church-members, while this murder was perpetrated. The victim had previously been tortured, to extort from her a confession of guilt; but she continued, both then and with her dying breath, to declare her innocence of the crime imputed to her. Another slave, who had also been tortured for the same purpose, but who also persisted in declaring his innocence, committed suicide to avoid being burned alive; and his dead body was burned on the same pile with the living woman.

II.

The Stockbridge church soon after held "a big meeting" *for the celebration of the Lord's Supper*. No mention was made in it of the recent murder of one of its members by another! No objection was made to the recognition of the murderers as Christians! No charge was brought, either then or afterwards, (as far as diligent inquiry has revealed,) by the church, or by any member of it, or by the *pastor*, against the instigator of this horrible deed, as having violated their standard of Christian character!

III.

As far as diligent inquiry has succeeded in revealing, none of the Board's other churches in the Choctaw nation took the least notice of this transaction, or seemed to consider the mere burning alive of a slave (though a "sister in Christ") as imposing upon them any duty of interference, discipline, or even inquiry.

IV.

The missionary pastor of the Stockbridge church (if Mr. Secretary Treat's testimony is true) gave no report to the Prudential Committee, or to the Board, respecting the perpetration of this crime, or the neglect of the church to institute discipline for it, or the neglect of the other mission-churches to make protest against the allowance of such conduct by the Stockbridge church. He concealed the whole transaction from his employers, the Prudential Committee, and from the Christian public, who, having furnished the large sums annually consumed by the Choctaw mission, had a right to be informed of its "walk and conversation." And when, afterwards, he received a respectful letter of inquiry from Prof. S. C. Bartlett, of Chicago, he first left it for three months unanswered, and then wrote, "refusing to give any information or explanation."

V.

After some months of further delay, an anonymous letter appears in the *Congregationalist*, (May 3d, 1861,) wondering that so much stir should be made about "a dead negro," and alleging, in extenuation of the quiescence of the Stockbridge church, and of the other Choctaw churches—1, that there is no more freedom of opinion in the Choctaw nation than in Spain, and that, on matters pertaining to slavery, its citizens and its missionary teachers *have to conduct themselves just as they would under the most despotic government in the world!*—and, 2, that Mrs. Harkins, the murderess, belonged to the Pitchlyn family, a family of such power and influence in the nation, that any attempt to take even *legal measures* against one of them, even on his commission of murder, "would be simply ridiculous." (This anonymous letter, with the comments of Prof. Bartlett, may be seen in full in the appendix to a recently published book, entitled "Relation of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions to Slavery.")

The state of things among the Choctaws thus revealed is well suited to bring to our minds, by contrast, the declaration of the Prudential Committee, (p. 29 of their Annual Report for 1852,) that "*the Choctaws have a good government.*"

Has that nation a good government in which the burning alive of a human being by mob violence passed unnoticed by the civil authority, and *cannot be made to claim its attention as an offence?*

Is that nation "a Christian people" whose *churches* utterly ignore and disregard the commission of such a crime by one church-member upon another?

Dr. Anderson represents the nation whose past recent history includes these features, and whose present position is that of unprovoked war against the United States for the very worst of purposes—as "a Christian people"! Whether this representation is true, whether it is honest, whether it is just, whether it is pure—whether the "Memorial Volume" which omits so much, and which perverts so much, of the actual history of the American Board's operations, is to be received as authentic history—let the Christian public judge. C. K. W.

October 7th, 1861.

The foregoing communication was written for the *Congregationalist*, but the editor of that paper refused to insert it. In a note explaining his refusal, he says that he censures the silence of Dr. Anderson in regard to slavery as heartily as I do; but that, "*having condemned that silence,*" he does not feel called upon to say more about it at present; moreover, he sees no good purpose to be answered by further comment upon it.

In reply to this it may be said, that the proportion of this editor's condemnation to his approval—both of the book in question and the course of the Board during the years of its worst complicity with slavery—has been but as one grain to a hundred pounds; and that even his disapproval has uniformly been expressed in such terms as to conceal both the extent and the true character of the offences committed. For example, his comments on that feature of Dr. Anderson's Memorial Volume to which he objects are such as to utterly mislead the confiding reader who has not seen the book in question. When he faintly regrets that "the relations of the missionary churches to slavery have not been stated *as freely* as those which they sustain to caste and polygamy"—who would imagine the shameful fact that they were not stated *at all?* And when he further says—"Silence in this matter seems to us both *less dignified and expedient* than speech"—who would imagine that these gentle terms were a screen carefully chosen to hide the entire suppression of a course of action covering forty of the Board's fifty years; producing many hours of exciting debate at its Annual Meetings; calling forth, for fifteen or twenty years, earnest remonstrances against the policy of the Prudential Committee from members and friends of the Board all over the Northern States; and requiring elaborate reports from a dozen or more Committees, at as many Annual Meetings, to explain away the vicious course of the pro-slavery missionaries, and to show that measures of active reform should not be even attempted;—what reader of the *Congregationalist*, I say, would imagine that the mild terms of criticism above quoted referred to the fraudulent suppression, from a book purporting to be historical, of so large and so weighty a portion of the genuine history in question?

When Mr. Dexter further says that he sees no good purpose to be answered by additional comment on this matter, it is instructive to remember what are the faults upon which he would deem it indispensable to *go on* speaking, shouting, lifting up his voice like a trumpet, *until they were abandoned, and the offenders reformed*. If—instead of the *mere* burning alive of a member of the Stockbridge church by the "brethren and sisters," without even a subsequent attempt at "discipline," and the *mere* persistent concealment of these facts by the missionary pastor from his employers and the Christian public—that church had voted to disregard the Sabbath, or to strike out the recognition of eternal punishment from their creed, and their missionary pastor had tried to keep *this* action concealed—Mr. Dexter would never cease from protestation, warning, admonition, rebuke, until the offending church had returned to its faith, until the leaders in the offence had undergone discipline, until the offending pastor had made confession, and until the Prudential Committee had made due provision against the repetition of such enormities.—Such is the relative estimate of different classes of offences, in the mind of a minister of that church which calls itself "evangelical"!

From my personal knowledge of the editor of the *Congregationalist*, I feel sure that he would scorn to practise, on his own account, or for any considerations of personal advantage, a tithe of the disingenuousness, the persistent attempts at deceptive concealment which he has now (and often before) practised in behalf of his church and its auxiliary propagandist Societies. With him, and with many other well-meaning ministers, an impression seems to prevail that the church and its customary working machinery *must* be supported, right or wrong! The ground of this impression is probably the taking-for-granted, on their part, that the creed of their church, and the credit of that creed in the public mind, are of such transcendent importance, that no other interests can bear comparison with these; and that whenever their credit can be preserved only by deceit, even deliberate and persistent deceit is less harmful than the loss of that credit.

These impressions, held and acted upon in behalf of the creed of the church, naturally tend to slide into practical use in favor also of the clergy, and of the propagandist Societies which assist the clergy. And thus it has happened that most of those "religious newspapers" which call themselves "evangelical" have practised the same systematic dishonesty, in treating of the "American Board" and its operations, which we have seen in the *Congregationalist*.

It has been said that the rulers of the Jesuits expressly permit deception when the credit or purposes of their church may be promoted by it. The Protestant ministers and editors of whom I have been speaking would shrink with real horror from the formal acceptance of such a rule of action; yet, when the emergency comes, when the credit of the church or of the "American Board" can be saved only by deception, they *do* just what the Jesuits have been affirmed to do.

It is worthy of serious inquiry whether the violations of truth in question—used, be it remembered, by ministers of religion, in the preparation of "religious" books and newspapers, and with the assumption that true religion may allow or require such methods of support—are not really tending to weaken the regard for truth among our American people. Must not the frequent detection, by that people, of "pious frauds" practised by their clergy, tend to make them look upon *other* deceits as venial? And must it not tend to fix a gross and distorted idea of God in the popular mind, when the people see those who assume to be His ministers using deception in His service?—C. K. W.

☞ A clergyman in Worcester county, Mass., recently preached a sermon appropriate to the times from the text Jeremiah xii. 19: "The cities of the South shall be shut up, and none shall open them."

THE ABOLITIONISTS AND SLAVERY.

Extract from a Discourse delivered on the occasion of the National Fast, September 26th, 1861, in the First Congregational Unitarian Church in Philadelphia, by W. H. FURNESS, Minister.

After fifty years of silence, a few humble and earnest voices were heard speaking aloud, denouncing the great violation of the Law of Right which the nation was allowing, and warning the people of the deadly peril which was growing every moment that this violation was persisted in. At the sound of those voices, publicly declaring what every man knew, and could not help knowing, in his heart to be true, the whole country was thrown into a state of the greatest consternation and rage. A price was instantly put upon the head of the man who first had the courage to say aloud, that we were breaking the Eternal Law. I will not pause here to praise the valor and the faith of those who were the first to break the awful silence of the nation. I will only say that, noble and heart-stirring as are the instances which we now witness of a generous love of country, there are, at this hour, no purer or more devoted patriots than was the little company of men and women, through whom the Freedom and the Justice, which alone can save this people from the woe and ruin with which the Slave Power has always threatened us, first found a voice. I will make no further claim for them now, nor will I dwell upon this, because it seems to me that, if they had not spoken boldly out in condemnation of the great wrong which we were upholding, and in warning of the danger which menaced us, the very stones of the streets would have cried out. In the demand which was made for an instant cessation from the great sin of the nation, I hear not so much the voices of private individuals, as the mighty and irrepressible voice of Nature,—of Almighty God himself. It could not be, it was impossible, that the hour should not come when the cry of outraged Humanity would be heard, startling the nation out of its dreadful sleep. It lay not in the will of man, but in the unchangeable nature of things, that this voice must be heard. Those through whom it spake did not choose it, it chose them. And as the word came to them, they had to give it utterance or die. A storm of violence and abuse instantly broke upon their devoted heads. They were ridiculed, reviled, mobbed, put to death; every avenue to popular favor was closed against them. All which shows most convincingly how much the nation stood in fear of the institution of Slavery; what a foreboding there was, in the secret hearts and consciences of the people, of the evil that must flow from it, and which they idly thought to postpone by never saying a loud word about it, vaguely trusting that, in some inconceivable way, Providence would some day interpose to relieve our soil of this dreaded curse.

The object of those who, at so much personal risk, sought to awaken the country to its peril, was to adjure it to return to the paths of Righteousness, which alone are the paths of security and peace; and not a few are they whom they have enlisted in their cause. We, my friends, can never forget how heartily he became interested in the Anti-Slavery movement, who, in his day, was by far the most able and eloquent representative of liberal Christianity in this country and in this age, William Ellery Channing; and nothing that he ever did was a worthier or more consistent illustration of the simple faith of which he was the most distinguished advocate, than his labors in behalf of Freedom and Humanity, terminating only with his life.

But the most decisive effect of the Anti-Slavery movement has been to drive the Slave Power to show itself undisguised, to lay itself bare in all its malignity and barbarism, which it has done by a series of outrages, each more atrocious than its predecessor, and culminating at last, as it has done, in this wicked and savage rebellion. The advocates of Freedom, in their denunciations of slave institutions, have always been charged with dealing in too violent language. They have been stigmatized as abusive and slanderous. And yet who that sees, and who that has eyes can help seeing, what the Slave Power is doing at this moment, can find terms of reprobation strong enough adequately to characterize its inhuman and barbarous character? If, at times, the language used against it seemed too strong, that language was hardly uttered before there came tidings of some new outrage perpetrated by it that more than justified the burning words that had been hurled against it, that indeed made those words cold. Indeed, it has again and again seemed as if this evil power were forced by a resistless destiny to vindicate the veracity of those who have denounced it, to prove by trampling in the dust, as it has done, the most sacred claims of Honor and of Humanity, that the worst that was said of it was true.

But, however this may be, whether the language in which the giant wrong of the country and the day has been spoken of, has been justifiable or not, one thing is plain: for the last five-and-twenty years, the people have been learning to see more and more clearly what a foaming fountain of insecurity and alarm, of violence and crime and blood, the institution of Slavery is. What, from an early period, has been a deep but vague presentiment in their minds; what caused Jefferson to tremble for his country; what made Pinckney say, that if slavery lasted fifty years, it would extinguish the spirit, the life of liberty in the nation,—this prophetic dread of trouble to come has slowly ripened into assured knowledge. What was long ago more or less dimly foreseen is now palpable. And no man now can fail to see that Slavery bears bitter and deadly fruit. What misery and ruin it produces is no longer a matter of doubtful prophecy; it is not, as has been so often charged, the wild dream of hairbrained fanatics; it is spread out now and shown before all eyes, in the unhappy state of the country, "shining o'er with civil swords," in the ruthless plunder of the national property, in a beleaguered capital, in whole tracts of country laid waste and desolate, in women and children fleeing for life from their burning homes, in the blood of noble and brave men poured out in battle, in the tears of the widow and the orphan, in the heavy weight of anxious care which now burdens all hearts, and in the energies of our young men forced away from all the honorable pursuits of peace, and driven to study the bloody arts of violence and destruction.

But, although no man can fail now to perceive the relation of cause and effect, between the Slave Power and the present most painful condition of the country, still it is not yet seen as it might, and as it must be seen, how direct and intimate and necessary this relation is. We do not yet appreciate, as we might, the irrefragable logic by which it is inevitable that precisely such effects as we see had to follow from such a cause. So long as Slavery is suffered to exist, no power on earth or in heaven can avert the consequences of it, such as we are now suffering.

FAIR WARRIORS. In Cleveland, last Wednesday, three young women were discovered in the 41st Regiment, attired as males, having enlisted as such.

☞ A feminine recruit named Mary Smith, lately enlisted in the McClellan Zouaves, was discovered at Camp Wood, Cleveland, Ohio, on Tuesday. Mary is said to be intelligent, good-looking, full of patriotism, pluck, and aged about twenty-two years. Suspicion as to her sex was first excited by the peculiar wring of the dish-cloth, which she gave when assisting in cooking the company's rations, but all doubts vanished when, in the distribution of "unmentionables," a pair was handed to the recruit with the feminine voice to fit on. He sat down, pinned the garment to his knee, and began to sew with the expertness of a professional seamstress. On being questioned, Mary pleaded guilty, and said she wished to go to the war to avenge the death of an only brother, who fell at the battle of Bull Run. Miss Smith was sent to Dayton.

APPEAL TO MINISTERS. We have received an appeal, signed "B. C. WARD, Pastor Congregational Church, Genesee, Illinois," for one hundred young ministers of the Gospel, to join the ranks for the war. Are they intended for service against Rev. Bishop General Polk? Mr. Ward is raising a company of laymen for service in Missouri.—*New York Christian Inquirer.*

MORE ABOUT THE CONTRABANDS.

I understand that an order has been received from Washington by Gen. Wool to send there the "contraband" negroes at this post. This is a blunder, and the result of misapprehension. The real truth is that the "contrabands," so far from entailing an incumbrance on this department, by their withdrawal will embarrass its operations, and impose no small expense for the hire of men in their place. Taken as a whole, the negroes are paying their way admirably, and instead of there being ground for apprehending burdens or trouble from them, more are to be desired; and no place or circumstances can be selected or imagined where they will be so comfortable, so free from complications, so sure to work out the interesting problem that surrounds their condition, as here. They are contented, because they are well cared for, feel sure of protection, and are a community of themselves. For the sake of keeping them free from entanglements, and of giving the problem the solution to which it naturally and rapidly gravitates here, the "contraband" negroes should not be sent to Washington, or anywhere else. They are well enough off; their removal would impose burdens on the Government, and complicate the question that surrounds them. They are needed here, and their present employment confers positive and important advantages on themselves and the Government; and the order for their removal has arisen from a total misapprehension of the case, their numbers, their usefulness here, and of the reasons why their situation should not be disturbed. I do not look for this removal, for the present, at least.—*Correspondent of the New York Tribune.*

MASSACHUSETTS SOLDIERS AS SLAVE WHIPPERS.

A private letter to a Baltimore journal, from Carroll county, Maryland, speaking of the recent expedition to lower Maryland, says the presence of Col. Cowdin's Massachusetts Regiment has convinced the wavering that even Massachusetts men could march through our county without interfering with the slaves. "I know of several instances," the letter continues, "where negroes seeking their camp were whipped and sent home." How does the old Bay State relish having the soldiers apprenticed to this base business?—*Washington Dispatch to New York Tribune.*

Now, we want to know, and the people of the North want to know, by whose order that slave-whipping was done. If Col. Cowdin gave the order, where did he get his instructions to that effect? Has he been appointed a Deputy Marshal, or does he hold a Marshal's commission as well as a Colonel's? Has he authority to hold a civil court as well as a court-martial? If not, then we protest against any and every instance of such transactions. It is full time that the War Department commit itself to our army as to the course that is to be adopted toward fugitive slaves. It has been altogether too vague heretofore, and it is full time to have a "policy" in this matter. Gen. Ben. Butler, sturdy old-school Democrat as he was, and bitterly pro-slavery as he always had been, saw at the opening of the campaign that this slave question would speedily confront the war powers, and he cut the knot in his blunt way by declaring these slaves contraband. But, time and again, we have been called upon to chronicle the return of fugitives to their rebel masters by the army, and at length we find a Massachusetts Colonel not only sending them back, but giving them an admonitory whipping for having dared to suppose that freedom was to be found in the army of the United States!

Now, if our army is to be a slave-catching *posse*, and if our volunteers, after enlisting to support a *free* government, and binding themselves beyond recall to the orders of their officers for the term of three years or the war, are to be drilled in negro whipping instead of guard-mounting, and deployed as negro catchers instead of skirmishers, then let it be so announced to all the world.

But if, on the other hand, the army is for crushing out this rebellion in the shortest and surest way, then let that be so understood and proclaimed. The Crittenden resolutions which passed Congress, and which are so often quoted by the sticklers for the letter of the law, declare that the war is not to interfere with slavery. Interfering in favor of slavery, as has been too much practised by our army, is therefore as contrary to those resolutions as direct abolition would be, a fact that it would be well for the advocates of that platform to bear in mind.—*Cleveland (Ohio) Leader.*

A NOVEL SIGHT.

A procession of several hundred stout negro men, members of the "domestic institution," marched through our streets yesterday in military order, under the command of Confederate officers. They were well armed and equipped with shovels, axes, blankets, &c. A merrier set never were seen. They were brimful of patriotism, shouting for Jeff. Davis and singing war songs, and each looked as if he only wanted the privilege of shooting an Abolitionist.

An Abolitionist could not have looked upon this body of colored recruits for the Southern army without strongly suspecting that his intense sympathy for the "poor slave" was not appreciated, that it was wasted on an ungrateful subject.

The arms of these colored warriors were rather mysterious. Could it be that those gleaming axes were intended to drive into the thick skulls of the Abolitionists the truth, to which they are wilfully blind, that their interference in behalf of Southern slaves is neither appreciated nor desired; or that those shovels were intended to dig trenches for the interment of their carcasses? It may be that the shovels are to be used in digging ditches, throwing up breastworks, or the construction of masked batteries, those abominations to every abolition Paul Pry who is so unlucky as to stumble upon them.—*Memphis Avalanche, Sept. 3d.*

ABOLITION.

Charles Godfrey Leland, in "Words to the West," in the October *Knickerbocker*, says:—

"This dread of incurring the name of 'Abolitionist' is as cowardly as it is paltry. Thorough-going courage, as it seems to me, should rather inspire a man to take it up, out of sheer defiance to an insolent and ferocious enemy. Just at present, the entire Union presents the spectacle of men afraid of adopting 'abolition' views, yet itching to adopt emancipation as the only effectual means of 'smashing the South.' Why bother about the word 'abolition' at all? Why boggle at being suspected of friendliness for the black, or of belief in his capacity, or of endorsing amalgamation? Why not sweep over the whole intermediate stage, ignore the entire chain of arguments, and bravely adopt the essential point, of freeing the slaves for the sake of putting an end to this pestilent nuisance? Call it abolition or thievery, God's work or the devil's, anything you please, but let us have the negroes out of the way. Hustle them out of the Border States, at least, in double-quick time; pay the loyal Union men, if you please, but out with them, and lose no time about it. Bring Canada down to the Virginia line, forthwith! It is a pity to see *men*—brave fighting men—quibbling about 'contrabands,' and to have the Secretary of War driven (unwillingly enough, I doubt not) into the meshes of a decision as to the disposal of the chattels, when the whole country should have the decision and manliness to settle the question for him by acclamation.

"Men of the West, and you of the East too, this war is destined, sooner or later, to effectually abate this nuisance of slaveocracy by removing the cause. Why not plunge in and settle it at once? Go at it bravely, and be done with it. You are all threatening it—why not do it?

"Abolition—for the sake of the white man! That is the new platform, the only compromise to which we should listen. Do you want to wait for more Bull Runs? Well, you can have them. But you had better do as the enemy does—strike promptly and fear not."

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☞ The following gentlemen constitute the Financial Committee, but are not responsible for any debts of the paper, viz:—Francis Jackson, Edmund Quincy, Edmund Jackson, and Wendell Phillips.

The United States Constitution is "a covenant with death, and an agreement with hell."

☞ "What order of men under the most absolute of monarchies, or the most aristocratic of republics, was ever invested with such an odious and unjust privilege as that of the separate and exclusive representation of less than half a million owners of slaves, in the Hall of this House, in the chair of the Senate, and in the Presidential mansion? This investment of power in the owners of one species of property concentrated in the highest authorities of the nation, and disseminated through thirteen of the twenty-six States of the Union, constitutes a privileged order of men in the community, more adverse to the rights of all, and more pernicious to the interests of the whole, than any order of nobility ever known. To call government thus constituted a Democracy is to insult the understanding of mankind. . . . It is doubly tainted with the infection of riches and of slavery. There is no name in the language of national jurisprudence that can define it—no model in the records of ancient history, or in the political theories of Aristotle, with which it can be likened. It was introduced into the Constitution of the United States by an equivocation—a representation of property under the name of persons. Little did the members of the Convention from the Free States imagine or foresee what a sacrifice to Moloch was hidden under the mask of this concession."—John Quincy Adams.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.

Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind.

J. B. YERRINTON & SON, Printers.

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Refuge of Oppression.

THE POSITION OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT IN REFERENCE TO SLAVERY.

ABOLITION NOT THE OBJECT OF THE WAR.

The federal administration is misapprehended and misrepresented by the extreme anti-slavery party at the North just as much as it is by the extreme pro-slavery fire-eaters at the South. Both one and the other persist in representing that the object of the government in putting forth its strength to suppress the rebellion is to suppress, at the same time, the institution of slavery. At the South the general dissemination of this idea has converted a large portion of the population into rebels; at the North it has a pernicious effect in weakening the arm of the government, and thereby procrastinating the close of the war.

It certainly is not the fault of Congress, of the President, or of the various members of the administration, that this false and injurious idea has got abroad in either section. The declarations of the government that it has no will, intention or power to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States wherein it exists, are numerous, explicit and conclusive. In another part of to-day's paper we group together some of the most important of these official statements. The first in point of time, as well as in point of conclusiveness, is the resolution passed by the House of Representatives on the 11th of February, 1861, solemnly protesting that neither Congress, nor the people nor governments of the non-slaveholding States, have a constitutional right to legislate upon, or interfere with, slavery in any slaveholding State of the Union. This comprehensive resolve was adopted by a Republican House of Representatives, the vote by yeas and nays resulting in yeas 161, nays none. If the Chicago platform contained anything at variance with the principle here enunciated, that platform was, by this solemn legislative act, swept away and consigned to oblivion. Then we have the fact that Congress, at its close last winter, by a two-thirds vote in both houses, proposed an amendment to the Constitution guaranteeing the integrity of slavery in the States where it now exists.

So much for Congress. Now for the executive. What is the President's position on the subject of slavery in the States? It is that of a full recognition of the sovereign power of the States themselves over it, and of a corresponding disavowal of any right in either the federal government or Congress to interfere with it. We find him pausing and hesitating, and evincing much reluctance, to sign even that very proper law, passed at the last session, confiscating rebel property, lest it might clash with those rights which he regarded as sacred and inalienable. We find him also disapproving and annulling that part of General Fremont's proclamation which declared the slaves of rebel masters emancipated; and we find him on all occasions making the most candid and explicit avowals of his determination to observe all constitutional guarantees, to enforce the laws with an impartial hand, and to respect the rights of every State and section. No man can doubt the honesty and sincerity of Mr. Lincoln in this, as in all his other positions. Then we have Attorney-General Bates's letter in reference to the same question, recognizing the validity of all the laws of the State of Missouri, including those affecting slaves. The sentiments and views of the Secretary of War in regard to the slavery question are no less loyal, no less constitutional, and no less clearly expressed, than are those of the President. His letter to General Butler in regard to the treatment of fugitive slaves at Fortress Munroe puts at rest all doubts respecting his fidelity to the national compact. He declares it to be the desire of the President that all existing rights in all the States shall be fully respected and maintained, and he issues his command forbidding in the most imperative manner any interference by the troops with the servants of peaceful citizens, or their preventing the voluntary return of a fugitive to his master. An order of the day of Gen. Mansfield in reference to the same point forbids the harboring of fugitive slaves in the quarters and camps of the troops serving in the Department of Washington, and forbids their being allowed to accompany troops on the march. Finally, we have the speech made by the Secretary of the Interior at a public meeting, held in Providence, R. I., on the 16th of August, in which he lays down the views and policy of the administration in reference to the war, declaring that "there could not be found in South Carolina a man more anxious religiously and scrupulously to observe all the features of the Constitution relating to slavery, than Abraham Lincoln." The administration, he said, made no war upon Southern institutions. They recognized the right of South Carolina and Georgia to hold slaves if they desired to do so; and they held that it was not the province of the government of the United States to enter into a crusade against the institution of slavery.

In the face of these positive, repeated, unquestioned, explicit declarations of Congress and the executive officers of the government, is it not the very extreme of mendacity to assert that the object of the war is the extinction of slavery? The abolition demagogues of the North and the rebel demagogues of the South know equally well that there is not a shadow of foundation for the assertion, although they persist in making it. The design of the one set is to destroy the institution which makes the prosperity of the Southern States; that of the other to destroy the government which makes the prosperity of the entire republic. Their criminal madness has brought the American people into an internecine war which disgraces the civilization of the age. But let not the delusion be perpetuated. The administration is not, never has been, and does not intend to be, in favor of directing the national arms against the institution of slavery, but simply and solely of preserving the existence of the nation. The Fremonts, the Sumners, the Raymonds and the Greeleys, who would fain drive the administration into this ruinous policy, have not the sympathies of the people of the free States, and cannot swerve the President from his fixed and unalterable purpose. The people of the South should know that fact. Once knowing it, and realizing its truth, the delusion would fade from before their eyes, the base traitors who led them into this wicked rebellion would lose their power, and with it their heads, and the whole people of the United States would once more join in constituting a republic one and indivisible. But if rebellion be persisted in to the bitter end, the inevitable result will be that which Northern Abolitionists pray for—the emancipation of the African race, at all costs and sacrifices. What good man, North or South, desires to see such an event accomplished?

The only way to prevent it lies in the people of the South resuming the exercise of their reason, and recognizing facts as they are, not as demagogues represent them to be. They will then return to their allegiance, and receive the protection of the general government in all their rights. Otherwise they must either submit to see their cherished institution ruthlessly swept away, which will be the case if the ultra Abolitionists obtain the preponderance, or else modified into a sort of Mexican peonage, which would suit the views of the more moderate anti-slavery people. But their only safety lies in returning to their allegiance, and rendering loyal obedience to the Constitution and laws of the United States.—*New York Herald.*

THE IRISH WORSE OFF THAN THE SLAVES!

"Of course, the negro slaves of America are far happier than the poor Irish: these black creatures are well clad, well fed, well lodged, well cared for in a domestic and medical point of view. They don't know what is a poor-house for their kindred; they are never transported; they are never shot down by Negro-Orangemen; nor are they ever doomed to be chained in gangs in foreign islands, living on bread and water, while constructing quays and harbors, till they sink with labor, torture and despair into the works where they lie buried in an ignominious death. Of what advantage is it for the persecuted *poor* Irish to be entitled to a principle of liberty, if they cannot enjoy it? The wealthy may and can derive benefit from this legal freedom; but the mere poor are certainly excluded from its provisions. Have not the landlords, beyond all contradiction, the power of expulsion over their poor tenants; and is not this expulsion the very definition of "the power of life and death" over the poor dependants? Who will therefore deny that the poor Irish cottier, at this moment in Ireland, with his life and death fairly in the hands and at the mercy of the cruel landlord, is in a worse condition and is really a more degraded slave, than the negroes of North America?"—*Letter of Rev. Dr. Cahill.*

Selections.

TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

Extract from the pamphlet just published, entitled, "The Rejected Stone: or, Insurrection *vs.* Resurrection in America. By a Native of Virginia." The following passage is part of a letter to the President of the United States:—

Sir,—The only test of our good faith in the present conflict is, that the world shall at once see inscribed on our banner, Immediate and Unconditional Emancipation.

1. It is legal. Your Excellency is sworn to execute the laws, therefore you cannot even consider a measure that is violative of the Constitution and laws. The Constitution and laws, in providing for possible war, do, in case of war, at once deliver up the government to the laws of war; so that, to follow the letter of the Constitution in times of war, when military law and advantage demanded the contrary, would be violating the Constitution. There are times when the Constitution can only be obeyed by its temporary suspension at the command of the universal and necessary code which, in common with the organic law of all nations, it recognizes. The suspension of the Habeas Corpus, and the discussion which followed it, have made it perfectly clear to the people, that, in each case where it was suspended, it would have been unconstitutional to follow the ordinary provision of the Constitution. It needs no discussion to prove that the same laws which take from a traitor the ordinary form and process of law, may deprive an institution that proves traitorous and deadly to the country of its ordinary guaranties. It thus becomes simply a question of whether slavery stands in this attitude towards the country.

2. It is just. The South would destroy the Union in the interest of slavery. The nation must destroy slavery in the interest of the Union.

In the interest of slavery, the territorial integrity of the country has been destroyed, and some arms, forts, and money seized. Is that all? If so, perhaps the account between this nation and slavery might be settled by the repentance of slavery, and a return of the stolen articles.

But it is less than a centime of the account which this nation holds against slavery. Years of usurpation and corruption,—of insults and abuses heaped upon Freedom in whatever form it tried to maintain its slight foothold on the continent,—years now summed up and culminant in a frantic civil war, involving the daily expenditure of millions, the perversion of the means and powers of the people, the suspension and lasting injury of trade, the reinstating of piracy on the high seas,—more than all, the death of vast numbers of the youth of America, and the grief of tens of thousands of hitherto happy homes;—all these are in the account that this nation has now to settle with slavery. Can they be repaid by the conquest of what forces the South can bring into the field? Will it be enough if slavery should at length agree to ground its arms until it is stronger? Can it be settled by a truce of one or two or ten years? Is the balance struck, if we have the old Union, with the old causes at work in it, to bring forth like results in the future?

Justice can be satisfied in that alone which satisfies Wisdom,—THE UTTER DESTRUCTION OF SLAVERY. In no other way can we act up to the lessons which slavery has taught us of its own blasting nature; in no other way can we as a nation obtain that blessing for which we have already paid the full price in treasure and blood,—the riddance from the accursed evil under which we have groaned ever since we became a nation.

This is justice to ourselves; I have not mentioned that higher justice which is due to four millions of human beings, cruelly deprived of "the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," which our nation, in the pure aspirations of its youth, meant to secure for all. You are bound to stand by legal formulas. Yet I cannot forget what I once heard you say, with luminous words, that seemed to shine out like responses to the everlasting stars that then and there gleamed above you: "Every man that comes into the world has a mouth to be fed, and a back to be clothed; by a notable coincidence, each has also two hands. Now I take it that those hands were meant to feed that mouth, and clothe that back; and any institution that deprives them of that right, and the rights deducible from it, strikes at the very roots of natural justice, which is also political wisdom."

I pray you, Mr. President, to remember that, when the laws of war permit you to restore millions to those natural rights, every day that they remain thereafter deprived of them will be traceable to your own door!

3. It is merciful. Not only merciful to the slave, that he should have this cruel and galling yoke that binds him to the plane of the brute removed; not only merciful to us, that the heart-burnings and animosities which have rent our land should be laid by the eradication of their cause; not only merciful to posterity, that this fearful and irrepressible source of trouble and guilt should not be bequeathed them;—but more than to these or to all others, a decree of emancipation would be MERCIFUL TO THE SOUTH!

Up from broad and beautiful plains, worn out and desolate; from undrained marshes and swamps, whose very wealth has turned to malaria; from the locked treasures of gold and iron in Virginia and the Carolinas; from the eighty-five thousand white adults in Virginia who cannot read or write, and the even more fearful proportions of ignorance in more Southern States; from the young men trained to licentiousness and idleness, whose remnant of strength is to-day given to the monster which has ruined them; from the tearful, anxious eyes of mothers, wives, sisters, whose souls know the agony of seeing the son, brother, and husband the easy prey of the temptations that cannot be escaped,—O, from all these, Sir, would come a response to your decree for Liberty: "Merciful, most merciful!"

There is a weak love that yields and indulges; there is a great and divine love that spares not to smite when to smite is best,—ever giving what is wanted, more than what is wished. An old legend relates that in the court of King Arthur was a poor dwarf named Carl. He was much pitied by the king and his court, and there were stern orders that none should harm the poor dwarf. It was also supposed that Carl's mind was defective, for he every day went about the court with a sword, beseeching each knight to cut off his head with it. The knights of course would refuse to slay the dwarf, who, they supposed, wished thus to be relieved of life. At length, on a day, the dwarf stood before Sir Gawain, and, with a voice full of earnest appeal, and with tears in his eyes, said, "Gawain, canst thou not love me enough to smite off my head with this sword?" Sir Gawain was so moved by this, that, in an instant, he seized the sword and cut off the poor dwarf's head!

Poor dwarf no longer! The evil spell which had bound him in his misshapen form, until one of Arthur's knights should cut off his head, was now broken, and in noble and knightly form and guise Sir Carleton stood where poor Carl was before.

Ah, 't is a great, a godlike mercy which can smite its object!

And there are dwarfs upon earth, from age to age, that only thus can have the evil spell broken, and rise to their full stature. Sometimes these dwarfs are States.

4. There is no real obstacle or danger in the way of it. I know there are seeming lions in the path; but several pilgrim nations have gone that way, and found the lions chained each side, and impotent. We have been told that dreadful scenes and vindictive actions follow emancipation; that the negroes will not labor but as slaves, and thus become idlers on a nation's hands. The facts bear otherwise.

There is yet to be shown the State that emancipated its slaves, which did not at once rise above the stature into which it was before dwarfed.

It has yet to be shown that Right has ever wronged any.

If, under the formidable circumstances which now surround our nation, we should fear the expenses or the labors attending such a step, mark how Haiti stands ready to bear a hand to the holy work. The Queen of the Antilles sits there with her ungathered wealth about her, her spices and fruits gilding every wave around her shores, awaiting the ten millions of gatherers to whom she can yet give a hospitable home. One word from you, Sir, and she is a recognized sister Republic. Another word, and whilst African troops march on to see that your decree is executed, the aged, the women and children, which we can scarcely sustain, are borne away to the happy clime where no fevers nor lashes await them.

5. It is the only path to a real success. We justly count as a great natural fortress against secession that mountain range stretching from Pennsylvania almost to the Gulf,—whose brave and hardy inhabitants have justified Milton's designation of freedom as "a mountain nymph";—why should we overlook the millions of the oppressed stretching into every branch and twig of Southern society, who, by the laws of God, are our natural allies, unless, by our inhumanity, we drive them to the side of the enemy? Is it best to have 700,000 fighting men of the South our enemies, when we can make them our friends? We have certain knowledge that we have been represented to that class as their bitterest foes; they have been told that our plan was to slay a proportion of them and banish the rest. This falsehood has been systematically and carefully circulated throughout the cabins and plantations, and justified by the most religious Southerners as a necessity of defence. We have done nothing to disabuse the slave's mind in this particular. Consequently, although here and there a knowing negro has been able to do this for us, the mass has been deceived, and is working most devotedly against us.

At this rate, we shall be defeated, and, as I think, deservedly.

But this war must, as now conducted, prove more and more a disheartening one to our people and our soldiers.

As at Manassas our men conquered one battery only to find two more opening upon that, we all have a misgiving that a victory over the South would lead to the most painful complications. We must hold on to our victory after we have got it, for it will have a perpetual tendency to elude us. It was, you remember, a difficult problem to decide whether the wolf, or the man who, having caught him, had to hold him fast, was made captive by the exploit. If the cause of the hatred of the South to the North and the Nation, and to free government, were removed, their rage against these would still remain in the breast of the present Southern generation; but for a generation we could hold them quiet. The hatred might even be transmitted to the next generation: that too might be held. But in this age, as we see in the case of France and England, feuds must gradually be worn away before advancing commercial and other interests; and, with the root of Disunion plucked up, the third generation at the South, and perhaps the next, would thank us for the painful surgery with which we saved them, and we should be bound together by all natural ties,—ties which slavery alone holds in abeyance now. If this fair prospect were ahead, our people would forget in its glory the pains and deprivations of the present, and go forward animated by that faith which is the substance of things hoped for.

Moreover, the many disheartening circumstances that press upon us now would be removed. To the soldier applause is sweet. But we have heard no plaudits from the world looking on,—none from England, or France, or Germany, or Italy. They cried *Brava!* to America when our ballots bore you, Sir, to the Capitol; they are silent now that our bayonets would defend your right there. We hear from over the seas only cold calculations of the probable issue. The civilized world stands ready with an equal welcome to either party that succeeds. These cold buckets which are cast upon a conflict so sacred to us, we have invited, by placing the issue on the lowest plane of which it was susceptible. Your own last Message did not even suggest the word slavery.

But this could not be, if, in the face of the world, we rose to the standard of right and civilization which those very nations have uplifted, and up to which even Russia has come before us. We ourselves have from the first held—hold now—the power to decide the posture of every foreign nation toward this rebellion. Apart from slavery, England can only see in the Southern movement the presentation to our own lips of the chalice we once offered hers. In this she is right. We are wrong and presumptuous in any complaint. But the civilized world is anti-slavery; and if in this war we did but touch the hem of Liberty's vesture, we should be thrilled with an inspiration and sympathy which would soon make us every whit whole. We should come in contact with that electric belt which binds the hearts of freemen round the world, and up from every nation and clime would swell the *vivas* and *bravas* and *hurrahs* which would make our every soldier thrice a soldier, and cheer us on to a victory which every eye would see already written in the book of Fate.

6. It is thus alone that your Excellency can be faithful to your parole of honor to the United States. You have nobly discerned that your oath of office required you to preserve the Union and the Constitution at any cost. You can hardly fail to remember that the American people, in electing you over candidates representing all varieties of opinion, declared that certain principles should prevail in the government of this country,—principles to which you had pledged your allegiance. When afterward the alternatives of this painful conflict or the abandonment of the principles on which you were elected were again and again presented to the American people, they again and again refused any and every compromise of those principles, whatever the result might be. You cannot be true to them if you compromise them, or fail to defend them. *Slavery would now wrest more than half of this country from its allegiance to those principles.* Either the Principle which placed you in office, or the Institution which is in deadly grip with it, must fall to the ground.

Remember, Sir, that the people did not place you in office to preserve the Union merely; *that* they had under Fillmore and Buchanan and Pierce, and they might have retained it by electing Breckinridge instead of yourself. But not doing so, they declared that the Union should be administered in the interest of Freedom, even more than in the interest of peace and conciliation. To that end your honor stands plighted. If any peace shall come in which that end is lost, the country is defeated, whatever victory its military arm may have achieved.

Can you, Sir, preserve the United States with slavery therein? Will slavery ever be united with the principles you represent? Is not the effort to make it so akin to the effort at any chemic impossibility, as the union of fire and water, of oil and alcohol?

It is not by presenting to the country its old hulls riveted with steel or welded with fire together that you can fulfil your trust. It is not by returning us a Union in which it will be virtually impossible ever to elect another Republican President, for fear of another insurrection. That would be to restore us a country bound hand and foot. If Freedom can alone be free by the destruction of slavery, you cannot in honor flinch from signing the death-warrant of that system.

In the ancient Promethean games, each racer bore in his hand a lighted torch. The one who first reached the goal, *with his torch still lighted*, won the prize. If he came in foremost, but with torch extinguished, the later comer who came in with lighted torch was declared victor.

No victory in this war can be a victory to America, which does not bring in, bright and burning, the torch of Liberty,—ay, of African Liberty, as far as the people by their last election declared that they could and would control and limit it,—which the nation gave you lighted to bear in their van. And if slavery has resolved to stake its life on the wresting of rights which the people have irrevocably denied it, either that life or the verdict of the nation must be sacrificed. *Which shall it be?* The people decided the question when they accepted a war with the South rather than a denial of their principles, and to it, unless their rulers debauch them, they will stand. We claim of you that you shall fulfil Frederick the Great's definition of a prince as "the first of subjects," and prove it by being the last to yield the standard which they have lifted, and of which you are the symbol.

By proclaiming Freedom to all, white or black, who will rally to the defence of our imperilled banner, you are told that you will make enemies to yourself and the cause of the nation. You may, Sir, make of secret enemies open ones; the serpent that now creeps in the grass may think it safe to come into the path; but that will be a benefit. It would be not the least good of recognizing a direct issue with slavery, that it would be a better detective than Vidocq of the secret traitors,—who, whilst sentimentalizing about the Union, really hold it as secondary and subservient to slavery, and only refrain from mutiny on the Ship of State because they hope to make it a slaver before the voyage is over.

But, Sir, when the half-hearted go, the whole-hearted arrive. The Albany and Columbus cliques are a cheap price to pay for the Garibaldis with their twenty thousands.

There is, honored Sir, a class of men in this country but little known,—men who have been kept out of the politics and parties by which the forces of a country are usually gauged, because of an enthusiasm for Liberty and a hatred of Slavery, as intense and devoted as the enthusiasm for Slavery and hatred of Freedom which the South is showing. They are men who have sacrificed the fair prospects of life, the wealth and power which usually absorb men, for a truer devotion to the cause of the weak and degraded, even against the nation when it was wrong. They are men who hold their lives at the beck and call of Justice. They stand to-day hand on hilt, and await the one word at which their swords flash out.

That word is Emancipation.

These are not men that require to be waked up, nor do they need a long drill; they have long been wide awake, and they were born drilled. Only let that countersign which Nature wrote on their hearts when they came into the world be uttered, and you shall see again the Scourges of God, the Avengers, the Men of Destiny,—men born to conquer slavery, as is the eagle to destroy the serpent that coils about its nest,—sweeping downward from every plain and hill, riding on every wind, until Humanity is avenged, the Tyrant and his host overthrown, and Peace bends once more her blue vault over a happy land, unflecked by a cloud of wrong, glorious with the sunburst of impartial Freedom.

But, Sir, besides this resource, upon which you have not drawn, even if you know of its existence,—a resource upon which only the Liberty which includes the slave can draw,—I believe you would find that the people are generally prepared for this measure.

The very appearances of division and disloyalty in the North, which may intimidate our leaders, may well be considered indications of a growing and bolder feeling among the masses. The appearance of activity amongst the compromisers is an indication of an increasing exasperation amongst the people against this rebellion, and a deepening conviction that a blow at the cause of it is necessary. The uprising of one sentiment is always attended by the excitation of its antagonist.

War is a swift and infallible educator. The old mansion yet stands at Perth Amboy where, in the midst of the American Revolution, the British Howe, having called for a conference with the Americans, met John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, and Thomas Rutledge, and proposed to them a grant from England of relief from the taxes under which they had groaned, and a full amnesty, if they would lay down their arms. How they would have leapt at the offer a little before! At Concord, at Lexington, every American musket would have fallen to the ground before such a proposition.

Bunker Hill came: we were defeated there.

But there stands the monument of which every American is justly most proud, though it stands on the field where we were defeated,—*for there the gate of compromise with the oppressor closed forever.*

When our fathers began their revolution, it was against an unjust tax; its removal would have closed the matter at once. After a few months of war, its removal and many other privileges are offered; but the war has unsealed a higher aim. Our fathers replied to the compromise proposition: No, THIS WAR ENDS ONLY WITH THE ENTIRE INDEPENDENCE OF AMERICA.

I think, Sir, that, even at this stage of our second revolution against an internal tyrant, the concession of an amnesty to slavery on condition of its grounding arms would be with difficulty obtained from the people, and that the indignation which a few weeks ago would have been allayed by the return of forts and call for a convention on the part of the South, rises each day, and cannot now be restrained from the natural climax that will sweep the source of all our evils and discords out of our land forever.

Thus, and thus alone, can we have an enduring peace; short of this, it is difficult to see even in a victory anything but an armistice which shall be the armistice of a generation of cowards, evading a task because it is hard, by adjourning one thrice as hard to their children.

Sir, 't is not often in this world that to one man is given the magnificent opportunity which the madness of a great wrong has placed within your reach.

For the first time there stands a man in the Earth empowered to break four millions of fetters from the hands, minds, and hearts of immortal beings.

What prophetic tongue can tell the plaudits that reach far into the procession of the ages, or of the free glad voices which shall deliver from generation to generation the name and the story of the lowly youth,—the honest laborer,—the President who uplifted a race from the dungeon of slavery, and cleared a nation's path straight to its sublime destiny!

But ah! see what a precipice stretches downward from this sunlit summit! Far happier the rude boy with his axe, unnamed, than one on whom Earth's millions of eyes shall turn only to remember that he could have saved mankind, but faltered and failed.

Woe to him to whom four millions of slaves shall point their shackled hands and say, "There is just the one man whom, out of Earth's millions, God elected as he who should have power to remove our yokes, to raise us from beasts of burden to men, unsealing for us the fountains of affection, hope, aspiration, which the Father has provided as living water for his weary children. He swooned on the great moment.

'Blot out his name, then,—record one lost soul more,
One task more declined, one more footpath untrod,
One more triumph for devils, and sorrow for angels,
One wrong more to man, one more insult to God.'"

Woe to him whom Posterity, reaping its bitter harvest of agitation and affliction from the dire root of all our evils, shall remember only to curse as the one who, alone of all men in the history of this nation, stood on the moment and the spot where it was legal and practicable to pluck up the roots of the infernal tree, but who failed to put forth his hand!

Mr. President! History stands with the blank scroll before her, her pen she holds ready, the next word you must dictate. *Shall it be Slavery or Freedom?*

THE SLAVEHOLDING REBELLION—ATTITUDE OF ENGLAND.

The war is but beginning, and all the antecedents of the Northern race justify the belief that their first efforts would be the least successful. They have encountered one single disaster, and have set about repairing it with the patient vigor of men who can afford to make sure their next advance at any expenditure of labor and money. With the dignified humility that is not above learning from defeat and danger, they have thoroughly fortified their own capital before making another attempt upon the enemy's. They have made of Washington an arsenal and a depot, as well as a fortress. They have collected there an immense store of guns, with so many horses as to suggest to our special correspondent that General McClellan means to win the campaign with field artillery. If the new commander has not under his orders a much larger army than his predecessor, he has brought it into infinitely better condition. He has certainly checked the approaches of Beauregard to the lines before Alexandria, and could probably inflict upon assailants a severe repulse. If he is not master of the south bank of the Potomac from Harper's Ferry to Fort Munroe, he has collected a marine force sufficient to render the passage of the river almost impossible. The *physique* and *morale* of the new levies are such as to satisfy even the experienced eye of Mr. Russell. The maritime superiority of the Federalists is also now becoming practically manifest. The hardy seamen of the New England sea-board are entering for service on board the gunboats built with marvelous celerity in the dock-yards of Maine and Massachusetts. A naval expedition of four thousand men and one hundred guns has left Old Point, probably for the coast of North Carolina. On the south-west, the banks of the Mississippi are likely to witness the advance of an overland expedition against New Orleans. General Fremont is said to have been charged with the conduct of this bold enterprise, and to have no scruples with regard to the acceptance of negro auxiliaries. The very latest news, telegraphed to the steamer at Father Point, indicates the resolution of the Government to act upon that famous decision of Congress to which the President so reluctantly assented. Martial law is proclaimed in Missouri, and freedom promised to the slaves of insurrectionists. Thus the weakest place in Mr. Lincoln's policy has been converted into a strong *tete du pont.* The world will be assured of the tendency of the war, whatever doubt may still rest upon its origin. The defence of the Union will be publicly identified with the liberation of the negro.

But it does not follow from these premises that the English public may safely dismiss from their minds all apprehension as to the attitude of our Government towards that of the United States. Gen. McClellan may have dissipated the illusion of an easy victory over the North. The Missouri proclamation may bring the Federal cause nearer than ever to the sympathies of the British people. Yet are our rulers by no means to be trusted. The language of their organs—the organs of the ruling classes of this country—is that of a spirit malevolently hostile to the North. They magnify every difficulty in the way of a reunion, exaggerate every excess of popular feeling, dwell upon and distort every disagreeable necessity of the crisis. In vain do we look through their columns for a spark of just or generous feeling toward men—and those our near kinsmen—who have been overtaken by a tremendous emergency, and are exerting themselves with courage and fortitude to bear up against it. The South, on the contrary, is treated with the tender consideration of friends and relations whose faults and errors are those of noble blood, and whose cause, though not stainless, is honorably sustained. The following exquisite sentence was published yesterday by an aristocratic and ministerial cotemporary: "If the secession movement were free from the taint of slavery, a great obstacle in the way of its recognition by foreign Powers, and especially by this country, would be removed." Was there ever such virtue in an "if?" That which is delicately called a "taint" all the world outside Belgravia knows to be the body and soul, the flesh, blood and spirit of the secession movement. Its leaders have avowed, with a blasphemous perversion of sacred imagery, that slavery is the corner-stone of the Confederacy—the corner-stone which the builders of the Union would fain have rejected, and did at least endeavor to conceal. Slavery has been the one solitary but all-pervading element of unsoundness and danger in the composition of American society. It has baffled all endeavors to confine it within a territorial boundary. It has pushed its arrogant pretensions to the very limits of the Union and beyond—claimed to pursue its fugitives even to beneath the folds of the British flag, and to imprint its devilish foot upon the soil of Mexico and Cuba, as well as of Kansas and California. It had become the irreconcilable foe of civil and religious freedom, and indeed of civilized society. The men who are now howling and whining about the tyranny of the Federal Government and the brutality of Federal mobs, are the same men who countenanced and even instigated the suppression of every Abolitionist newspaper, the lynching of Abolitionist advocates, the violation of correspondence suspected of Abolitionist sentiment, and the prohibition of Bibles and tracts within the pale of negro settlements. The English sympathizers with these apologists of barbarism now taunt us, through the columns of fashionable journals, with the "practical result of American Democracy" as no better than the reign of King Bomba. The extravagance of [illegible]dity indicates a proportionate depth of malignity. None but those who profoundly hate the liberty that is for the moment obscured could thus madly revile the men who have drawn swords in defence of the veiled idol. And we may be sure that they who thus bespatter the image they profess to reverence would, if they dared, make close alliance with its sacrilegious assailants.—*London Morning Star.*

HON. GEORGE M. DALLAS ON THE WAR.

At the celebration of the adoption of the Federal Constitution in Philadelphia, on Tuesday last, the Hon. Geo. M. Dallas, the orator of the day, said:—

"1. In the first place, then, fellow-citizens, frankly be it said, there cannot be found in the sacred instrument on which my comments have been made, one word giving warrant by any process for its own extinction. It was not born to die. No functionary, no State, no Congress, no combination of communities or individuals, is authorized to mutilate the Union or kill the Constitution. That is a [illegible] which, like parricide in Solon's day, is treated as inconceivable. We hear of Conventions, Consultations, Conferences and Compromises; they are the vague and fluttering devices of anxious philanthropy; but, unless the fifth article had been strictly pursued, which we all know now to be impossible, these expedients are utterly inapplicable and fruitless. For remember, this provision—not, in fact, designed to destroy, but to strengthen—enunciates the necessity, before the slightest alteration can be attempted, that, *first*, *two-thirds* of both Houses of Congress shall unite in proposing it; or, *second*, that the Legislatures of *two-thirds* of the several States shall apply for a General Convention, and, *third*, that whatever change may be contemplated, whether by two-thirds of both Congressional Chambers, or by two-thirds of the State Legislatures, must wholly fail, unless it be subsequently ratified by the Legislatures or Conventions of three-fourths of the States. The mere recital shows the futility, if not impracticability, into which the tempestuous course of events have paralyzed this article. No! fellow-citizens, you have not the power to abandon your Constitution.

2. But if you had the power, what then? Need I say that, without being recreant to all your antecedents, its exercise is precluded by the boasted attitude and armor of those who demand it? The towering front of armed and contumelious rebellion is not the presence in which concession is possible. Give up the Constitution, rupture the Union, burn the archives of your glorious history, and open wide the flood-gates of disaster upon the country, if such can be your choice, but never do it in subservient meekness to envenomed opprobrium, or while listening to the roar of our enemy's cannon. The stigma of an act so groveling, dastardly and degenerate as that—so utterly un-American—would cover us for ages as with a poisoned pall! Fellow-citizens, there are formidable batteries frowning at Manassas; behind them gleam undiscriminating hatred and scorn, sharpening every sword and speeding every bullet; we would cease to be men if we crouched to either.

In this war, then, there is really no alternative for loyal Constitutionalists. In the explicit language of the unanimously adopted resolution of Mr. Crittenden, it was forced upon the Government of the United States. Retrospective narrative, therefore, would be alike tedious and useless. It is on our hands. We see it, hear it, feel it. Our fathers, brothers and sons are falling in hecatombs, sacrificed to its fury. Every breeze comes laden with its changing incidents, its alarms, its hopes, its gloom, its taunts, its cheers, its covert slaying, and its open struggles. The gates of Janus are expanded wide. No room now left for diplomacy of any sort; none for soothing words of remonstrance. Fight we must; fight *à l'outrance*, those whom we have heretofore fostered and taught how to fight, drive them from the infatuated and patricidal purpose of destroying their own country, and pause only when that country, its Union and Constitution, are inaccessible to outrage."

☞ "Perley" closes one of his letters from Washington to the Boston *Journal* with this sentence:—"A few doses of Fremont's proclamations would prove mortal, and scatter the rebels to their homes and peculiar institutions." So think the people generally.

BARBAROUS TREATMENT OF FEDERAL PRISONERS.

Capt. Henry Allen, who was in command of the Government schooner William C. Atwater, when she was captured by a rebel craft called the Spray, on the 10th of May last, off Cedar Keys, Florida, arrived in New York yesterday, having, together with his son, been a prisoner in the cockpit of his own vessel, at Apalachicola, for a period of four months. From Capt. Allen's statement, which we find in the New York *Herald*, it appears that the rebels who came under his immediate observation are the most cowardly and barbarous set of scoundrels in the world. The following is the statement of the Captain:—

"The schooner William C. Atwater, of which I was the captain, belonged to New Haven, and was in the service of the Government at the time of her capture by the rebel steamer Spray. The crew of my schooner numbered eight men. We arrived off Cedar Keys, Florida, on the 10th of May, on which day we were captured by the Spray, which had on board thirty-one men armed to the teeth with bowie-knives, revolvers, muskets with bayonets, &c. The captors took us to Apalachicola, where we arrived on the 13th of May, when myself and crew were placed in confinement in the cockpit of the Atwater, and a strong guard set over us. The rebels treated us in a shocking manner. Sometimes they would come aboard at twelve o'clock at night, pull me out of my bed, and offer all sorts of indignities to me.

On one of these occasions, several of them came frantically in, in a beastly state of intoxication, where I was sleeping, dragged me up on deck, brandished knives, bayonets and other weapons over my head, and threatened me with instant death. One of them struck me in the cheek with a bayonet, wounding me slightly, while others, carrying ropes in their hands, shouted out, 'Hang the Yankee son of a b—h, he must never see the North again.' They did not, however, carry their threats into execution, and after they had amused themselves at my expense for some time longer, I was again placed in confinement.

We were often left three and four days without a morsel of food of any kind, and the only means of subsistence we had was by catching catfish and cooking them by stealth; for the rebels would not allow us to go into the galley or to light a fire. Sometimes there would be from twenty-five to thirty rebels on board keeping guard. During the four months that we were prisoners, I never saw a sober man among them. When I arrived at Apalachicola, on the 13th of May, the rebels got news that the Crusader was coming from Key West to attack them, upon which they immediately provided themselves with a quantity of spirits of turpentine, and four or five boxes of shavings, in order, they said, to burn me and my vessel up if the anticipated attack should take place.

Finally, I was taken to Richmond and placed in the lower prison, situated on the corner of Main and Twelfth streets. They said as I was an "alien" enemy, they would place me there for safe keeping. I was imprisoned here on the lower floor, among a parcel of dilapidated machinery and filth of every kind. I begged of Capt. Gibbs, who was placed in command of the place, not to keep me in such a filthy hole, and besought him to allow me the privilege of seeing Gen. Winder. This last request was conceded to me, and I told the General of the manner in which I had been treated. His reply was, "Do you want to be treated better than all the others? You have the crew of the Savannah in New York in irons, and we are going to treat you in the same way." The General also remarked that he was sorry he had not a worse place to put me in. However, through the influence of the Secretary of War, I was not again shut up in the prison, having been placed in a private house, where I was confined all the time. Finally, I was taken before the Attorney General at Richmond, and he released me, for the simple reason that (as I had destroyed my charter party privately, before the rebels could get hold of it) there were no just grounds for detaining me. At the time the Atwater was captured, she was in ballast, and proceeding to Tortugas for lumber. Thankful to Providence for having got off so easily, I at once commenced my journey to New York. All along the route, the rebels made me come out on the platform of the cars, whenever a stoppage was made, to exhibit myself to excited and [illegible]-looking mobs, who hooted me and threat[illegible] [illegible] got three meals during my journey from Apalachicola to Richmond. They would not even [illegible] myself and three of my crew, whom I had along with me, anything, as they said they wanted to starve us to death, and they did not want us to ever see the North again.

I arrived in New York October 7th, and must say that I have never spent four such miserable months in my life as those in which I was subjected to the 'tender mercies' of the rebels."

SECESSION BARBARITIES.

Two or three weeks ago, a couple of men from an Illinois regiment in Missouri started out to pass a few hours in a scouting and hunting expedition. As they did not return, a squad of soldiers was sent out the next day in search of them. After going a few miles, the soldiers met a person, who informed them that, at a place which he named, he had seen two men, like those they described, fired on by a dozen secessionists who were prowling through that region. [illegible] went to the place and found one, [illegible] only one, of their lost comrades. His legs and arms had been cut off and laid across each other upon his body; his head, severed from the trunk, was set upright upon his chest, and the figures 19, the number of his regiment, were marked with his own blood upon his arms.

Over the mutilated body of the victim, the soldiers knelt, and swore an awful oath *to take no prisoners*. The secessionists are giving to this war a most appalling character. As a contemporary justly remarks, the transforming power of the terrible evil which has broken out like some deadly pestilence among the people of the United States, converting individuals supposed to be civilized into barbarians, seems to have no likeness in history; the cruelties it has suddenly engendered can find no parallel except in that Sepoy rebellion which made the Christian world shudder as its details became known. In Western Virginia, it has taken to midnight burnings of dwellings occupied, in the absence of the heads of the families, only by helpless women and children, the escapes related in two cases being the narrowest it is possible to imagine, whilst every outrage known to the criminal calender seems to run riot in Kentucky and Missouri. The destruction of railroads and bridges, where the lives of the innocent are not involved in the catastrophe, have really come to be the milder phases of the fearful visitation; and a man might as well be one of a party cast ashore on the Cannibal Islands of the Pacific as be exposed to the tender mercies of the disunionists in too many portions of our but lately law-abiding and happy land.

The truth is, it is coming to that in the history of this terrible heresy, that no terms can be made with it by a civilized people. It has created, especially on the frontiers, a condition of things never conceived of by those who contemplated its course in the outset. There it has taken by the hand the veriest outlaws of the age; and organizing bands of savages—red men, who in too many cases have disgraced themselves by the association—it is prowling through the land on its destructive mission, and carrying terror and devastation to thousands of happy homes. When men are disposed to welcome pestilence, let them welcome it; but so long as they would put afar off the worst evils that bring death to their doors, let them make no terms with this evil visitant.—*Louisville (Ky.) Journal.*

MUSTN'T BE TOUCHED.

A recent telegraphic dispatch announces the fact that some of the Federal prisoners have been transferred from Richmond to New Orleans, and, upon their arrival in the latter city, were conducted to prison *under the escort of a negro company*. Of course, the intent of this was an insult to the defenceless men whom the fortunes of war had thrown into the worse than Philistine hands of the "Chivalry." We dare say that this negro company, many if not all the members of which had probably been *impressed* into the service, contained a greater number of *really worthy men* than almost any even of the "crack" companies of lighter-complexioned rebels in Louisiana or elsewhere. It is more than probable that Mr. Slidell and Mr. Benjamin, and the Messrs. Wallopem generally, who lead off in this rebellion, claim the ownership of a good many negroes, who, when judged by the proper standard, are much better men, and would make much better citizens, than are their ambitious, restless and tyrannical masters. Though all this may be true, yet judging of the intent of the treatment of our captive soldiers in this case, by the low and degrading estimate put upon the negro by the Southern mind, it is evident that a mean and malicious insult was intended. And it was insult added to injury; for "our brave boys" had been shamefully maltreated in the Confederate Capital, and had now been brought to the once "Crescent," now *waning* city, to undergo new and torturing privations and hardships, and even, perchance, as threatened, to toil with *slaves* in rearing works of rebel defence. It, therefore, seemed good to the "Chivalry" who boast of their "high sense of honor," to add insult to injury already perpetrated, and yet to be perpetrated, upon defenceless prisoners of war. It seemed good to the Southern slave-drivers to give these "Yankees" a practical illustration of the doctrine of "negro equality"—for do not Yankees believe in the "insane" assertion of the "old" and "obsolete" document known as the Declaration of Independence, that "all men are created free and equal"? Of course, therefore, let them march to prison with "niggers." It seemed good to the Southern "*gentlemen*" to show these Yankees in what estimation they hold Northern "mud-sills," "greasy mechanics," and "dirty farmers," who earn their bread by the sweat of their own brows, or gain competence and wealth by their own and the *requited* labor of their fellow-men. Therefore, out upon these low-lived fellows, who never even "aspired" to own a "nigger." Let "niggers" do escort duty for such. And so the Yankee soldiers went to prison, through the streets of New Orleans, with their negro guard, amid the taunts and jeers of infuriate slave-drivers.

This incident serves to illustrate the wicked purpose of the Rebellion, which has been shamelessly avowed by its leaders to be the rearing of a hideous fabric of Despotism, with slavery for its "chief corner-stone," upon the ruins of the noble house of Liberty which our fathers built. The Rebel leaders boldly declare that in every well-regulated society, or government, there must be a *dominant* and a *subject* class—"gentlemen" and "mudsills"—masters and slaves. The universal spread of slavery over the American continent, and the ultimate extinction of *Free* Labor, is the purpose of the present gigantic Slaveholders' Rebellion, upon which the whole civilized world now looks with anxious gaze. Let it succeed, and no color of skin will afford immunity against the fell and sure result of its success—the enslavement of the masses, *white and black*, in the North as well as in the South. With the devotees of slavery who have inaugurated and are prosecuting the unholy war against the Government, white men who labor with their own hands are no better than black men. We cannot help thinking that our brave Yankee boys did more fully realize the cause and purpose of the unholy Rebellion as they marched to prison, the other day, with their "peculiar" escort, through the streets of New Orleans, than do those men at home in the free North, who cry aloud, "Slavery mustn't be touched." We have no idea that there is such a "peculiar" and very singular tenderness for the "peculiar and pestilent institution," among those soldiers in their New Orleans prison, as is witnessed among so many Northern people now-a-days. We have no idea that there is one of those prisoners of war, whether Democrat or Republican, who holds that slavery, in its deadly contest with the Government, "mustn't be touched."—*Independent (N. H.) Democrat.*

EMANCIPATION.

We must deal with slavery as with other wrong institutions, and put a stop to its ruinous effects by terminating its existence.

If the present is a favorable time, as we believe it to be, to abolish slavery in the border States, it is also a suitable one for the Federal government to step forward with its offers of assistance to those States. They may not take the initiative, but if such an offer were made, we believe they would respond, and we might see legislative action taken without delay for emancipation.

As to the claim of remuneration to the slaveholder in payment for his slaves, we believe that in strict justice it has no foundation whatever. He is deprived of nothing whatever to which he has a just title. He loses his power over the person of the slave, the power of flogging and selling him, of interfering with his right to marriage, to education, and of compulsory labor without just reward. But he does not lose the slave's services. He obtains them as the services of a free man, in the same way as those do in Massachusetts who desire the labor of others, by offering a suitable reward. This is the only relation which ought to subsist between men in regard to labor, that of the free demand and offer of services. No other is just, no other secures the welfare of the people.

But although we do not believe in the claim of the slave-master to remuneration, the masters themselves do not view it in that light, and would probably demand a premium as a condition of their consent to emancipation, and we should not object to this, provided that could be secured. It would be an immense gain, both to the border States themselves and to the whole country, to get rid of slavery, and we should begrudge no reasonable sum to accomplish this object; and we believe the people of the free States would cheerfully pay a proportion of the requisite amount. Taking the number of slaves at 400,000, their value, at $400 each, (and this is probably too high an estimate, in the present condition of slavery,) would amount to $160,000,000. This is a large sum, it is true, but small compared with our wealth and resources, not the half of what we are annually expending for purposes of war. It would in the end prove a gain instead of a sacrifice.

We should be glad to see Mr. Sumner introduce a proposition into Congress the coming winter to carry out the views we have suggested. It would be a great and a statesmanlike act, and one worthy of his hearty sympathies with justice and freedom.—*New Bedford Republican Standard.*

BIRDS OF A FEATHER.

The Boston *Journal* has joined hands with the *Post*, *Courier* and *Herald*, in their crusade against Charles Sumner, on account of his Worcester speech, and indeed seems to labor to go further than they in efforts to create a prejudice against the Senator. It even charges him with being opposed to the Administration on account of emancipation sentiments. This is putting it on rather too strong. Did the *Journal* read nothing in Mr. Sumner's speech urging the most vigorous prosecution of the war, to the complete and utter crushing out of the rebellion? And is it to oppose the Administration to suggest certain means which, in the speaker's opinion, would tend more effectually and speedily to effect that object? Is every man in the country to go to Washington and ascertain from the President and his Cabinet what measures and policy it would be agreeable to their high-mightinesses to have proposed and discussed? Is America so far gone that we must have the Napoleonic system introduced here, of allowing nothing to be said on political affairs but what is agreeable to his imperial majesty? We hope not. The Administration is placed in power to carry out the public will, and not to control it or suppress its expression. Self-abnegation goes altogether too far when it renounces the right of free discussion of measures of public policy. The subject of emancipation is being pondered and discussed to a wider extent every day. Its consideration is confined to no sect and no party, and those cowardly politicians who are so alarmed lest bold, manly, and Christian sentiments shall find vent in a crisis like the present, are only preparing their own political graves.

The animus of this tirade against Sumner is sufficiently apparent from the place of its origin. It is confined almost entirely to Boston, the stronghold in this State of the bunker class of politicians, of those who have always favored compromise with slavery, and submission to all its demands, and who have followed Mr. Sumner with the most virulent hate throughout his whole career. It is decidedly rich to see the *Journal* in harmony with the *Courier*, a paper which opposed the Administration till it was in danger of having its office torn down, and then in a spasmodic article called on the Captain to "save the ship" by suspending the *habeas corpus*, occupy and hold every seceding State with an armed force, and which but the other day proclaimed the necessity of a reaction in politics, that is, the overthrow of the Administration and carrying on the Government on the plan of those two traitors, John Bell and John C. Breckinridge. This is strange bedfellowship. But both papers act on one principle. They are faithful to the hand that feeds them, and obey implicitly the orders of the ruling bunkerdom of Boston, which, thank Heaven, is not the State of Massachusetts.—*New Bedford Standard.*

The Liberator.

No Union with Slaveholders!

BOSTON, FRIDAY, OCT. 25, 1861.

"I lay this down as the law of nations. I say that the military authority takes, for the time, the place of all municipal institutions, slavery among the rest. Under that state of things, so far from its being true that the States where slavery exists have the exclusive management of the subject, not only the President of the United States, but the commander of the army, has power to order the universal emancipation of the slaves."

"From the instant that your slaveholding States become the theatre of war, civil, servile or foreign, from that instant the war powers of Congress extend to interference with the institution of slavery in every way in which it can be interfered with, from a claim of indemnity for slaves taken or destroyed, to the cession of the State burdened with slavery to a foreign power."

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

☞ The following Memorial to the next Congress has been prepared for universal circulation, with the belief that it will readily be adopted by all but those who are in favor of eternizing the accursed system of slavery—who, while pretending to be on the side of the Government, are secretly in hearty sympathy with the Southern traitors—and who would prefer to see the Federal forces every where defeated, the blood and substance of the people expended to no purpose, and the rule of the Southern Confederacy victorious over the whole country, rather than have the oppressed set free under law, even though a satisfactory adjustment is proposed in the case of the so-called loyal slaveholders. Let the most active measures be at once taken to procure the signatures of men and women, voters and non-voters, to this Memorial, in every city, town and village. A MILLION such can be easily obtained by energetic and concerted action—but no time is to be lost. In a note just received from Gerrit Smith, he says—"I am glad to receive this morning from Boston, three copies of a Petition of excellent form. I immediately put my name to one, and will, without delay, have them all in circulation. Let the enclosed draft be accepted as my share of the expense in scattering copies of the Petition over the country."

☞ Printed copies of the Petition, for gratuitous circulation, may be obtained at the Anti-Slavery Offices in Boston, New York and Philadelphia.

MEMORIAL OF THE PEOPLE TO CONGRESS.

"PROCLAIM LIBERTY THROUGHOUT ALL THE LAND, TO ALL THE INHABITANTS THEREOF."

To the Congress of the United States:

The undersigned, citizens of , State of , respectfully submit—

That as the present formidable rebellion against the General Government manifestly finds its root and nourishment in the system of chattel slavery at the South; as the leading conspirators are slaveholders, who constitute an oligarchy avowedly hostile to all free institutions; and as, in the nature of things, no solid peace can be maintained while the cause of this treasonable revolt is permitted to exist; your honorable body is urgently implored to lose no time in enacting, under the war power, the total abolition of slavery throughout the country — liberating unconditionally the slaves of all who are rebels, and, while not recognizing the right of property in man, allowing for the emancipated slaves of such as are loyal to the government a fair pecuniary award, in order to facilitate an amicable adjustment of difficulties; and thus to bring the war to a speedy and beneficent termination, and indissolubly to unite all sections and all interests of the country upon the enduring basis of universal freedom.

☞ *Editors of newspapers are requested to give this Memorial one or more insertions in their columns.*

FALSEHOOD THE SUPPORT OF SLAVERY.

It remains true still, as in the early days of organized opposition to slavery, that those who would represent that state as satisfactory and beneficial to the slaves must first misrepresent it, while those who would excite prejudice against the Abolitionists must first misrepresent them. This undesigned tribute to the soundness of anti-slavery principles, and to the accuracy of those descriptions which Abolitionists have published to show the need of emancipation, is constantly paid by the advocates of slavery, pious and impious, learned and unlearned, Catholic and Protestant alike. Dr. Cahill and Dr. South-side Adams, the *Journal of Commerce* and the *New York Herald*, violate the truth with equal readiness in opposing the Abolitionists; and they show, by so doing, a consciousness most satisfactory to us, that the plain truth, either about us or about the slaves, would not answer their purpose.

One of the dishonest tricks in question is an enumeration of the evils of extreme poverty among people who are not slaves, coupled with the false assumption that these evils have no existence under slavery, and followed up by the equally false inference that the special disadvantages and disabilities imposed by slavery are trifling, in comparison with the hardships previously mentioned. This is the ground taken by Rev. Dr. Cahill, in the extract from his letter given in the "Refuge of Oppression."

To succeed in representing the negro slaves of America as "far happier than the poor Irish," it is absolutely necessary for him to disregard and contradict mountains of evidence on the other side, extorted by the force of truth from slaveholders themselves. That there are "well-clad, well-fed and well-lodged" slaves, nobody has ever denied; but that the great majority of them are ill-clad, ill-fed and most wretchedly lodged is plain, not only from the descriptions of candid observers like Mr. Olmsted, in all parts of the Southern States, but from abundant testimony on the part of the bumaner sort of slaveholders, who have felt obliged, from time to time, to attempt a pruning away of some classes of the grosser inhumanities involved in the slave system. That the slaves have no knowledge of an institution called among civilized people a "poor-house" is very true; but to vast numbers of them such ignorance is a misfortune, since they suffer all their lives, unrelieved, the very evils from which the destitute freeman is protected by the poor-house. But the Rev. Dr. Cahill goes on from misrepresentation to falsehood. "They are never transported"! As if there were no such thing as the internal slave-trade! As if the Virginia negroes were not bred and born and begotten for transportation! As if the female slaves of the Old Dominion were not openly sold and bought for their qualification, as "good breeders," to supply "the vigintial crop" for the Louisiana market! "They are never shot down by Negro Orangemen"! Well, perhaps it is as bad to be shot down by slaveholders, and overseers, enraged by the turning of the trodden worm, and authorized by law to shoot whenever a hand is lifted, even in self-defence, against them. So far as shooting goes, the account might be evenly balanced, if the slave were not forbidden by law to have a gun or a pistol in his possession. But it is to be remembered that *simple* murder is the *worst* the poor Irishman has to fear, in his most oppressed estate. We *never* hear of his being burned alive by an assemblage of the "most respectable citizens" of his native town! We *never* hear of his being slowly put to death with the scourge; the intervals of time, while his torturers are resting, being varied for him by the application of brine to his raw wounds! There is no [illegible]ance of English laws for Ireland being so skilfully contrived for purposes of oppression as to enable any rich man to inflict *these* measures of barbarity upon his tenant with perfect impunity. And until these things shall be done by English to Irish, with the added aggravation of a free permission *by the Church* for such treatment from her rich members to her poor ones, the attempted parallel will fail, and the miseries of slavery will unspeakably exceed those which Dr. Cahill deceitfully offers for competition with them.

A similar course of systematic misrepresentation of the facts of slavery and the purposes of anti-slavery is one habitual ingredient of the pious *Journal of Commerce*. In an article now *lying* before us, entitled "Englishmen and Slavery," its editor deprecates "immediate and violent abolition," as if the former included the latter; as if the opposers of slavery had not for thirty years been advocating immediate *peaceful* abolition, and showing how it might be accomplished, and how prosperity and manifold advantage to the country would be its necessary result; and as if the trouble, confusion and violence now existing in our country had not sprung directly from the pertinacious rejection of these counsels, and from adherence, instead, to the *Journal's* own policy of constant concession to the slaveholders. This editor assumes that "murder and rapine" would result from the overthrow of slavery; winking out of sight the frightful fact that slavery is an organized system of habitual rapine, with frequent complications of murder; and thus showing his own shameful willingness that this tyranny should continue while his white brethren can wield it.

The *Journal of Commerce* contradicts history as well as reason when it talks about "arousing slaves to insurrection by declaring them free." Apart from our present complication with war, a willing immediate emancipation is the surest safeguard against insurrection, and even disorder, as the history of Antigua proves. And even with this complication of war, the very shortest, easiest and best way out of our troubles would be to make the war the occasion of declaring, and the army the means of accomplishing, immediate emancipation.

This nation, led by slaveholders and their apologists, seems determined to drain the bitter cup of experience to the dregs, and to learn no wisdom, either from the past history or the present developments of slavery. We have three examples before us, showing the natural results of three different courses, and we refuse the admonition and the counsel of each. We see that the voluntary adoption of immediate instead of gradual emancipation in Antigua, in 1834, was completed without trouble or disorder, and has been followed by uninterrupted prosperity. We see that the choice of gradual instead of immediate emancipation brought upon Jamaica troubles and embarrassments, from which she has not even yet recovered. And we see that a determination to keep slavery, and to extend it, has brought upon us calamities to which the troubles of Jamaica are as nothing. It seems as if our afflictions must go on to be commensurate with our guilt. But what a mountain height of impudence does it require to tell us, even while our national existence is threatened by an insurrection of slaveholders, that our principal danger lies in an insurrection of slaves, and that, to avert this peril, we must keep them still in slavery!—C. K. W.

NEW PUBLICATIONS.

THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY for November has appeared with its usual promptitude. Its list of articles is the following:—1. Geo. Sand. 2. Hair-Chains. 3. The Flower of Liberty. 4. Alexis de Tocqueville. 5. Agnes of Sorrento. 6. Health in the Camp. 7. "The Stormy Petrel." 8. A Story of To-Day. 9. Concerning the People who carried Weight in Life. 10. Why has the North felt aggrieved with England? 11. The Wild Endive. 12. The Contrabands at Fortress Monroe. 13. The Washers of the Shroud. 14. Reviews and Literary Notices. 15. Recent American Publications.

Some of these articles are of a high order of excellence. The sketch of George Sand, founded on her auto-biography, is written by Mrs. Howe. Of the poems, "The Flower of Liberty" is attributed to Holmes, and "The Washers of the Shroud" to James Russell Lowell. The latter, using an old legend as the means of presenting truths of most serious import at the present time, suggests a result to our national contest corresponding with our sins against justice and freedom. The continuation of Mrs. Stowe's interesting tale touches upon some of the mental and moral influences of enforced celibacy among the Roman Catholic priesthood. Harriet Martineau contributes the excellent Essay called "Health in the Camp"; and "The Contrabands at Fortress Monroe," containing highly interesting facts respecting the slaves, is written by a private in one of the Massachusetts regiments, E. L. Pierce, Esq.

Official Map of the State of Virginia: from actual surveys by order of the Executive, 1828 and 1859, corrected and revised by J. T. Floyd to 1861. Price $1, colored in Counties, or ten copies for $5. Mounted on linen with rollers, varnished, $2 50. Address J. T. Floyd, Publisher, 164 Broadway, New York.

The portion of this map now issued is the Eastern half, which is sent in advance, on account of the intense interest now existing in regard to the movements of various armies in that part of the State. Being on a scale of ten miles to the inch, it is sufficiently full to illustrate all the details of the war in that region. Its names of places are distinctly printed and not crowded, and the ordinary roads as well as railroads are clearly traced. This map is said to be the one used by General Scott in preparing the plan of his campaign. The Western half, printed so as to match this, will be sent to subscribers in the course of the next month.

"America and her Destiny: Inspirational Discourse, given extemporaneously at Dodworth's Hall, New York, on Sunday evening, Aug. 25th, 1861, through Emma Hardinge, by the Spirits."

This address, printed in an octavo pamphlet of fifteen pages, treats of various matters of reform, in a spirit such as might be expected from the excellent woman who utters it, and in that style, so attractive to some and so distasteful to others, which marks all the productions which claim a "spiritual" origin. It is for sale at Mr. Bela Marsh's book-store.

☞ THE PETITION TO CONGRESS is received with great favor by our friends in every section of the country from which we have heard. Signatures to it are readily obtained, and great numbers feel that this is the indispensable work of the hour. It has been our aim to send a copy of the petition to every town where we knew of a reliable person who would take charge of its circulation. Additional copies have been called for in numerous instances, and we are still ready to supply such calls. Now is the time for the work, and not a day is to be lost, as Congress will assemble in a little more than five weeks. There can be no doubt that in a great proportion of the towns of the North, large majorities of the people would sign the petition, if an opportunity were afforded. Let us not fail to gather together the evidence of this mighty force, to the shame and confusion of all who desire to perpetuate human slavery, and to give it the protection of the free men and women of this land. Address Anti-Slavery Office, 221 Washington Street, Boston.

RELIEF OF FUGITIVES IN CANADA. An Association has been formed in the town of St. Catherine's, Niagara District, Canada West, to relieve such fugitive slaves as may be suffering from sickness or destitution. It is called—"The Fugitive Aid Society of St. Catherine's." The officers are the following:—

Charles H. Hall, *President*; Benjamin Fletcher, *Vice President*; Christopher Anthony, *Secretary*; H. W. Wilkins, *Assistant Secretary*; William Hutchinson, *Treasurer*.

Committee: Harriet Tubman, Mary Hutchinson, John Jones, William H. Stewart.

This Association may be relied on as worthy of confidence by those who wish to help the fugitives in Canada, many of whom are undoubtedly in need of such aid.

☞ There continue to be, as there have been for the week past, conflicting rumors about General Fremont. The wish of those who would have him removed breaks out in constant reports that he is *to be* removed.

THE FRATERNITY LECTURES.

On Friday evening, Oct. 18th, the fourth series of lectures established by "The Fraternity" of the Twenty-eighth Congregational Society of Boston had a successful and brilliant commencement, at the Tremont Temple. Hundreds were waiting for the opening of the doors, the hall was completely filled half an hour before the lecture commenced, and the platform showed an array of some of the most eminent, and many of the best, citizens of Boston.

The speaker was CHARLES SUMNER, whose entrance was greeted with enthusiastic cheers and shouts; his subject was "The Rebellion: its Origin and Main-Spring."

Of this lecture, which kept the audience in earnest attention an hour and a half, interrupted by frequent expressions of applause, we give the *Journal's* sketch, with some additions, as follows:—

Mr. Sumner commenced by saying that, in addressing such an audience, he should naturally select some topic of literature, history or art—something at least which makes for peace. But at this moment the voice refuses any such theme. But, said he, if I speak of war, it is because war has become to us the only way of peace.

People who repine at the opportunities afforded by the time in which they live can find no occasion now for such complaints. There is nothing in the past, and it is difficult to imagine any thing in the future, more inspiring than our present. Even with the curtain slightly lifted, it is easy to see that events are now growing which will constitute the third great epoch in the history of the Western hemisphere—the first being its discovery, and the second the American Revolution. It remains to be seen if ours will not surpass the others in grandeur.

The origin of war is often difficult to declare; but, whatever may be the reason assigned by the unhappy men who began the present contest, its origin and main-spring can be presented beyond question. This must be done if you would determine how this rebellion is to be treated. Your efforts will naturally be governed by the character of the adverse force—whether regarded as a motive power or as a disease. A steam engine is stopped at once by stopping the steam. A ghastly cancer, which has grappled the very fibres of the human frame, will not yield to lip-salve, nor to rose-water.

Mr. Sumner then traced the origin of the rebellion as it showed itself after the election of Mr. Lincoln. It was not merely a rebellion; but a rebellion begun in conspiracy—vaster than any other in history. This conspiracy he traced to an early origin. South Carolina and Georgia, the original focus of it, came into the Union with hesitation, and only on stipulations recognizing the slave trade. And, ever since, they have been militant whenever slavery has been mentioned, till at last a conspiracy was formed in the spirit of the original opposition, which was denounced by General Jackson in 1833, and has been continued ever since by some of the conspirators. This conspiracy found support in the growing passion for slavery throughout the slave States. A generation has grown up ready to say, with Satan,

"Evil, be thou my good; by thee at least
Divided empire with heaven's King I hold,
As man ere long, and this new world, shall know."

It is natural that a people, thus trained, should listen to the voice of conspiracy. Slavery itself is a continual conspiracy, and its supporters easily became indifferent to all rights and principles, by disregard of which it may be continued.

But this conspiracy would have been insignificant if it had not found aid in the Cabinet. In anticipation of the election of Mr. Lincoln, the conspirators had prepared the way—first, by dispersing the army; secondly, by dispersing the navy; thirdly, by abandoning the Southern forts; fourthly, by disarming the North and equipping the slave States; and, fifthly, by robbing the Treasury. The President was won into a disgraceful complicity with these crimes. Finally, the conspiracy broke out in open rebellion by the attack on Fort Sumter.

This has not been done by virtue of any revolutionary right, but under the pretence of constitutional right. The forms of the Constitution have been seized, as everything else. The pretended right of secession belongs to the brood of false assumptions and perversions, of which slavery is the prolific parent. A pretended right to set aside the Constitution to the extent of breaking up the government, is the natural companion of a pretended right to set aside human nature in making merchandise of men. They travel together, and will perish together.

Mr. Sumner reviewed the various efforts to avert the catastrophe, showing the central part played by slavery; as in Mr. Buchanan's message, the Peace Conference, Crittenden resolutions, and other propositions, all relating to slavery and nothing else. Independent of the positive demerits of these propositions, they were all objectionable as practical recognitions of the pretended right of secession. If only in consideration of concessions to slavery, certain States consented to waive the pretended right, it was evident that the right was still held for future use. And, if acknowledged, our government became an unsubstantial combination, liable to be decomposed at the touch of a single State; it has but the shadow of a name, or at best a mere "tenancy at will." On this ground alone, he was against any and every concession. The English orator, Mr. Canning, was tired of being a "security grinder"; but his experience was not comparable to ours. Every proposition asked some new security for slavery.

Thus from the beginning was slavery at the bottom of the conspiracy, and also at every stage of the efforts to arrest it. Secession and concession both had their root in slavery. But the conspirators acted rationally and logically. *Such is slavery, that it cannot exist except where it possesses the government.* The small minority of slave-masters have aroused and organized this rebellion; first, through the concentration and intensity of the pecuniary interest which they represent; and, secondly, because it is among political phenomena that revolutions are carried by minorities. [Here Mr. Sumner referred to the pamphlet of Condorcet, and the debate in the British Parliament upon it, asserting that the French Revolution was carried by fewer than twenty men, and on this grounding an appeal to the Parliamentary reformers of England.] This traitorous minority is now arrayed in battle; but it is all in the name of slavery, and for the sake of slavery, and at the bidding of slavery. The words exposing the profligate favorite of the English monarch,—the famous Duke of Buckingham,—were strictly applicable to slavery now:—

"Who rules the kingdom? The King.
Who rules the King? *The Duke.*
Who rules the Duke? The Devil."

These may now be altered:—

Who rules the rebel State? The President.
Who rules the President? *Slavery.*
Who rules slavery?

The latter question Mr. Sumner did not answer; but he went on to show that slavery was the ruling idea of the rebellion; and also that, owing to the peculiar condition of the slave States at this moment, it is, if we may credit their boasts, actually strengthened and reinforced by slavery. He then touched upon the evils which slavery has brought upon us—showing that it is the author and *causa causans* of every disaster. Does a mother mourn a son in the flower of his days cut down upon the distant battle-field, which he moistens with his youthful, generous blood?—let her know that slavery dealt the blow which took at once his life and her peace. Mr. Sumner then met the cry that the war came, not from slavery, but from anti-slavery; he gave documentary proof that the plan of the rebellion had been formed more than thirty years ago, before the commencement of the Anti-Slavery movement; and he showed that the early Christians had been misrepresented just as the Republicans and Abolitionists are misrepresented now.

Against this rebellion we wage war. It is our determination, as it is our duty, to crush it, and this will be done. The reason that, thus far, the advantage has not been on our side, is that, though the rebels are inferior to us both in numbers and resources, they have used *all* their means against us, while we have sedulously refrained from attacking their weakest point. This forbearance is unreasonable and absurd. It remains for us to *use* our superior force, and to use it in the manner which will make it most effective. Without union, peace on this continent is impossible; but to live without peace is impossible also. Only by crushing this rebellion can union and peace be restored. But, in order to do this, our battalions must be reinforced with ideas, and we must be ready to strike at the origin and main-spring of the evil. I do not say, Mr. S. went on to declare, in what way, or to what extent, but simply that we must strike; it may be by the system of Butler; it may be by the system of Fremont; or it may be by the grander system of John Quincy Adams. Reason and Sentiment both concur in this policy. Slavery is the inveterate culprit. As the less is contained in the greater, so the rebellion is all contained in slavery. Every surrender of a slave by our army is a folly and a shame, a disgrace and a humiliation to the Northern people. The tenderness shown to slavery becomes tenderness to the rebellion itself. It is like the superstitions of the Egyptians toward the sacred crocodile. As our armies advance, this question will become of practical importance. We must determine what shall be done with the slaves in our camps, and also with the slaves of rebels.

Mr. S. contented himself with indicating the simple principle that must govern all whose desire to save the country is stronger than their desire to save slavery. If you are in earnest, you will strike where the blow will be most felt. The signs are that the government is not strong enough to save the Union, and at the same time to save slavery. One or the other must suffer; and just in proportion as you reach forth to protect slavery, do you protect this accursed rebellion. The hearts of the people are right. Events, too, under Providence, are our helpers; defeat for the rebels will be bad, but victory will be worse; for then will the North be inspired with a sublimer energy. The proposition for emancipation, which shook Athens, followed close upon the disaster at Cheronæa, and the statesman who moved it afterward vindicated himself by saying that it proceeded not from him, but from Cheronæa.

Mr. Sumner concluded by referring to the ancient fable, where the life of a mighty hunter had been made to depend upon the preservation of a burning brand. When that brand was thrown upon the fire, the hunter, invulnerable to mortal weapons, died. The story is now repeated in our rebellion, and slavery is the fatal brand. Mr. S. saw no peril which he dreaded now, except what might come from some new concession to slavery. Do justice, he said, though the heavens fall; but they will not fall. Every act of justice becomes a new pillar of the universe.

The second lecture of this course was given on the evening of Tuesday, the 22d, by Rev. JACOB M. MANNING, junior pastor of the Old South Church, on "The Education of the Republic."

The lecturer claimed that New England had been the chief educator of our nation, and that the traits wherein we had made advance upon the countries of the old world were owing to the general diffusion of knowledge effected by our common school system. Very much more, however, needs to be done in this direction. The better educated classes have formed a sort of caste by themselves, held themselves aloof from the daily life of the people, and used their learning rather as a luxurious indulgence than as a help to the performance of the important duties that devolve upon them. The reality and the importance of these duties need to be more sensibly felt by our literary men. The Press, the Lyceum, and that specially American institution "The Stump," should all aim to give solid instruction to the people. They should be seriously consecrated to the work of education.

Since these high duties rest upon the better educated class, they should be aided by the public authority in the performance of them. The Government should be a nursing father to the teachers and guides of the people. The evils which we have already experienced from popular ignorance loudly call for such interposition. The part of our country where slavery prevails is precisely that part where there is least intelligence among the mass of the people; and it is popular ignorance which has rendered our present pro-slavery rebellion possible. The insurrection which now menaces our Government could not possibly have sprung up if the New England system of free schools had prevailed through the States concerned in it. The people there are led by demagogues to the defence of slavery, because they have not intelligence to understand that slavery is overthrowing their own rights together with those of the slaves. On this account, for the preservation of knowledge and virtue, and of the institutions which rest upon them, the nation should concern itself with the general diffusion of knowledge. There should be a National department of Instruction, with a Cabinet Minister at its head, charged with the duty of furnishing the means of education to the whole people.

We need scholars whose labors shall be stimulated by patriotism; men who will not pander to a corrupt public sentiment, but who, standing firmly in defence of truth and right, and looking to great ultimate results instead of present success and popularity, shall give the people what they need, rather than what they wish.

The author of all our national woe is slavery. That, like all other forms of oppression, must go down before the enlightened conscience of a free people. In an eloquent apostrophe, the lecturer sketched the advancing usurpations of slavery in the last half century, and predicted its fall into the grave which it had treacherously digged for freedom. His remarks upon this head, and an allusion elsewhere made to the career of Charles Sumner, illustrating the true function of the scholar in directing his labors to the welfare of the people, were received with enthusiastic and long continued applause.

SHALL SLAVERY BE SPARED OR CRUSHED?

In the following article, the *Tribune*, replying to the calumnious mendacity of the New York *Herald*, points out what the Republicans desire of the Government in regard to slavery. Compliance with the suggestions there forcibly urged is the very least that should be asked of the Administration at such a crisis as this, and yet, strange and shameful to say, it seems too much for it to grant. The Republicans actually have to intercede with their President to prevent favor and special indulgence from being shown to slavery. One would think their experience should have taught them before now, that the only way to prevent the extension of slavery is to cut short its existence.

Abolitionists need no such qualification as the *Tribune* makes, in deprecation of a stepping aside from the line of the Government's duty, for the suppression of slavery. Such suppression, by direct, and energetic, and persistent movements, until it be accomplished, is not only in the line of the Government's duty, as a war-making power, but is *the* most important means, in fact the *only* means of effecting a suppression of the rebellion. *We* wish slavery done away because it is an unmitigated nuisance, an outrageous wickedness, a blot on the nation's character, a stumbling-stone in the way of its prosperity, a cancer preying upon its vitals. Very likely the President's heart and head are so far implicated in the nation's disease that he feels no sympathy with those considerations, and no disposition to act against slavery for its own demerits. But, nevertheless, we may appropriately ask him to direct, openly and energetically, a war of extermination against slavery, because this is the only efficient means towards *his* object, the suppression of the rebellion. If he should set this policy at work, and use every division of the army as the means of effecting it, the North could not fail to march steadily towards complete success, both

in its domestic and foreign relations. Until he embraces this policy, nothing is to be expected but alternations of partial success, exhausting the vigor, and wasting the blood and treasure, of both parties.—C. K. W.

THE OBJECT OF THE WAR.

"The Federal Administration is misapprehended and misrepresented by the extreme Anti-Slavery party at the North just as much as it is by the extreme Pro-Slavery fire-eaters at the South. Both one and the other persist in representing that *the object of the Government*, in putting forth its strength to suppress the rebellion, *is to suppress, at the same time, the institution of slavery*."—*N. Y. Herald.*

The above is a simple, naked, premeditated falsehood—concocted, disseminated, reiterated, with deliberate intent to deceive a part of the American people, to the serious wrong and injury of the rest. The writer knew perfectly well, and will continue to know while he continues to lie, that "the extreme Anti-Slavery party at the North" has never alleged, much less persisted in representing, that "the object of the Government" is "to suppress the institution of slavery." But this is a lie by which the *Herald* coins money, while it divides and weakens the loyal citizens of the United States; and we have no expectation that it will do otherwise than reiterate it so long as that course shall seem profitable.

What the Republicans of the North ask and expect of the Government—*all* they ask, and more than they have yet obtained—is, that *it shall go straight ahead in the prosecution of the war for the Union, without regard to its effect on slavery*. If slaveholders choose to be rebels, we demand that they be treated *as* rebels, in utter indifference to the fact that they are slaveholders. If they enter the rebel armies, and endeavor to kill the defenders of the Union, we insist that those defenders shall not be degraded into negro-catchers for the benefit of those sanguinary traitors. If they send their slaves to work on intrenchments and forts for the promotion of the rebel cause, we demand that those slaves be made to understand that, by escaping to the Union camps, they escape from slavery. If they leave them at home to raise provisions for the rebel army, we ask that they be advised that, by quitting that work and coming within our lines, with whatever information they can pick up, they secure a welcome and protection. The loyal States cannot afford to fight both sides of this struggle; and if the right of rebels to hold men in slavery is to be upheld, we insist that it is Jeff. Davis's business, and not Abraham Lincoln's, to uphold it.

Now see what the Government is actually doing, or suffering to be done. We quote from the *Herald* an order, of which it suppresses the date, but which we think must have been issued a few days before the Bull Run scandal:—

"GEN. MANSFIELD'S ORDER RESPECTING FUGITIVE SLAVES.

HEADQUARTERS, DEPARTMENT OF WASHINGTON.

Fugitive slaves will, under no pretext whatever, be permitted to reside, or be in any way harbored in the quarters and camps of the troops serving in this department. Neither will such slaves be allowed to accompany the troops on the march. Commanders of troops will be held responsible for a strict observance of this order."

Who can fail to see that this is an order to our armies to put out their own eyes? How can they act without information as to the movements and strength of the enemy before them? And how shall they obtain such information if the only persons likely to volunteer it are to be forbidden to enter their camps? This order makes no distinction between the slaves of Unionists and those of rebels in arm; neither are to be "harbored" nor permitted to rest in the camps or quarters of the Union armies. What negro who has any respect for himself will work his way in darkness and peril through miles of swamp and brush and hostile pickets to bring important tidings to our camps or bivouacs, if he is to be kicked out of them the next hour? What commander who has any heart in the Union cause will give or sanction such an order as the above? We respectfully suggest to the Commander-in-Chief that, if this order of Gen. Mansfield has not already been recalled, it affords an admirable occasion for the exercise of his skill in modification.

Be it evermore understood, even by those who get their living by falsifying it, that the Anti-Slavery men of the North do not ask nor expect the Government to step one hair's breadth aside from its line of duty as defender of the Union, to "suppress" or otherwise meddle with slavery; but we insist that it shall be equally careful not to be swayed from its proper path in order to preserve slavery, and especially rebel slavery. Woe to that man or coterie who, in striving to preserve slavery, shall sacrifice the Union!—*New York Tribune, Oct. 15.*

AN APPEAL TO THE GOVERNMENT.

BY A LOYALIST.

It is generally understood and acknowledged by profound thinkers, what is a self-evident truth, that there is not an effect without a cause. Therefore, in harmony with this philosophy, to which all will subscribe, whenever disease manifests itself, whether physical, mental or moral, in the individual or the nation, it is of the first importance that we should understand its cause, else we shall labor in vain for its removal.

Now, if slavery be the cause of the diseased condition of our country, which thousands are daily coming to believe, we earnestly inquire, what means shall we be justified in using for its removal, which promise the most certain and speedy success? Does not every intelligent man in the country know, that in the present servile insurrection, we have the highest and best authority for saying, and acting accordingly, that it is not only legally and morally right, but it is positively obligatory upon our Commander-in-Chief, to proclaim martial law throughout the States, and then put forth a Declaration of Independence which shall give freedom to the 4,000,000 of slaves who pine in bondage upon American soil?

Let this be done, and every slaveholder, whether loyal or rebellious, would lay down his arms at the feet of the proper functionaries, and we should become really, what we have been only in name, the United States.

We should thus prevent the evils of a protracted war, such as the destruction of hundreds of thousands of lives, a deterioration in morals from which we should not recover in many generations, and a waste of money sufficient to establish and sustain a government larger and better than was this when it commenced its career as an independent sovereignty.

Then why should we delay? Why not now strike for universal freedom, when every nation on earth is ready to sustain us in such a course, and to protect us, if need be, against the evil machinations of traitors, whether South or North?

Why should our government be so delicate about using the word "slavery," if there is no *duplicity* in it? since it must be known to be the cause of all our troubles, and that its abolition can be the only remedy? A word to the wise is sufficient.

LETTER FROM BRADFORD.

BRADFORD, Oct. 21, 1861.

MR GARRISON:

DEAR SIR,—The Young Men's Christian Association of Haverhill and Bradford have for a few Sunday evenings past been holding religious meetings in the School House in this district. Last evening, I was told the meetings were free to all, and invited to attend. I did so, and as the meeting was about being dismissed, I asked the privilege to offer a few remarks. None objected, and I spoke about ten minutes, and in the course of my remarks alluded to the present war, and the deplorable condition of the country, and very briefly spoke of the anti-slavery feeling pervading all classes, when I was at once interrupted by our pious and worthy Postmaster, who said he wished I would not interrupt the meeting by any allusion to slavery, as that was a religious meeting, and not the place for the discussion of any such question. I at once asked who had been interrupted, and wished any such to manifest it by rising. None left their seats, and I continued to speak a few moments longer, as it was not then eight o'clock, and none in the house (which was well filled) seemed impatient to leave.

Our worthy Postmaster, who has been recently appointed, appeared to be the most disturbed by my remarks, while some others, as I learn this morning, were pleased.

Some who heard Sallie Holley when she was here retain the many good impressions which she left, and we greatly need the labors of such self-sacrificing friends of humanity. Of what consequence to the world can a religion be that excludes from its formula all allusion to four millions of chattel slaves in this professedly Christian land?

How grossly misrepresented are the objects and desires of the Abolitionists! Many who never hear o them, or read of them, except in the Boston *Post* or *Courier*, are the most ready to denounce them. The world moves, and truth must prevail, and a Christianity not based on humanity must prove a failure.

Yours, for the liberation of the world from every species of thraldom, B. R. DOWNES.

P. S. I hope the meetings of the Young Men's Christian Association in our School House will be free. I shall lend my mite to make them so.

AN UNSPOKEN SPEECH.

We copy the following from a letter in the New York *Tribune*, giving a sketch of the Agricultural Fair recently held at Barnstable. After describing the Fair, the visitors and the dinner, the *Tribune's* correspondent (Mrs. Julia Ward Howe) gives a slight glimpse of what was said, and a fuller statement of what *should* have been said, as follows:—

The speaking was introduced by one Marston of Barnstable, the President of the Agricultural Association, who welcomed his numerous guests with some pleasant remarks, and ended by calling up our Governor, who was received with tremendous cheering. His speech was genial and fatherly, savoring mostly of Massachusetts interests, and with tender recommendation of our absent soldiers to affectionate remembrance. It was listened to with general attention and satisfaction. Followed Hon. Hall of Plymouth, a ready, fluent man, who pinned down the present controversy of the country closely to the putting down of actual rebellion. Nothing beyond that would he allow us to perceive, by faith or sight, and having given us this glimpse out of his show box, he shut down the cover very tight, and put it in his pocket. And then a speech neither called for nor announced began to arise in me, and if the thing had been allowable, I should have leapt to my feet and said:—

"Friends, he who, when a momentous question is before us, limits our attention to any but its highest point of interest, hands us the stem with the flower twisted off, the candle with the flame snuffed out. What is mankind, what are we, that those who speak to us should make ideal duty a contraband, and talk to us as to creatures whose light of conscience is put out, and who can appreciate nothing beyond advantage, convenience, and the getting and securing of our own? God never made us so; and if we have so unmade ourselves, we had better been strangled in our cradles than have come to maturity with so little of manhood in us. What constitutes us human? Justice makes us wiser than the ox—Christian love makes us more generous than the swine. Selfishness imbrutes us below the level of either, despite our upright form and thinking brain. This is a great day of settlements in our nation. Our late partners have been wronging us, but they have been wronging God a great deal more. And we are willing that they shall continue to do so, if they will only pay us. So we present our little bill, at the end of the bayonet, and are advised to insist upon that, and let the claims of the Master Creditor go. And I stand here in His name, to arrest you all. You are all bankrupts—you are all liable. North and South stand charged together in His books, and till the uttermost farthing be paid by both, there is no solvency for either. And what place is this, that we should not speak here from the very heart of truth, from the inmost soul of religion? The Cape is the classic ground of conscience. Those who first cut down its forests and tilled its fields came here to worship God in purity and sincerity. Their pastors preached to them a thorny Gospel, full of self-sacrifice and crucifixion, and they were able to receive, aye, and to thrive upon it. And are you their descendants, and must we speak smooth things to you, and pass over the awful lesson of the day, which God has appointed? Then are ye indeed the degenerate sons of mighty sires, and the glorious type of the Puritan has died out from mankind! But it is not so. They would slander you who should say it was. They do slander you who treat you as if you could not bear to hear the truth of the truth. All good capacities lie latent in mankind, till the voice of exhortation and sympathy arouses and leads them on to action. God forbid, aye, deprive me of the power of speech altogether, rather than that I should, speaking, address any but the deepest chord within your bosoms, the noblest enthusiasm you are able to cherish and to follow. And you, ye comfortable and well-to-do farmers and fishers of the Cape, who with your wives and daughters make so handsome an appearance on this occasion, what say you? Is the laborer worthy of his hire? Shall he have his little earnings, and build his cabin, and rear his offspring with their mother to help him, or shall he be merely fed, worked, and paired and sold like the beasts you drive? Oh! your honest hearts know which is right—they have told you that long ago. Once, you could only pray for the enslaved, now, you can speak, vote, fight for them. As you value your own liberty, see that you do it.

Remember, too, dear brothers, that the cause of God is not the cause of the rich and mighty, but the cause of the poor and oppressed. Once kings were called the vicegerents of the Almighty; but when the King of kings came, he lived the life of an outcast, and died the death of a criminal, and we have not yet forgotten the grief and shame of his non-recognition. But this has taught us to look for the Divine in all disguises of humility and poverty. God sometimes visits us as the Governor does to-day, with the trumpets to blow before him, and his ministers in flaming red and gold. Then we all turn out and take him by the hand and say, 'How pious we are, how devout!' But He much oftener waits for us in the form of a beggar, a slave, a fugitive, and it is only after we have done such an one justice or injustice that we hear the deep and awful word, 'Thou hast done it unto *me*'!

So, brothers, look beyond the comforts and pleasures of the present moment—look beyond the ambitions of the forum—look beyond the successes or reverses of the field—look over there down South at the slave, unjustly bought, unjustly sold, unjustly detained from his heritage upon earth. God has a new disguise to-day—see that ye find it out. The slave, the slave is your master creditor now; and if the debt of this bondage be not speedily paid, the writ of execution will be put into the stately house of our Northern liberties. And we shall see it stripped and dishonored, and we shall deserve to see it."

And if I had said all this, I know not whether they would have taken me by the hand, or whether they would have led me out with a rope around my neck, a candidate for the nearest horse-pond; but this I do know, that I should have been glad to have said it, and glad to have taken the consequences of it, whatever they might have been.

REV. M. D. CONWAY'S LECTURE.

[From the Cincinnati Daily Press, Oct. 14.]

The hall of the Catholic Institute was occupied at an early hour last evening by a large and attentive audience, quite complimentary to the speaker and to the musical entertainment which had called it forth. The introductory and closing exercises by the orchestra and the Mannaerchor were, as usual, well executed and well received. At eight o'clock, the Rev. M. D. Conway appeared upon the stand, and was greeted with manifestations of applause. He said:—

The subject upon which I am to speak to-night is one of Almighty God's own selection. It is one that need not be announced to those who are in the habit of looking beneath the surface of events, and treasuring up the lessons which they teach. Every man has a right to bear within himself the spirit of the age in which he lives. The very rock that is on our coast marks where the glacier went, the formation of the soil and the limestone beneath our feet record where every fern leaf grew, and man, the crowning being of all, should not pass away and leave no trace where he lives. We have a right to grow, and know each day more than we knew the day preceding. I know there are some who sail over seas of knowledge, travel over continents of experience, and settle down, knowing no more than they did before.

Every age has its special voice; some important lesson, some great pivot around which events revolve. We are making history to-day.

The speaker here referred to the temple in which he was speaking, and the great people who had built it. He had great respect for that mighty church that was growing up here. Referring to himself, he said, although he might bear in their midst the mark of heresy and unsoundness, he was a man of the people, and, as such, would speak. He would take occasion to correct a statement that had been lately made concerning himself, which, if uncorrected, might stand in the way of a proper hearing and understanding of what he should say to-night. He did not say, as had been reported by at least four newspapers in the city, that he would rather have his right arm struck from his body by the lightnings of Heaven than to fight for the Union with slavery in it. What he did say was, that he would rather his right arm should be withered than it should ever strike a blow to perpetuate slavery, even if the Union were linked with it. But he believed the Union would survive after all this had been cast off. If that be treason, make the most of it. He had long been a traitor to human oppression—to slavery. He could remember sitting in the lap of aged persons who could recollect hearing Washington called rebel, and Mr. Pitt a traitor, and he remembered how Pitt fulminated against slavery. "Sir," said that great man, who did more for American independence than any other man of his age, "I do not understand this complimenting away the rights of human beings."

He referred to the pleasure he had experienced a few evenings before in seeing the Rev. Archbishop Purcell in this house after his return, and the patriotic McGroarty and Green, whose wounds attest their devotion to the Union, all of whom had been reared in the bosom of this church. I seem to see the history of that church eighteen centuries ago rise before me. I seem to see by my side Hermes, who celebrated the resurrection of Christ by liberating one thousand two hundred and fifty of his slaves; Chromacius, who under Diocletian, emancipated one thousand four hundred, saying, "Those who are children of God ought not to be slaves of men"; Lactantius, who said, in the church there can be no slavery; St. Ambrose, who ordered the golden vessels to be sold to ransom slaves, and Gregory the Great, who did the same. I seem to see those and more hovering around the heroic Mulligan and Corcoran in their captivity, side by side with Rosecrans defending liberty in the passes of Virginia. These draw around me the sacred presence of your church when I speak for liberty.

I am a firm believer in the maxim, "Peace hath her victories not less renowned than war." But there is a kind of peace that carries with it the sting of war—a peace of the grave, and frozen peace like that which the army of Napoleon felt in passing the Alps, who became so cold as to have a disposition to do nothing but sleep; but every man who slept awaked no more. Peace does not go with pusillanimity, cowardice. True peace must be more heroic, bolder than war. Such a peace is always ready when man is ready to work for it. Is there any such peace for us? Any sign for such a victory? I believe there is.

In this war, it is popularly said, eighteen millions are fighting against eight. We have, by our peculiar policy, made that eight millions twelve. We are going to declare that four millions of blacks must fight us to be free. They must kill our soldiers if they want to be confiscated. If a black man comes from Western Virginia to Cincinnati, and can prove that he killed Rosecrans, or some other of our men there, he is confiscated and becomes free. If Floyd told him to do it, and he slipped around in any way and did not do it, we say to him, "My dear sir, go back!" Thus we are making the path of four millions to liberty over our dead bodies. So we have managed, by considerable ingenuity, to get them all against us.

We have a free society; we have awakened wants, intellectual, manufacturing and others, so that we are compelled to keep two-thirds of our able-bodied men at home to prevent us from starving. This is a great deal more than in the South, where society is scarcely more complex than an oyster. They can leave their negroes to cultivate the fields, with a patrol for every fifty to shoot down the first one that rebels, and can bring all the rest of their able-bodied men into the field. Were we to adopt their mode and bring incalculable misery upon ourselves by drafting, get the Creeks and the Cherokees to help us, I have no doubt we could go down there and whip them. We have held back our free negroes.

Slavery has challenged liberty to a duel, and, according to the code of honor, we have a right to choose the weapons. Suppose, instead of choosing the weapons of slavery, we choose liberty's weapon, what will be the consequence? If we say to every man that comes North to assassinate us, that his slaves shall be free men, he would think twice, nay, twenty times, before he would come, and then stay at home. Even during the one week this plan was tried, Sterling Price's men went back, and took Lexington on their way, simply because they were able to take two thousand. That weapon has been tried with success in history. We have the same right to adopt it that a ship has to throw over a part of her cargo in a storm.

Martial law is so called because it is not civil. Had it not been for the presence of mind of the President in violating the *habeas corpus* law, we should have been fighting secession with cold steel in Maryland to-day. If we have a right to kill men without due process of law, we have a right to kill an institution. There never was an institution as sacred as a man. If we can imprison men without due process of law, we can free them.

Is it Christian? Hereupon the whole matter hinges. There is a banner higher than even the star-spangled banner, on which is written, "Do unto others as ye would they should do to you." "Love your enemies." We need a throb of Christianity through the national heart. Is it loving the South to retain an institution that is creating civil war, that is filling her people with hatred for their brethren? We know, too, that the census, like a funeral bell, is tolling the fact that the blacks are increasing in the South above the white population, and bringing on a state of affairs there awful to contemplate. You remember when the Czar of Russia was about to free the serfs, he called together his nobles, saying, "Come and help me liberate my slaves, for if they are not liberated from above, they will be liberated from below." This is what we have to fear.

A story is told of the reign of King Arthur, of a poor dwarf who went around with a sword begging every one to cut off his head, but no one would do it, for the King had commanded them not to touch him. At last he came to Sir Gawaine, who, seeing a tear in the poor dwarf's eye, was moved with pity, and struck off his head. At once the poor dwarf Carl rose to the majestic Sir Carleton, for he had been laboring under a spell which kept him a dwarf till he could find some one to cut off his head, and he said to Sir Gawaine, "Thou alone hast loved me enough." The same would apply to the negro and slavery.

What shall be done with the negro? The speaker was in favor of employing the whole force of the Government, if necessary, to keep them where they were. Let them work. "Our way has been to crush them to powder, to grind out the last ray of hope, and God will now trust us no longer." The abolition of slavery has been accomplished in Chili, Benares, the Republic of Columbia, the State of New York, St. Domingo, etc., and the speaker claimed that no evil had resulted from it. In every case, the nation that had adopted emancipation had risen at once in the scale of civilization and power. We should not adopt the bowie knife and the weapons of slavery; they are not our forte. We have no right to allow the liberty of the world and humanity's hope to be placed in jeopardy a single hour. If we would come to use the weapons of peace, every army might be forth with disbanded.

FIRST MESSAGE BY THE PACIFIC TELEGRAPH LINE.—FORT BRIDGER, Utah, Oct. 18. The Pacific Telegraph line was completed to Salt Lake City at one o'clock to-day. The line between Salt Lake City and San Francisco will be finished in a few days.

CLEVELAND, Ohio, Oct. 18. The following is the first message over the Pacific Telegraph line. It was received this evening:—

GREAT SALT LAKE CITY, Oct. 18, 1861.

Hon. J. H. Wade, President of the Pacific Telegraph:

SIR,—Permit me to congratulate you on the completion of the overland telegraph line West to this city, to commend the energy displayed by yourself and associates in the rapid and successful prosecution of a work so beneficial, and to express the wish that its use may ever tend to promote the true interests of the dwellers on both the Atlantic and Pacific slopes of our continent. Utah has not seceded, but is firm for the Constitution and laws of our once happy country, and is warmly interested in such successful enterprises as the one so far completed. BRIGHAM YOUNG.

WASHINGTON, Oct. 20. On the opening of the telegraph to Great Salt Lake City, the following dispatches were exchanged:—

GREAT SALT LAKE CITY.

To the President of the United States:

Utah, whose citizens strenuously resist all imputations of disloyalty, congratulates the President upon the completion of an enterprise which spans the continent, unites two oceans, and connects remote extremities of the body politic with the government's heart. May the whole system speedily thrill with the quickened pulsation of that heart, the parricidal hand of political treason be punished, and the entire sisterhood of States join hands in glad reunion around the national fireside. (Signed) FRANK FULLER, *Acting Governor of Utah.*

The following is the reply:—

SIR,—The completion of the telegraph to Great Salt Lake City is auspicious of the stability and union of the Republic. The Government reciprocates your congratulations.

(Signed) ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

TO FRANK FULLER, *Acting Governor.*

"SAMUEL MAY—1797." These are the words upon a faded sign at the west corner of State and Broad streets, Boston. We first saw them there a long while ago, and never make a visit to the city without looking up, to see if they yet remain. The old sign was there last Tuesday, and, more than that, we just learn from a gentleman of Concord, many years a Boston merchant, that Mr. May still lives, at the age of ninety, and was, when he last saw him—a year or so since—walking about amidst the familiar places of his early manhood and his active prime. The business is conducted by younger men, but the firm is Samuel May & Co. The gentleman in this city of whom we speak, says Broad street was laid out, and the building erected upon which this sign is affixed, about 1806, and he thinks the senior Mr. May commenced occupancy of the store when it was completed. That will give fifty-five years occupancy of the same business stand—something at which to marvel in this capricious age. When the old sign no longer speaks with the same emphasis of the venerable gentleman whose name it bears, the public will doubtless learn more of him through the public papers of Boston. Who, in passing up or down State street, and seeing those words at the head of this paragraph, does not acquire an interest in Samuel May?—*New Hampshire Statesman.*

FORTRESS MONROE, Oct. 18. Gen. Wool issued an order giving every male "contraband" eight dollars a month, and females four dollars.

BALTIMORE, Oct. 19. Thomas Wilder, the founder of the order of Odd Fellows, died this morning, suddenly.

FIGHT AT BOLIVAR, VA.

BALTIMORE, Oct. 18. A gentleman who spent the whole of yesterday at Harper's Ferry, says the accounts of the fight on Wednesday are, in the main, correct. The cannon captured is a fine new siege gun, well mounted and in good order, with the exception of a fracture above the axles, caused during the fight. It was stationed near the abutment of the bridges, and when about being retaken by the rebels, a tenpenny nail was driven into it, which has been withdrawn.

The Rhode Island battery did not participate in the fight; they were stationed on Maryland heights, and found it impossible to distinguish friends from foes in the distance. The contest lasted from 8 o'clock in the morning till 2 in the afternoon. It was a regular skirmish with varying results; the rebels when hard pressed retreated into the woods, and at other times driving the Federals back into Bolivar. The Maine regiment was beyond Bolivar on the road to Charlestown.

At 2 o'clock, Col. Geary arrived with three pieces of cannon, which soon silenced the enemy's guns, and put the entire force to flight. The Chaplain, who was taken prisoner, says before he was captured eighty-seven were killed and wounded, and had been carried from the field. There was nothing positively known as to Col. Ashley being killed. It is not generally credited that an officer supposed to be him was shot during the final retreat of the rebels.

The Federals remained at the Ford all night, and yesterday morning, having brought across the river the remainder of the 10,000 bushels of wheat captured from the military depot, which they were about transporting to Leesburg, an order was given for the whole force to retire to the Maryland side.

Great distress prevails among the few remaining residents of Bolivar, information having reached there that it was the intention of the rebels to destroy both Bolivar and Harper's Ferry on Thursday night by fire. They were all packing up preparatory to flight.

The river is still too high to ford, and the troops were conveyed across in scows.

The prisoners admit that their force was 2000, while the whole Federal force was 460.

The change at Harper's Ferry and the thriving village of Bolivar is represented as most sad and shocking. Ruin is everywhere visible. The inhabitants were bowed down with sorrow and desolation.

BALTIMORE, Oct. 18. A gentleman direct from Harper's Ferry announces that the rebels again appeared on Linden and Bolivar hights this morning, and renewed the attack on the Union forces under Major Gould, with artillery. Major Gould fired upon them with cannister from the Columbiad captured on Tuesday, and drove them back, but not until the vandals had burned the mill of A. H. Herr, and took the miller prisoner, who was charged by them with giving information to the Union troops of the 12,000 bushels of grain being brought there to grind.

The firing was progressing when our informant left. Women and children were fleeing in great terror to the Maryland shore, in anticipation of the town being burned. Major Gould was throwing shot and shell from the Maryland heights after the rebels, and was confident that he could keep them off until reinforcements reached him.

Col. Geary's wound was only a slight cut in the calf of his leg, by a piece of an exploded shell.

Col. Geary reports that four men who were wounded at Bolivar were afterwards charged upon by the enemy's cavalry, and stabbed through the body, stripped of all clothing, and one or two laid in the form of crucifixion, with their hands spread and cut through the palms with a dull knife. This inhuman conduct greatly incensed our troops, who vowed retaliation.

BALTIMORE, Oct. 18—Midnight. The following has just been received here from Sandy Hook, Md.:—

The mill of Herr & Welsh, at Harper's Ferry, has just been burned by the rebel forces under Col. Ashley, after our troops had taken 20,000 bushels of wheat from there, and retired to their original position opposite the Ferry.

Major Gould, in command of the post, ordered his three companies (C, I and K, of the 13th Massachusetts,) and a detachment of Col. Geary's Pennsylvania regiment, under arms, and Captain Thompson of the Rhode Island battery opened, from the Maryland heights, his battery against the rebels, when Captain Seriber of the 13th Massachusetts volunteers, with his two twelve-pounders and the gloriously captured thirty-two pounder, attended to the rebels appearing on Loudon mountain. They were driven back so as to prevent the further destruction of Harper's Ferry.

The families remaining in Harper's Ferry are fast emigrating to Maryland.

A fight took place on Monday of this week, near Leesburg, Va., between a portion of Gen. Banks's command, under Gen. Stone, and a large body of rebels. Gen. Stone crossed the river to the Virginia side during the night, and in the morning his right wing, 1,800 strong under Col. Baker, of Oregon, was attacked by about 4,000 of the enemy, under Gen. Evans, with artillery. Col. Baker gallantly led a charge against the enemy, in which he was killed, when the men fell back, in good order, carrying off the dead and wounded, to where they could be supported by Gen. Stone and the portions of the army that had effected a crossing. Our loss in the affair is stated at 175, killed and wounded. Gen. Banks's army is now said to be on the Virginia side of the river.

NEW YORK, October 23. A special Washington despatch to the *Herald* says: The latest news last night was that the whole of General Stone's Division had crossed the Potomac in full pursuit of the enemy, and that Banks's column had reached the banks of the river, and would speedily support Gen. Stone.

Information received late last night announces that the fight on Monday was a desperate one, and large numbers were killed on both sides. Although the enemy was much stronger, he was falling back before the advance of our troops, and would undoubtedly have been routed but for the fall of Col. Baker, which produced a sudden confusion among the troops, and led to a halt.

Gen. G. W. Smith commanded the rebels, and a private despatch asserts that he was shot from his horse, and carried off the field.

Gen. McClellan left for Gen. Banks's headquarters in the field yesterday morning.

It is a subject of regret that Col. Baker should have engaged the enemy, when, according to report, he was ordered to make a reconnoissance only, with strict injunction, if attacked, to fall back and not fight. He disobeyed orders, which cost him his life. Col. Baker made his will on Saturday last and deposited it with Col. Webb, and when he left for the field he said to the latter, "I shall participate in a battle within forty-eight hours. If I fall, I request you to take charge of my body." A dispatch states that his body was pierced with six minie balls, showing that the rebels had their sharpshooters to pick off our men.

Among the killed and wounded at the late battle at Edward's Ferry, Va., are the following commissioned officers of the Massachusetts 15th:—

Killed—Capt. Rockwood, Co. A; Capt. Simonds, Co. B; Capt. Bowman, Co. C. Probably killed, Capt. Studley, Co. D; Capt. Getchell, Co. K; 2d Lieut. Grout; 2d Lieut. Vassal, Co. E.

Wounded—Lieut. Col. Ward, leg amputated; Capt. Sloan, Co. F, slightly; Capt. Foreband, Co. G; Capt. Philbrick, Co. H, slightly; 1st Lieut. Holden, Co. G. Col. Devins received a slight contusion in the breast from a musket ball.

Col. Lee of the Massachusetts 20th was probably taken prisoner.

BATTLE OF FREDERICKTOWN, MO.

PILOT KNOB, MO., Oct. 22d. The following dispatch was received here this morning, and forwarded to Headquarters at St. Louis:—

FREDERICKTOWN, Oct. 22d, 1861. In conjunction with Col. Plummer's command, we have routed the rebels of Thompson and Lowe, estimated at 5000.

Their loss was heavy. Ours small, and confined principally to the 1st Indiana cavalry. We captured four heavy guns. Lowe, the rebel leader, was killed. Major Gavit and Capt. Wyman of the Indiana cavalry were killed in the charge on a battery.

The command of Col. Plummer referred to above was, on Friday morning last, ordered forward by General Grant from Cape Girardeau, with instructions to move towards Fredericktown and cut off the rebels of Thompson's and Lowe's army.

GEN. FREMONT'S REMOVAL ASSERTED TO BE DECIDED UPON BY GOVERNMENT—GENERAL HUNTER TO BE HIS SUCCESSOR. *Cincinnati, Oct. 18th.* The *Gazette* editorially says that when the Secretary of War went to St. Louis, he carried an order from the President removing General Fremont from the command of the Western Department, and instructing him to transfer it to General Hunter. The delivery of this order was left to the discretion of the Secretary of War. His visit to the Western Department convinced him that a change was positively required, and he presented the order to General Fremont, who asked a delay for a few days in the execution of the order; but his removal was decided upon to take place next week—probably it will be made Tuesday.

The Secretary of War has also ordered that modifications be made in General Fremont's operations in St. Louis in respect to fortifications, contracts, and military appointments.

ST. LOUIS, Oct. 19. The statement in the Cincinnati *Gazette* of yesterday to the effect that Secretary Cameron, in his recent visit to this Department, brought an order from the President instructing General Fremont to transfer the command of the Western Military Department to Gen. Hunter, and that the order was delayed at the request of Gen. Fremont, is pronounced untrue. If Secretary Cameron had such an order, it was not presented. The interview between Gen. Fremont and Secretary Cameron was satisfactory to both parties.

HAYTIAN EMIGRATION.

At the twenty-first annual meeting of the American Baptist Missionary Convention, held in the Salem Baptist Church, 25th inst., (says the New Bedford *Standard*,) Mr. John Oliver submitted the following preamble and resolutions, who said his motive for doing so was from the fact that, when the Southern slave States were driving the free colored people from their homes, he then thought that Hayti would be a good opening for those residing in Louisiana, South Carolina and the other tropic States. But when Mr. Redpath spreads his scheme all over the Northern States to induce those who have no just cause to leave the country, he discovered the whole plan calculated to increase and not reduce the malicious negro hate so prevalent, and that the enemies of human freedom will use the emigration scheme, as they have heretofore done, as a reason why we should leave the country:—

Whereas, in view of the present hopeful indications that God is about to answer the prayers of a long degraded and oppressed people, by bringing both sections of this guilty nation, which continues to hold them in bondage, face to face in battle; and believing that the pride of the South and the honor of the North make it impossible for the two sections which are now at war ever again to effect a compromise like that of 1789, by which the colored people were constitutionally doomed to there present condition, therefore,

Resolved, That this Convention feel it to be their duty to protest against the operations and designs of those in charge of Haytian emigration, and that we look upon any body of men who seek our wholesale removal, as is contemplated by Mr. James Redpath and his coadjutors, as being characterized by the same spirit which breathed into existence the old American Colonization Society.

Resolved, That we condemn the infamous doctrine, upon whatever grounds it may be predicated, that the white and black races cannot live together upon this continent in a state of freedom and equality.

Resolved, That we feel a deep sense of regret that colored men in whom we have confided as our leaders should allow themselves to be the tools of a wide-spread evil, which is discouraging and dividing us just at the daybreak of our universal emancipation.

THE "CHRISTIAN" INDIANS AND THE SOUTHERN CONFEDERACY.

ROLLA, Mo., Oct. 19. John Ross, Chief of the Cherokee Indians, in a note to Major Clark of the rebel army, dated the 24th ult., says: "I herewith forward to your care despatches for Gen. McCulloch, which I request you will have forwarded by the earliest express."

At a mass meeting of 4000 Cherokees at Tarliquaha, on the 21st, they, with marked unanimity, declared their adherence to the Confederate States, and have given their authorities power to negotiate an alliance with them. In view of their action, a regiment of mounted men will be raised, and placed under the command of Col. John Drew, to meet any emergency that may arise. Having espoused the cause of the Confederate States, they hope to render efficient service in the danger which now threatens the country, and to be treated with a liberality and confidence becoming the Confederate States.

THE OTHER SIDE OF THE SLAVE QUESTION. The opinion seems to be gaining ground that, at the last moment, if needed in *self-defence*, the rebels will proclaim emancipation. This was the policy proposed by the government in Cuba, if necessary to arrest the filibustering of Lopez or of the United States. The intelligent Baltimore correspondent of the New York *Tribune* says that a similar policy will be adopted by the South:—

"When Gen. Toombs made his speech against the increase of the army, in the Senate, two years ago, he warned the North that the South held the institution of slavery in its own hands, and that if events should justify it, the slave States would anticipate outside pressure, and by a sweeping act of emancipation, convert the slave into a friend of the South. The secessionists of the more ardent sort in this city *do not hesitate to assert this will be the policy of the South*, as the war progresses, rather than suffer the rebellion to be put down. They are free to admit that a vigorous prosecution of Fremont's policy would speedily end the rebellion, and hence their joy at its modification."

ANOTHER REBEL OUTRAGE ON THE PLATTE RIVER. The following is an extract from a private letter which we have received from Macon City, Mo., dated October 13:—

"The Platte River bridge, that is, the one which was burned near St. Joseph, has failed, and they are now obliged to cross in small boats and on rafts. Night before last, fifteen hundred regulars from Utah crossed, and many of them with their families. Being so many of them, some were obliged to cross on the rafts. They had ropes across the river, and those on the raft took hold of the end and pulled, and it drew them across; but some one—a secessionist, they think—had cut the rope, and when they were about in the middle of the river it gave way, and they floated down stream a short distance, and the raft hit against a tree and turned them all over, drowning a wife and only child of one man, three only children of another family, and a babe of eleven months old of another family. The bodies have not yet been recovered from among the rubbish. It was very dark, and they were obliged to come along and leave them. They passed through here yesterday, and some mothers were ringing their hands and crying for their lost children. Some spoke not a word, but looked heart-broken; others mourning for a loved wife or children. O, it was a sight to melt a heart of stone."

The regulars referred to in the above extract have probably reached Washington, ere this. We understand that Major N. A. M. Dudley, of Massachusetts, is with the command.

Great outrages are perpetrated by the rebels in the southern counties of Kentucky. The finest private residences in Barbourville have been converted into stables for their horses, and the most wanton destruction of property has marked their progress. In Laurel, they visited the farm of Jacob Hackney, tore down his house, destroyed his fences, made his place a scene of desolation, deprived him of his winter clothing, and utterly ruined him. The leading citizens had been compelled to fly from home in order to save themselves from personal outrage.

NEW YORK, Oct. 21. The *Tribune* says it knows it to be true that Secretary Cameron took with him to Missouri full discretionary power to supersede Gen. Fremont, and turn over the command of his army to Gen. Hunter, and that he did not see fit to exercise that power. All beyond this is idle speculation.

THE WAR AT THE WEST. The difference between the movements of the armies put in the field by both parties at the East and the West is noticeable. In Northern Virginia, the progress is at a snail-pace, compared with what it is in Missouri. Within a week one may hear of an army in the latter State having travelled more than one hundred miles—to be succeeded, the week following, by rapid strides in the opposite direction. The present is the third grand march across that extensive State; may we indulge the hope that it will prove the last, by putting a complete extinguisher on the rebellion?—*N. Y. Com. Journal.*

STORY'S BUST OF PARKER. The friends of the late Rev. Theodore Parker will be gratified to learn, that the marble bust by Wm. W. Story, Esq., so long expected, has recently been received in Boston, and has been placed by Mrs. Parker in the Public Library, for a limited time, on examination. Mr. Parker sat many times for the model during his sojourn in Rome, and expressed the highest satisfaction at the result. He said to the sculptor, "It looks as if it could do what I would, but cannot."

STAMPEDE OF SLAVES.—*New Creek, Va., Oct. 14.*—Six slaves from near Romney came into camp to-day. They were pursued until within six miles of our camp by the rebel cavalry, who were after the reward that had been offered for them, which was $600. As soon as they came in, eighty of our cavalry went in hot pursuit, but the rebels hearing they were pursued, retreated to Romney. The negroes report 4,000 rebels at that place.—*Correspondence of the Cincinnati Commercial.*

DISTRESS IN ST. GEORGE'S BAY. A letter from St. George's Bay, N. F., of date of August 27, published in the St. John's papers, says:—"The state of affairs in St. George's Bay is very alarming—distress has already commenced, and if something is not done to relieve the people before winter sets in, 'tis feared that a famine will be the result. On account of the American war, they can't get any price for their herrings; and Mr. Lawson, the principal supplying merchant, has suspended his affairs in the Bay."

A NOBLE SPEECH. The Boston *Traveller* says that "Mr. Winthrop made a noble speech on presenting a flag to Col. Wilson's regiment." It was all that; and the only exception that can be taken to it, is its *age*, as it ought to have been made years ago.—*Worcester Palladium.*

It is reported from Washington that the Commander of the blockading fleet at Charleston has been superseded for permitting the steamer Nashville to escape.

The Boston *Herald* says that the Democratic party "is neither anti-slavery nor pro-slavery." It is neither hot nor cold on the greatest question of this age. It is likely to meet the fate of the lukewarm.

Beauregard's official report of the battle of Bull Run has not yet made its appearance.

FRATERNITY LECTURES.

FOURTH SERIES.

The public of Boston and vicinity are respectfully informed that the FOURTH SERIES of FRATERNITY LECTURES continue weekly at TREMONT TEMPLE.

The lecture on Tuesday Evening, Oct. 29, will be by GEORGE W. CURTIS, Esq.,

To be followed on successive TUESDAY EVENINGS by Lectures from the following gentlemen:—

November 5—T. WENTWORTH HIGGINSON.
" 12—RALPH WALDO EMERSON.
" 19—WILLIAM R. ALGER.
" 26—HENRY WARD BEECHER.
December 3—FREDERICK DOUGLASS.
" 10—DANIEL S. DICKINSON.
" 17—EDWIN H. CHAPIN.
" 24—WILLIAM S. STUDLEY.
" 31—EZRA H. HEYWOOD.
January 7—WENDELL PHILLIPS.
Organist - - HOWARD M. DOW, Esq.

Doors to be opened at 6 1-2 o'clock. Lectures to commence at 7 1-2 o'clock, precisely.

A limited number of tickets (admitting the bearer and a lady,) are offered for sale at $2 each; to be obtained at Oliver Ditson & Co's, No. 277 Washington street, John C. Hayes & Co's, 33 Court street, D. O. Goodrich's, 302 Washington street, of the several members of the Fraternity hitherto having the disposal of tickets, and at the Tremont Temple. Oct. 11

A. T. FOSS, an Agent of the American A. S. Society, will speak on "The War," at
Brattleboro', Vt., Sunday, Oct. 27.
Springfield, " Tuesday, " 29.

THE TWENTY-EIGHTH NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY SUBSCRIPTION ANNIVERSARY.—The exigencies of the cause having this year occasioned an earlier call for funds than usual, friends at home and abroad are entreated to advance and increase their subscriptions as far as practicable,—addressing them to WILLIAM I. BOWDITCH, Esq., *Treas. Am. A. S. Society, Boston.*
MARIA WESTON CHAPMAN.

AID FOR FUGITIVE SLAVES.—The fund raised to aid fugitive slaves is now, and has been for some time, exhausted. Those who are disposed to contribute to this deserving charity are respectfully invited to leave their contributions with FRANCIS JACKSON, Hollis st., or R. F. WALLCUT, at the Anti-Slavery office.

NOTICE.—Mrs. H. F. M. BROWN, of Cleveland, Ohio, has been appointed an Agent for the *Anti-Slavery Standard*; and is fully authorized to receive new subscriptions to the same, as well as payments on old accounts. Mrs. Brown's address is 288 Superior street.

MERCY B. JACKSON, M. D., having had fifteen years' experience in the Homœopathic treatment of diseases, offers her professional services to the Ladies and Children of Boston and vicinity.

References.—David Thayer, M. D.; Luther Clark, M. D.; John M. Tarbell, M. D., Boston. Eliphalet Clark, M. D., Portland, Me.

Rooms No. 20 Bulfinch street. Office hours from 2 to P. M.

Woman's Rights under the Law.

THREE Lectures delivered in Boston, January, 1861, by Mrs. C. H. Dall.
I. The Oriental Estimate and the French Law.
II. The English Common Law.
III. The United States Law, and some Thoughts on Human Rights.
16mo., cloth, 63 cts.
Published by WALKER, WISE & CO., 245 Washington street, Boston.
Uniform with
Woman's Right to Labor, 63 cts.
Practical Illustrations of the same, 63 cts.
Historical Pictures Retouched, $1.00.
All of which are sent *free* by mail on receipt of the price.
Oct. 25—3tis.

THE most able and brilliant book, called forth by the present struggle, is
THE REJECTED STONE:
Or, Insurrection vs. Resurrection in America.
By a Native of Virginia. 12mo., flexible covers—50 cts. Published, and sent free by mail, on receipt of the price, by WALKER, WISE & CO.,
Oct. 25—3tis 245 Washington street, Boston.

OUR NATIONAL WEAKNESS.

REV. Dr. Hedge's admirable Fast Day Sermon—price 12 cts. Published by WALKER, WISE & CO., 245 Washington street, Boston.
Oct. 25 1w

$40 PARKER $40
Sewing Machines,
PRICE FORTY DOLLARS.

THIS is a new style, first class, double thread, Family Machine, made and licensed under the patents of Howe, Wheeler & Wilson, and Grover & Baker, and its construction is the best combination of the various patents owned and used by these parties, and the patents of the Parker Sewing Company. They were awarded a Silver Medal at the last Fair of the Mechanics' Charitable Association, and are the best finished and most substantially made Family Machines now in the market.

Sales Room, 188 Washington street.

GEO. E. LEONARD, *Agent.*

Agents wanted everywhere.
All kinds of Sewing Machine work done at short notice.
Boston, Jan. 18, 1861. 3m.

IMPORTANT TESTIMONY.

Report of the Judges of the last Fair of the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association.

"FOUR PARKER'S SEWING MACHINES. This Machine is so constructed that it embraces the combinations of the various patents owned and used by Elias Howe, Jr., Wheeler & Wilson, and Grover & Baker, for which these parties pay tribute. These, together with Parker's improvements, make it a beautiful Machine. They are sold from $40 to $120 each. They are very perfect in their mechanism, being adjusted before leaving the manufactory, in such a manner that they cannot get deranged. The feed, which is a very essential point in a good Machine, is simple, positive and complete. The apparatus for guaging the length of stitch is very simple and effective. The tension, as well as other parts, is very simple and effective. There is another feature which strikes your committee favorably, viz: there is no wheel below the table between the standards, to come in contact with the dress of the operator, and therefore no danger from oil or dirt. This machine makes the double lock-stitch, but is so arranged that it lays the ridge upon the back quite flat and smooth, doing away, in a great measure, with the objection sometimes urged on that account."

IMPROVEMENT IN
Champooing and Hair Dyeing,
"WITHOUT SMUTTING."

MADAME CARTEAUX BANNISTER

WOULD inform the public that she has removed from 223 Washington Street, to

No. 31 WINTER STREET,

where she will attend to all diseases of the Hair.

She is sure to cure in nine cases out of ten, as she has for many years made the hair her study, and is sure there are none to excel her in producing a new growth of hair.

Her Restorative differs from that of any one else, being made from the roots and herbs of the forest.

She Champoos with a bark which does not grow in this country, and which is highly beneficial to the hair before using the Restorative, and will prevent the hair from turning grey.

She also has another for restoring grey hair to its natural color in nearly all cases. She is not afraid to speak of her Restoratives in any part of the world, as they are used in every city in the country. They are also packed for her customers to take to Europe with them, enough to last two or three years, as they often say they can get nothing abroad like them.

MADAME CARTEAUX BANNISTER,
No. 31 Winter Street, Boston.

J. B. SWASEY,
BOSTON.
LAW OFFICE, 114 STATE STREET, ROOM 11.

Poetry.

For the Liberator.

OUR COUNTRY IN THE RIGHT.

"Our country, right or wrong,"*
From many a mouth is heard
Among the giddy, thoughtless throng,
Whose passions war hath stirred:
'Tis sad how they forget,
Who often sing this song,
The nations whose bright sun hath set,
Because they did the wrong!

Shall we who make our boast
We're wedded to the right,—
That Truth shall conquer Error's host,
And chase the shades of night,—
Shall *we* join with the crowd,
Our streets who daily throng,
And sing—while death shall weave our shroud—
"Our country, right or wrong"?

Let each a moment pause,
Ere he his aid shall lend,
And ask—Is it a righteous cause
Which I would now defend?
And let him rather die
Than join the thoughtless throng
From whom is heard the craven cry—
"Our country, right or wrong!"

Far better will it be
We in the contest fall,
While striving the oppressed to free
From chains which them enthral:
Then death shall have no sting,
And all beyond be light,
If by our life we daily sing—
Our country, when 'tis right.

Boston, Oct. 30, 1861. JUSTITIA.

*The sentiment of a poem by George Lunt, (one of the editors of the Boston *Courier*,) which was first published during our war with Mexico, and has been republished in some of our leading journals since the commencement of the uncivil war in this country.

From the Atlantic Monthly for October.

OUR COUNTRY.

On primal rocks she wrote her name;
Her towers were reared on holy graves;
The golden seed that bore her came
Swift-winged with prayer o'er ocean waves.

The Forest bowed his solemn crest,
And open flung his sylvan doors;
Meek Rivers led the appointed Guest
To clasp the wide-embracing shores;

Till, fold by fold, the broidered land
To swell her virgin vestments grew,
While Sages, strong in heart and hand,
Her virtue's fiery girdle drew.

O, exile of the wrath of kings!
O, Pilgrim Ark of Liberty!
The refuge of divinest things,
Their record must abide in thee!

First in the glories of thy front
Let the crown-jewel, Truth, be found;
Thy right hand fling, with generous wont,
Love's happy chain to farthest bound!

Let Justice, with the faultless scales,
Hold fast the worship of thy sons;
Thy Commerce spread for shining sails
Where no dark tide of rapine runs!

So link thy ways to those of God,
So follow firm the heavenly laws,
That stars may greet thee, warrior-browed,
And storm-sped angels hail thy cause!

O land, the measures of our prayers,
Hope of the world in grief and wrong,
Be thine the tribute of the years,
The gift of Faith, the crown of Song!

TYRANNOS.

I.

Tyrants! your doom is nigh
Short is your reign.
Your bondmen's wailing cry
To Heaven again
Hath risen, and the Infinite God
Whom ye have long denied,
Whom ye have long defied,
Prepareth his avenging rod,
Whose chastisements shall fall,
And spread the hideous pall
Of desolation o'er your land,
And when your woe is direst, ye shall see
Those outraged bondmen, by the Lord set free,
Erect in majesty of manhood stand!

II.

Though ye have said
"God is dead,"
Yet shall ye awake in dread
From your long and guilty dream:
Though his righteous judgments seem
Long delayed,
They are terrible and sure!
Though his mercy long endure,
Be afraid!
When His wrath, which seemeth to sleep,
Shall arouse to its deepest deep,
It shall overwhelmingly sweep
Your refuge of lies away;
And in that day,
Beneath His rod,
Your souls shall say
"God is God!"

III.

Too late shall ye believe!
Too late the truth perceive!
Ye have hugged the lie so long,
(Ye love it still,)
It hath bound its chain so strong
Around your will,
That ye cannot now turn back!
Ye chose Destruction's track
With open eyes,
And your vision now is sealed
Till the judgment be revealed!
That shall your souls surprise,
That shall unseale your eyes,
And in that day,
With new-found sight
And new-discovered light,
Your souls shall see
Despairingly,
And, broken 'neath his rod,
In anguish say,
"God is God!"

Paterson, September, 1860.

From the Cambridge Chronicle.

BRAVERY.

He may be brave
Whose strong right hand
Can wield the brand,
And strike the opponent down;
To win the field
Of mortal strife,
Who gives his life,
Shall gain a bright renown.

But battle-plain,
And warrior's fall—
These are not all
Hero and coward make;
Strong hand, strong frame
May have no part
With upright heart,
And win no honest fame.

The coward he
Whom laugh or jeer,
Or idle sneer,
Can force into the wrong;
And he alone
The hero proves
Whom no lure moves—
Who in the right is strong. C. F.

The Liberator.

WHY THE JUDGMENT OF GOD IS UPON THE NATION.

A Sermon by REV. DR. WILLIAM H. BRISBANE, *formerly of South Carolina.*

ISAIAH, 58: 6. "Is not this the fast that I have chosen? to loose the bands of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens, and to let the oppressed go free, and that ye break every yoke?"

Do you know, my respected hearers, for what our nation is now suffering the judgment of God: why God is offended with us? It is because we have not remembered those in bonds as bound with them. It is because we have four and a half millions of the colored race subjected to the most cruel system of slavery the world ever knew. It is because, when he called through various messengers to break every yoke and let the oppressed go free, the nation would not heed his voice, but allowed his prophets to be lynched, and stoned, and slaughtered. Let us, on this occasion, glance at the history of this nation, and we shall not wonder that God has allowed the petted slaveholders of the Southern States to bring their madness to bear against those who have helped them in their iniquity.

Our fathers established for us a government which they designed to sustain and maintain liberty; and although they unfortunately incorporated into the Constitution some features which were not in harmony with that design, yet they never thought that slavery could be fostered by the government they established. A stranger who should come to our shores, and who had never known any thing of our history or of our domestic institution, could never infer from a perusal of the U. S. Constitution, that we were a slaveholding nation. Madison, that great statesman, said it would never do to incorporate into the Constitution the idea that man could hold property in man; and, hence, the word slave does not occur in that instrument. It was supposed that slavery would very soon, by the action of the several States, die out, and, therefore, a wording was given to such clauses in the Constitution as referred to the condition of slavery, which would not be repugnant to a condition of freedom; as, for instance, the fugitive slave clause is quite as applicable to apprentices and persons bound by their own consent, as to slaves.

It was never designed by the fathers of the Republic that slavery should be perpetuated; and of this, the history of their times gives abundant proof. The philosopher Franklin was the President of the Pennsylvania Abolition Society. The great statesman, John Jay, who was the first Chief Justice, was President of an Abolition Society in New York; and there were in their day Abolition Societies in Connecticut, New Jersey, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina and Kentucky. The great Washington himself said, "It is among my first wishes to see some plan adopted by which slavery in this country may be abolished by law." Jefferson's views on that subject were frequently given in some form or other to the public, and his words have often been quoted, which express the idea that God can not take part with the slaveholder. Luther Martin, who was a delegate from Maryland in the Convention that framed the Constitution, gives as a reason for having omitted in that instrument the word slave, that it was "odious in the ears of Americans."

There is no fact in history more undoubted than that the fathers expected and designed that slavery would and should soon pass away. In Massachusetts, such was the state of public sentiment, that no act of the Legislature was necessary to give freedom to their slaves, but, under the mere Declaration of Rights, their Court judicially decreed slavery to be abolished; and in none of the States, except it may have been occasionally by some unheeded essayist or scribbler, was any defence or advocacy of slavery set up. It was almost the universal sentiment that it must soon come to an end. Nor was it until about thirty years ago, that any serious attempt was made to secure to the system a perpetual existence, except it may have been by those who framed the Constitution of South Carolina. And even in that State, it was then difficult for the pro-slavery politicians to impress upon the people at large the idea that it was to be perpetuated. Until about thirty years ago, it was common, even in South Carolina, to condemn the system. But about that time, after the Nat Turner insurrection in Southampton, the Virginians entered into an animated and serious discussion of the question of emancipation, which excited the apprehension of the cotton planters further South; and, as cotton was then becoming a very profitable staple, they sympathized with the slave-breeders of Virginia, and from that day to this have been trying to move heaven and earth in behalf of the "peculiar institution." Their early plans were by some means ascertained by Benjamin Lundy, of Baltimore, who, travelling in Texas, learned that that portion of Mexico was to be wrested from the Mexican government, and annexed to the United States, as a means of strengthening slavery. He returned to Tennessee, and announced his discovery. But his words were unheeded, except by a few. He was so zealous, however, in his endeavor to arouse the American people and their statesmen to the threatening danger, that, although a poor man, he began the issue of a small sheet advocating the doctrine of emancipation, and at the same time travelled and lectured through the country, occasionally stopping a short time in some city to get his paper printed. He soon fell in with WM. LLOYD GARRISON, a young printer of Boston, Massachusetts, who entered heartily with him into the work. Garrison was laid hold of in the city of Baltimore, by the authorities there, and cast into prison. While there, he wrote these words, which show the spirit of the man:—

"High walls and huge the BODY may confine,
And iron bars obstruct the prisoner's gaze,
And massive bolts may baffle his design,
And vigilant keepers watch his devious ways;
Yet scorns th' immortal mind this base control!
No chains can bind it, and no cell inclose!
Swifter than light, it flies from pole to pole,
And in a flash from earth to heaven it goes!
It leaps from mount to mount—from vale to vale
It wanders, plucking honey'd fruits and flowers:
It visits home to hear the fireside tale,
Or in sweet converse pass the joyous hours:
'Tis up before the sun, roaming afar,
And in its watches wearies every star."

A man who could thus utter himself in his prison-cell has a mind that is unconquerable. Arthur Tappan, then a wealthy merchant of New York, paid one hundred dollars, and set Garrison again at liberty. Undaunted, he again spoke out, and declared that the nation should hear his voice. Benjamin Lundy died, but he had inspired the young printer with a noble determination to free his country from the curse of slavery. And, whatever objections may be made to the religious views of the man, or however we may be at issue with him upon some opinions and some measures, I would be doing injustice to my own heart not to say of WM. LLOYD GARRISON, that he is a great and good man; and whether this nation lives or perishes, the name of GARRISON will be immortalized by the friends of liberty. But for him, this nation would have slumbered until the crack of doom, and the arrogant slaveholders of the South would have had it bound forever in manacles and chains. But, while he aroused the passions of the arrogant slaveholders, he also aroused the patriotism of a BIRNEY, a MORRIS, a GIDDINGS, and a JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, with a host of others, to warn the nation of its danger, and to plead the cause of the enslaved.

But, in the mean time, by the power of party caucuses, the people were not permitted, except to a limited extent, to hear and understand the true position of the Abolitionists of the country. And the hue-and-cry was made against them, that they were a band of wicked incendiaries, until the very word ABOLITION became the synonym of all that was base and odious! But WM. LLOYD GARRISON still said, with poetic fervor:—

"I am an Abolitionist—
I glory in the name,
Though now by Slavery's minions hissed,
And covered o'er with shame;
It is a spell of light and power,
The watchword of the free;
Who spurns it in the trial hour,
A craven soul is he!"

Had the nation listened to his warning voice a quarter of a century ago, had the ministers and churches in this land done their duty as he exhorted them to do it, we should have been now rid of the crime of slavery, and there would have been no occasion for this judgment of God upon us. But a rope was placed around this early champion of freedom, and by a yelling mob he was dragged through the streets of Boston, under the very shadow of the Cradle of Liberty; and from that day, until within a few years, have those who have had heart enough to call themselves abolitionists, or shown any disposition to befriend the slave, been ostracised from society; whilst many of them have suffered in their own persons indignities, and even cruel scourgings, and some have suffered death. The brave and noble LOVEJOY, brother of the now distinguished Senator in Congress, was shot down while defending the press in the city of Alton. The noble-hearted TORREY, an eloquent minister of the Gospel, was sentenced to the penitentiary in Maryland, and was there left to pine away and die.

But time would fail me to talk of the lynchings of faithful ministers of the Gospel, and worthy Christian editors, and noble-hearted philanthropists, and refined ladies. And the Congress of the United States, and the Judges of the United States, and the Presidents of the United States, looked on, and saw these things, and then did as the oppressors told them to do. And popular Doctors of Divinity, and wealthy and influential church members, helped to put in office the very men who encouraged these mobs, and who trampled upon the petitions of the friends of humanity; to put into office the very men who were combined to uphold the slaveholder, and crush forever the hopes of the slave.

Yes, this nation, founded by those who fought and bled for liberty, and who sounded it out for the nations of all the earth to hear it, that "all men are created equal,"—this nation, founded by Washington, Jefferson, Franklin, Adams, and their noble compeers in Freedom's cause, have allowed a small aristocratic band of slaveholders to control all its departments; and even the so-called free States have succumbed to their dictation. The poor slaves have been uncared for; and even now that the judgments of God are coming upon us, in the fashion of clashing arms and thundering artillery, how few there are among us who have a word to utter in behalf of down-trodden and crushed humanity! Nay, such is still the strength of the Slave Power, that even the benevolent-hearted Abraham Lincoln, with a Republican Cabinet surrounding him,—whatever may be the noble impulses of his nature,—feels so assured that it will weaken the arm of his administration to take part with the slave, that, in the face of the nations of the earth, he calls upon the great-hearted Fremont to modify that grand proclamation which sent a thrill of joy through every philanthropic nerve of the free States! Yes, humanity has been so crushed out of the body politic, that even when REBELS AND TRAITORS are trampling upon the flag of this Union, and the Ellsworths, and the Lyons, and other brave and noble spirits, are shot down by traitorous arms, our President is required, by considerations of policy, to spare to these infamous rebels the prerogative of slave masters, who are in arms against the Government for no other purpose, under the wide heavens, than to rivet tighter the chains with which the slave is manacled!

I do not condemn the President. Doubtless, he does the best he can, under the circumstances. I believe his sympathies, as Abraham Lincoln, are with the slave; but, as President of the United States, he is fettered as securely as the slave, and the yoke must be taken off his neck before he can proclaim it aloud, "Break every yoke, and let the oppressed go free." It is yet with the people—the people of the North—this want of preparation for the year of Jubilee. When we are ready to stand by the Government in behalf of the poor slave, then will the Government be ready to mend that broken bell in old Independence Hall in Philadelphia, upon which is stamped "Liberty throughout all the land, to all the inhabitants thereof," and which used to call the Fathers of the Republic together; but which, after they were gone to their reward, and their degenerate sons forgot the motto, refused longer to peal its sweet tones, and cracked with mortification! And there now it stands in that old Hall, waiting for the time to come when the Government shall be prepared to repair it, and swing it again to the old tune of "Liberty throughout all the land, to all the inhabitants thereof."

In the year 1851—ten years ago—these prophetic words were uttered by one of Freedom's bards:—

"But, Afric, brood not o'er the past,
Gaze into the future afar,
Though darkness be over it cast,
Beyond there is beaming a star.
Thou shortly shalt see it arise,
To brighten the earth with its blaze,
To scatter the gloom of thy skies,
And bring to thee halcyon days.

Though God is a being of love,
His justice to man shall not cease;
Thy prayers have ascended above,
And thou shalt have answers of peace.
But woe to the nation whose laws
Have given no comfort nor rest,
When God shall remember the cause
Of those who are sorely oppressed!"

That prophecy, it seems to me, is being fulfilled. And with it I am reminded of the words of Jefferson—"I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just." But I am also reminded of the strong words of Holy Writ—"Among my people are found wicked men; they lay wait as he that setteth snares; they set a trap; they catch men. Shall I not visit for these things? Shall not my soul be avenged on such a nation as this?" "Execute judgment in the morning, and deliver him that is spoiled out of the hand of the oppressor, lest my fury go out like fire, and burn that none can quench it." "Ye have not hearkened unto me in proclaiming liberty every one to his brother, and every man to his neighbor; behold, I proclaim a liberty for you to the sword."

And true it is that the sword is now free from the scabbard, and God is wielding it even with the hand of those whom the nation joined with to oppress the poor. That hand is now turned against the Government that strengthened it. This Government raised up and educated a Beauregard and a Jefferson Davis, and, instead of teaching them to love freedom, and to hate slavery, it gave them preceptors who instructed them that slavery was the corner-stone of this republican edifice! And these men, now, in violation of their oath of allegiance, are investing the capital with a great rebel army, and pointing their guns at the Presidential mansion. And yet such is still the oppressive character of this nation, that the President, when he issues his Proclamation for a day of fasting, humiliation and prayer,—although under the war power, (however in time of peace the Constitution may limit his authority,) he may, as a means of weakening the rebel strength, now proclaim freedom to the slaves of the rebel States; and although the Almighty has proclaimed what kind of a fast He is willing to accept,—yet, I say, the President of the United States not only dared not (in that Proclamation for a fast) first to break the oppressors' yoke, but he has not even asked us to remember in our prayers the poor crushed and bruised sons and daughters of Africa! Will God hear our prayers as a nation, so long as our President is obliged, by public sentiment, to withhold all words of sympathy for these our peeled, and afflicted, and oppressed countrymen? I repeat, I do not censure Mr. Lincoln. He acts in his representative capacity; and while, doubtless, he feels for the poor and oppressed, and longs for their deliverance, and sincerely prays himself for the freedom of the slave, yet is he governed by that policy which dares not go in advance of the sentiments of that portion of the people from whom loans are to be obtained for the war.

Many men in high places, if they are not traitors to the Government, are traitors to humanity; and under their influence, the people and their conventions stifle the noblest impulses of their natures, lest they might seem to be in opposition to the Administration in its time of peril, not remembering that the true way to support the Government is to strengthen it on the side of righteousness.

But it is for THE PEOPLE to require of the Government to come up to the true standard, whilst they themselves are the defenders of that righteousness which exalteth a nation. As I believe in God, as I believe in the blessed Saviour of sinners, the Great Redeemer who came to preach deliverance to the captive—as I believe in this Holy Book before me as the Revelation of God's will—so do I believe that there is no salvation for this nation until it repents of the wrongs done to our sable countrymen, and is ready "to loose the bands of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens, to let the oppressed go free, and to break every yoke." I call, therefore, upon Christian patriots, on this day, to pray to God with their whole hearts to change the disposition of the people, to bring them to true repentance, and to prepare them to do justice to the slave. Otherwise, God will not only shake this nation to its centre, but, whilst He sweeps away in his wrath those who, to establish slavery, have drawn the sword against the Government, will also with the same besom of destruction sweep away the Government itself, and leave us to be spoiled by those whom we have despoiled.

But I have hope for my country. I do not believe that there is to be an end of our nationality. I do not believe that the goodly inheritance left us by our fathers, and for which they shed their blood, is to become the soil of despotism, and that the freest and best of all governments upon the earth is to be displaced by a government either of tyrannical slaveholders, or of self-emancipated slaves, demanding vengeance upon those who enslaved them. No: I believe my countrymen will repent. I believe that these Northern States will yet learn that, to secure the whole Union, and retain every star in our star-spangled banner, we must say to the haughty Southron, SLAVERY MUST AND SHALL BE ABOLISHED. I believe we shall yet stand on the side of the down-trodden, and throw to the breeze the banner, LIBERTY TO ALL, OF EVERY CLIME AND OF EVERY HUE; and that the now poor and ignorant and oppressed of the South, whether white or black, and the masters themselves, will all thank God that the North was true to freedom.

Then sound it, sound it, sound it strong!
That Freedom's right, that Slavery's wrong;
And soon this truth will all men see,
And strike for glorious Liberty!

THE ATTACKS ON THE EMANCIPATIONISTS.

We suppose that no sensible, candid man will deny that the existence of slavery is the cause of the present war; that it has been a drag upon the onward movement of the Republic for years; that it has brought about an utter alienation of feeling between the North and the South, and that it has caused nothing but bitterness among ourselves, and disgrace before the world. But see with what hatred men are attacked, who propose getting rid of the nuisance,—not only by the old allies of the slaveholders among us, but by whilom Republican sheets, from which we had a right to expect different treatment. It may be all very well for the opponents of the slave system to be liberal, throw away their offices, and, as a consequence, find themselves thwarted and tied up in their State and National action, by and bye, by the allies and apologists of the Southern rebels, but its wisdom is doubted; for, even now, it seems that the hand held out in friendship must not only be bitten, but the holder must help in the tearing process, and assist in dragging down his friends. Plain, loyal people among us ask, Why this savage, horse-pond onslaught upon men who suggest, in view of our reverses, and the devil-like hate of the enemy, the necessity of emancipating the slaves of disloyal masters and beginning an end of this horror? We have clearly the military right to do it, and God knows we have need enough to call upon all the flesh and blood in the nation to help us, be it black or white. And if the day of need has come, and having the right, why can we not discuss its expediency without being subject to abuse? The threats of the border States to side against the Government, if it meddles with the cause as well as effect, of the rebellion, should weigh but little. The feeling that the Union is a safer keeper of their slaves, than a confederacy based on the right of secession, is about all the loyalty exhibited by any one in those States. Scarce a man of influence among them ever offers to urge the freeing of the slaves, if necessary, for the general good. Their action has cost us dearly, in the early part of the war, and now the free States must, it seems, furnish all the troops and do all the fighting; for the straddle-the-fence-policy—the fear of being on the losing side—has made them worthless in every battle. Two thousand five hundred of them refusing to leave Carthage, to fight at Wilson's Creek, lost us the battle and the noble Lyon. At Lexington, they stuck up the white rag with alacrity and without orders. It has been no better in Western Virginia; and now Kentucky gives us a crop of the same foot soldiers, (swift, too,) 800 of them having broke and run before 250 rebel cavalry. In war, it has been the usual policy to act upon an enemy's fears, rather than his hopes. A determined government (and all governments should be determined) would say, Be loyal, do your duty, and if found necessary to strike at the root, you will be paid. Dare to rise in rebellion, and by that act your slaves are freed, and shall be turned against you. But we act upon the conciliating, the slaveholder policy, which will have to be abandoned, or the disasters of a long war, without sufficient object, will drag us to ruin.

It is always urged, as an excuse for this policy, that there are many friends of the Union among the slaveholders in the rebel States who will help us, as we go along. Now, it is found that about 300,000 comprise all the slaveholders in the States, and the whole population some 8,000,000. Would it not be more sensible, then, to look for our friends among the millions of non-slaveholders, rather than among the thousands of slaveholders, if we are bold enough to strike a blow at that system, which has always kept them "*poor whites*," and always will? But we have got to come to the determination to rely on ourselves, and to subdue them, or they will certainly subdue us; and the quicker we believe it the better. It can be done; and we shall take hold of it soldier-fashion, soon, and go through with it. For the notion, that it is next to impossible to conquer any country, is quite untrue. All waves of civilization come from abroad to any people. Every nation under heaven has been conquered, over and over again. Analogous to great movements in the earth, it is one of the ways of the Almighty to mingle and advance the race. Without looking too far back, to where everything and nothing can be proved, for thorough work in that line, instance William the Norman's conquest of England, cutting up root and branch every institution that stood in his way, without scruple, and in no long time. England has, no doubt, been the better for it; and the world, for eight hundred years, has approved of his way of doing it. Cromwell, too, another workman in that line, dealt in the same way with Ireland and Scotland, and for doing his work boldly and well, his name will live forever.

The rebels have no scruples. They mean to conquer us, if possible. Their young Generals understand the art of war, as practised by Frederick and Napoleon, and by all great soldiers, that to seize upon an enemy's weak points, overcome and destroy him utterly, or bring him to terms, is their duty. They have used the greatest exertions to get all the savages upon us with their scalping knives, and thousands of them are now in their ranks; and we, like imbeciles, hesitate to even arm the eager colored men among us, or that come to our lines. No, we allow some flunkey colonel to send them back, or open a nice set of books with his ofttimes rebel master. It is asked, What shall we do with these 4,000,000 slaves, if freed? Set them to work like other men and women, if they come your way,—in your kitchen, on your farm, or in your shop; and if they do your work, pay them their wages; they will manage all the rest. Work or starve is a primal law, scorched into the brain of every human being,—the last stamp of the Almighty's hand, and is quite as well understood by the ignorant slave as by the polished scholar. And as to 4,000,000 of them being in the way, bear in mind the fact that (speaking broadly) the United States, from sea to sea, as far as the human race is concerned, is still a wilderness. The rebels *must* conquer us, or we must conquer them, and it will not be a paper conquest, that the politicians can arrange, and things go on comfortable with us. They are quite determined that the North shall feel that they are the dominant race, and that will certainly be done, by their marching armies of men, Attila-like, over our land, sacking our cities, wrenching hundreds of millions from us in gold and goods, for the expenses of war, and for vengeance upon what they esteem a vile money-getting race; Lexington, Bunker Hill, and all our old glories will in that day be extinguished forever, and we shall stand stripped before the world, ruined, craven, cowardly sneaks, who, having numbers, wealth and right on our side, were too imbecile to use them. All this is not a guess at something that may happen years hence and far away; it is now in Missouri; and after a few more cowardly retreats and surrenders, a few more lost battles, will be here, in Philadelphia, New York, and in Boston.

Whence comes this dreadful fear of encroachment upon the constitutional rights of rebels? These same Democrats who denounce emancipation, sat for years and saw the Constitutional rights of the North set aside and spit upon at the South, in the matter of the mails, the imprisonment of seamen, the expulsion and barbarous treatment of Northern men, for opinion's sake, heard their avowal by Southern despots, on the floor of Congress, and then, in open defiance of the government to help itself in the matter, they heard all this, but never a word of condemnation from them. But now, when these same slaveholders, grown bold by their aid and countenance, rise in rebellion, and threaten to destroy the government, and five-sixths of the whole honest people of the free States, rush to arms to crush this rebellion, resolved not only to crush, but to remove the cause of it, before they lay down their arms—Oh, then, what conscientious regard for sacred constitutional rights these gentlemen have! Then comes their determination that the war shall be ended, no matter how disgracefully to the North; no matter if the whole world shall look upon us with feelings deeper than contempt or disgust, as absolute cumberers of the earth, for letting pass a great opportunity; their only wish is, that the war shall be brought to an end with slavery untouched, the serpent unscathed. Then, when their Southern masters are again in their seats in Congress, they well know that, with their old adroitness and audacity, they will soon have their old control; and when the question of "soundness upon the *goose*" comes up, then can they point to their clean record, all through this war,—how they treated the Northern fanatics, like Sumner, Wilson, Butler and the rest, and then can they point to that little row of bright porringers, kept clean and shiny, for the reception of the coming pap. It is the usual cant of these worthies, that the Deity will change this system, if it is evil, in His own way, and His own time. No doubt he will; but no man ever yet saw the bared arm of the Almighty. He effects physical changes through His agents, the earthquake, the rains, the winds; and moral changes through certain convictions in the minds of men. We have faith to believe that such changes are now taking place, in the thoughts and consciences of all men about us, with regard to this matter. We have our doubts, however, about the possibility of any change taking place in the minds of pro-slavery office-seekers. No human being would attempt to make it; but mountains are levelled, and the seas dried up, and the whole face of the great globe changed by Omnipotence. He may do it. Still, without wishing to speak discouragingly or irreverently, we must say, that to effect this change, and cause them to regard the honor and interests of their country, and the welfare of their posterity, (if we *are* to be afflicted in that way,) more than the possession of an office under a future slave-driving oligarchy, will be a big job.

G. D. W.

OUR MILITARY CORRESPONDENCE.

FROM WESTERN VIRGINIA.

CHARLESTOWN, (Va.,) Oct. 1, 1861.

Great and important results must naturally follow this rebellion. While the policy of the Government has been constantly assuming a bolder front, public sentiment has kept in advance of it, thus opening the way to a still bolder stroke of policy. Within the next six months, the great issue which absorbs all others will be made, and those in rebellion against the Government be made to feel personally the calamity which they have brought upon the country. Gen. Fremont has nobly led the way, and the Government must, sooner or later, support him in the position he has taken. Fremont, in taking the position which he has, is cordially supported and endorsed by the people. Every true-hearted American feels that those in rebellion ought to be made to pay the expenses of this war. To do this, the Government will be compelled to confiscate their property, without any regard to its character. No distinction whatever can be made between horses and negroes, for, if the one is confiscated, the other must be. In the confiscation of slaves, a great stroke is aimed, indirectly, however, at slavery. The slaves which are taken by the Government cannot be sold to defray the expenses of this war, for, in that case, the Government would at once admit the idea of property in man; consequently, those slaves must be set free. Military necessity will thus effect an object which Congress would have hesitated to meddle with for years to come, had both sections of the country continued at peace with each other.

From my own observations, I am confident that the slaves of the South are just as well informed with regard to their relation to their masters as we are. They are impressed with the idea that some great change is to be brought about, in which they are deeply interested. They watch with great interest every movement of troops, and are continually asking questions as to the disposition to be made of them, thus evincing an interest in passing events of which their masters little dream. They may talk of the deep devotion on the part of slaves to their masters, but they will find, when the time comes, that this devotion on which they have relied will not prevent them from cutting their masters' throats, when an opportunity arrives, by means of which they can gain their freedom.

An instance of this great devotion, on the part of the slave for his master, was related to me but a few evenings since. Dr. D——, a well-known physician of this village, owned a colored servant by the name of John. He enjoyed the unlimited confidence of his master, who was in the habit of trusting him as he would an own child. This confidence was reciprocated by a like devotion on the part of the slave for his master. One day a neighbor told the doctor that his John was about to run away, as he had had repeated conversations with his servants on this subject. The doctor flew into a passion, and felt very much grieved that his neighbor should think for a moment that his John, whom he had raised from infancy, should prove so ungrateful as to leave him. The only attention which he paid to this timely warning was to put still greater trust in his servant. One day, shortly after this, John was missing, and, not only this, but he had taken his wife and three children. The last which the doctor heard from the faithful John, was, that he was safe in Ohio. Now, Dr. D—— is a very good man and a Christian, and, from my own knowledge, treats his servants very kindly; but that God-given principle, a desire for personal liberty, actuated John, in common with other men of fairer complexion. John undoubtedly left his master and his old home with many regrets, but a desire for freedom overpowered every other passion.

I was told by a colored man, but a few evenings ago, (a man in whose integrity I have the utmost confidence,) that there is an association among the negroes, extending all over the South, the purpose of which is to one day liberate themselves from slavery. He says that hundreds of slaves, who apparently are as innocent as ignorant, are well educated, and are secretly bending every energy to bring about an insurrection which shall end in their being released from their bondage. I asked him if the field hands were members of this association. He said that they were, and, although possessing less information than those who lived in the cities and villages, yet they were aware of what was going on, and that after their work was done at night, they often met in their cabins and discussed the prospect before them. He also said that, in the larger cities of the South, this association had its regular meetings and its officers; that they were waiting only for the proper time, when a tragedy would be enacted all over the South, at which the world would be astonished. If this association really exist, and I sincerely believe that it does, the South, before they are through with this rebellion, will have quite as much as they can do at home, without keeping an army menacing Washington.

Since the Federal army has occupied this country, the slaves have been much less guarded in what they say. One of these slaves, an old man, was passing the tents one day, when one of the boys said to him that he belonged to Jeff. Davis. With a knowing look, he replied: "I did, but now I belong to Uncle Sam." A colored woman who has been a slave for years, (as she is very old,) came into our room the other day, and, taking up a paper, asked if we wanted it. Some one told her, as she was about leaving the room, that she had better not be seen with that paper, as it was not the kind her mistress admired. Says she, "I know what missus likes; I can take care of it," and, slipping it under her apron, she left the room. That slave can read and write, and yet her master knows nothing of it. So it is with hundreds of others. You may wonder how they acquire this knowledge. They acquire it in a great many ways. Many of them learn of their masters' children, with whom house servants spend a great deal of time. Having acquired a slight knowledge, it only stimulates them to greater exertions. They obtain scraps of newspapers and parts of books, and thus gain a great deal of knowledge entirely unobserved. The slaves know how to keep secrets; consequently, any scheme which may be on foot is seldom discovered. * * *

Yours, truly, GEO. L. WOOD.

—*Jeffersonian (Ohio) Democrat.*

WHERE THE DANGER LIES. Ex-Governor Wright, of Indiana, late Minister to Prussia, recently made a speech at Indianapolis, in which he said.—

"There is more danger this day from a divided North than from anything else. A firm, decided, united North, will settle the question, and that speedily. But we must not listen to those violent, miserable Abolitionists of the North, who are asserting that the object of this war is to interfere with the institutions of the South. This is what the Secessionists of the South love to hear, because it unites the South just in proportion as it is believed."

☞ The lines which have lately been going the rounds of the papers as the production of Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, are taken from "Knox's Songs of Israel," under the title of "Mortality."

☞ Rev. H. Lincoln Wayland, of Worcester, Massachusetts, has been appointed Chaplain of the 7th Connecticut regiment, which has just left for Washington. He is son of Rev. Dr. Wayland, of Providence, and has accepted the appointment.

☞ African slavers have discovered a new way of reaching Cuba with their cargoes. A few weeks since six hundred negroes were landed on Anguilla Island, one of the Bahamas, the slave ship burned to escape detection, and the cargo forwarded to Cuba, in two trips, by a schooner.

☞ Gen. McClellan has now ninety-six batteries in the Potomac army.

SERFDOM IN RUSSSIA. M. de Brischen contributes an article on *Serfdom*, to a recent number of the London Journal of the Statistical Society, in which he states that the number of serfs in Russia, at the commencement of 1859, was no less than 22,563,086, which is considerably more than one-third of the whole population, (61,129,480.) This startling disproportion is, however, distanced by the contrast with the number of owners of these serfs, viz.:—106,897 proprietors.

☞ Fifty-seven persons were killed, and two hundred and twenty-four wounded, by railroad accident, in this country, during the month of September.

ARREST EXTRAORDINARY. We learn that William H. Russell, LL. D., the correspondent of the London *Times*, who is spending a few days in Illinois shooting prairie game, was yesterday arrested near Wilmington, in Will county, at the instance of residents in the vicinity, for shooting on the Sabbath. We are not in possession of the particulars of the arrest, but learn that he was to have an examination at Wilmington to-day.—*Chicago Journal, 30th.*

☞ Another female has been discovered concealed in a volunteer's uniform. Her name is Sophia Cryder, and she was found on guard, doing duty as a sentinel, at Camp Curtin, near Harrisburg, by her friends, who were searching for her. She had been in the ranks for a week, is a plump lass of only sixteen years of age, and had so completely unsexed herself that she could safely bid defiance to any one not acquainted with her to detect her. She is represented as a girl of unblemished reputation, and to have enlisted from a pure love of adventure. It is stated that the most reckless dare-devil attached to the Pennsylvania 7th Regiment of the three months' volunteers was a woman—the mother of four children.

☞ They have a famous negro tragedian in Europe. His name and titles are "Chevalier Ira Aldridge, K. S." He is about to proceed to Russia to undertake a series of those Shakspearean performances which have been crowned with such brilliant success in numerous foreign capitals. He will fulfil engagements in various parts of Prussia, Austria, and Russian Poland, as well as in Moscow, St. Petersburg, and Odessa; and overtures have been made him to appear in Paris, under illustrious patronage.

☞ Dr. G. B. Windship, of this city, in his experiments in the branch of Physical Science which he has made a study, has arrived at some astounding results, demonstrating the amount of strength in the human muscles. At a lecture in Brighton, the present week, he actually lifted twelve men at once, each of whom was heavier than himself, and all having a combined weight of over eighteen hundred pounds! Dr. Windship is preparing to give his lectures and repeat his experiments in this vicinity. His powers, mental and physical, were never in a finer stage of development than at the present time.—*Roxbury Journal.*

REWARD OF HONORABLE PERSEVERANCE. Nothing could be more striking, and at the same time more gratifying, than the entire conversion of our neighbors, the *Daily Advertiser* and the *Journal*, to the political views which the *Courier* has so long and, it seems, successfully advocated, with a conviction of their necessity, to which we have only regretted that our ability could not render full justice.—*Courier.*

☞ Samuel Williams, the first selectman of the town of Enfield, N. H., a man of much local influence, has enlisted as a private in the 7th New Hampshire regiment.

Col. De Courcey, an English officer formerly commanding a Turkish regiment in the Crimean war, has tendered his services to the government, and has been accepted.

JUST PUBLISHED,

And for sale at the Anti-Slavery Office, 221 Washington Street,

AN elaborate Work, entitled "Relation of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions to Slavery. By Charles K. Whipple,"—a volume of nearly 250 pages. In cloth, 37 cents—in paper covers, 25 cents.
Aug. 30.

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WM. SYMINGTON BROWN, M. D., and
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HAVE opened an office at 274 Washington Street, Boston, and will devote special attention to the treatment of the above diseases.
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Boston, Oct. 4, 1861. 3m

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THE subscriber has just opened house No. 77 Myrtle st., for the accommodation of transient Boarders. The location is a pleasant one, within a few minutes' walk of the most central portions of the city. Every exertion will be made for the comfort of those who may favor the house with a call. Rooms furnished with or without board. Terms moderate.
Boston, Jan. 7. S. NEWELL.

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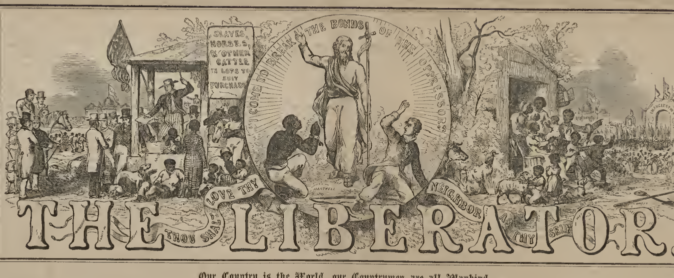
☞ Advertisements inserted at the rate of five cents per line.

☞ The Agents of the American, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Ohio and Michigan Anti-Slavery Societies are authorised to receive subscriptions for THE LIBERATOR.

☞ The following gentlemen constitute the Financial Committee, but are not responsible for any debts of the paper, viz:—FRANCIS JACKSON, EDMUND QUINCY, EDMUND JACKSON, and WENDELL PHILLIPS.



The United States Constitution is "a covenant with death, and an agreement with hell."

☞ "What order of men under the most absolute of monarchies, or the most aristocratic of republics, was ever invested with such an odious and unjust privilege as that of the separate and exclusive representation of less than half a million owners of slaves, in the Hall of this House, in the chair of the Senate, and in the Presidential mansion? This investment of power in the owners of one species of property concentrated in the highest authorities of the nation, and disseminated through thirteen of the twenty-six States of the Union, constitutes a privileged order of men in the community, more adverse to the rights of all, and more pernicious to the interests of the whole, than any order of nobility ever known. To call government thus constituted a Democracy is to insult the understanding of mankind. . . . It is doubly tainted with the infection of riches and of slavery. There is no name in the language of national jurisprudence that can define it—no model in the records of ancient history, or in the political theories of Aristotle, with which it can be likened. It was introduced into the Constitution of the United States by an equivocation—a representation of property under the name of persons. Little did the members of the Convention from the Free States imagine or foresee what a sacrifice to Moloch was hidden under the mask of this concession."—JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.

Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind.

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Refuge of Oppression.

CRUSH OUT ABOLITIONISM.

Extract from a speech delivered by John B. Haskin, late Representative in Congress from the Westchester District, N. Y.:—

The day of the Bull Run disaster I was at Fortress Monroe, and there I saw the "contrabands," as they are called. I talked with many of them, and I could not hear of a single one of their race who had taken up arms against the rebels who have marshaled against the government their bondmen and their fierce and savage Indians. I very much doubt whether the four million of negroes, who are now steeped in slavery and abject misery, are yet fit for freedom. The President has proved, by his action in the matter, that he is a Jackson. He proclaims not only that the Constitution, the Union, and the laws shall be maintained by others, of whatever section, but that he will maintain them himself in every branch of his Administration. * * * * *Let us disregard the theories* of fanatics, North and South. Only a short time since, Wendell Phillips, in Boston, on the anniversary of the birth of Theodore Parker, proclaimed aloud that he was opposed to the Constitution of 1787, and to the Union which has conferred so many blessings upon mankind, because slavery was tolerated. That was as treasonable a declaration as that of Yancey, and other Southern men, that the Southern States have a right to secede. I admire Wendell Phillips as an eloquent orator; yet I must say that for the utterance of his treasonable sentiments against the Constitution and the Union, he ought, as well as the aristocrat, Charles James Faulkner, to be incarcerated in Fort Lafayette. * * I see such men as Wendell Phillips, Lewis Tappan, John Jay, of this county, and who, in years gone by, obtained an ephemeral legal notoriety by issuing writs of *habeas corpus* in behalf of fugitive slaves, Goodell, and others of the Garrisonian abolition school, doing all in their power, like the Breckinridges, to distract our people. They ought to know that their declaration that the Constitution is "a league with the devil, and a covenant with hell," and their anathemas against Lincoln and his Administration, may incite an indignant people to shout, "*A la lanterne!*" "A la Fort Lafayette!" and induce them thus to remove from their midst a hand of pestiferous agitators. (Applause.) We owe it to ourselves, we owe it to the country, we owe it to the Southern citizens who have remained devoted to the Union through blood and disaster, that these fanatics, North and South, should be "crushed out." In the South,

"Many dream, withal, the hour is nigh
That gives them back their fathers' heritage."

Do not let them imagine that the North is abolitionized, and that Garrison, and Phillips, and Jay, are exponents of the Northern people. (Cries of "that's right," and applause.)

THE ABOLITION FANATICS.

* * * No one will be at a loss to know who is responsible for so calamitous a state of things. Under the tutelage of an aristocracy in Great Britain, jealous of the success of American institutions, the Garrisons, Tappans, and Leavitts, of thirty years ago, began those machinations which under Greeley, Beecher, Raymond, Cheever, Wendell Phillips, and others, culminated in the creation of a party which denounced the Constitution as "a league with hell, and a covenant with death," and never relaxed its incendiary efforts until the slaveholding States had been goaded into overt acts of treason. Northern fanaticism, fostered by British gold, and the discontent and rebellion in the South which it engendered, are the sources of all our evils, and both are still seeking, at the present hour, to reap the fruits of their iniquitous labors. * * * * * Yet, in the very midst of the inter-State quarrel which is engulphing such vast treasures of life and property, the two factions in the loyal States which, from the outset, have embarrassed the patriotic measures of the President, continue to throw every impediment in the way of the government, and to prevent the recruiting of the Federal army, by every means in their power. For this purpose, the rotten Democratic leaders of the Regency, under Cagger, Richmond, and their affiliates in Tammany Hall, have put forward an anti-Administration ticket, pledged to denunciation of the wisest and most essential steps that have been taken by the President, and calculated to sow the seeds of discontent and insurrection in the rural districts. On the other hand, such Abolition organs as the *Tribune*, *Anti-Slavery Standard*, *Times*, *Liberator*, and *Independent*, are loud in their outcries against the President for not sanctioning the illegal proclamation of Gen. Fremont, and are seeking to undermine by ultra-abolition, anti-constitutional ravings, the popularity which Mr. Lincoln has acquired by the firmness, fairness, and conservatism of his conduct. * * * * The duty of government is unmistakable, with respect to all of those who are seeking to shackle its hands or prevent the free development of the great uprising of patriotism that has been witnessed in the Northern States. The electioneering wirepullers of the Regency, as well as those who control the Abolition organs of the North, should be alike looked after. If Fort Lafayette is not roomy enough to hold them, there are plenty of other strongholds where they may be secured, and the people will applaud the check which will thus be given to the most subtle and active enemies of the great national cause.—*New York Herald.*

PURITAN CHURCH INCENDIARISM.

Dr. Cheever, since his return from Europe, has been laboring with might and main to accomplish the destructive ends of his patrons in England, from whom he received money to keep up his church. Yesterday, he poured forth one of his customary incendiary abolition harangues, calculated to disturb the action of the Federal government, excite insurrection in the loyal States, and afford indirect aid to the rebellion which is distracting the country. The Puritan Church found itself, with its pastor, in such a dilapidated financial position some months since, that Dr. Cheever went abroad for the purpose of raising money to keep his establishment a-going. How much he obtained from his Exeter Hall friends has not been divulged; but he certainly got enough to entitle those who gave him their contributions, in order that his abilities as an ecclesiastical demagogue might not be lost, in the great work of undermining free institutions, and upsetting American nationality, to feel sure that he would employ all his energies in their behalf. He is proving himself to be a faithful agent of our enemies; but he ought, none the less, to be silenced by the authorities, and shut up at Fort Lafayette, or elsewhere, where his capacity for mischief will be more limited. When Beecher, Cheever, Greeley, Garrison, Raymond, and others of that stripe, who are daily reviling our patriotic President, and sowing discord in the Northern States, are put under lock and key, the last obstacle will have been removed to entire unity of feeling and action this side of the Potomac.—*New York Herald.*

Selections.

[From the Atlantic Monthly, for November.]

THE CONTRABANDS AT FORTRESS MONROE.

BY EDWARD L. PIERCE, ESQ.

* * * On the 23d of May, General Butler ordered the first reconnoitring expedition, which consisted of a part of the Vermont regiment, and proceeded under the command of Colonel Phelps over the dike and bridge towards Hampton. They were anticipated, and when in sight of the second bridge saw that it had been set on fire, and, hastening forward, extinguished the flames. The detachment then marched into the village. A parley was held with a secession officer, who represented that the men in arms in Hampton were only a domestic police. Meanwhile, the white inhabitants, particularly the women, had generally disappeared. The negroes gathered around our men, and their evident exhilaration was particularly noted, some of them saying, "Glad to see you, Massa," and betraying the fact, that, on the approach of the detachment, a field-piece stationed at the bridge had been thrown into the sea. This was the first communication between our army and the negroes in this department.

The reconnoissance of the day had more important results than were anticipated. Three negroes, owned by Colonel Mallory, a lawyer of Hampton and a rebel officer, taking advantage of the terror prevailing among the white inhabitants, escaped from their master, skulked during the afternoon, and in the night came to our pickets. The next morning, May 24th, they were brought to General Butler, and there, for the first time, stood the Major-General and the fugitive slave face to face. Being carefully interrogated, it appeared that they were field-hands, the slaves of an officer in the rebel service, who purposed taking them to Carolina to be employed in military operations there. Two of them had wives in Hampton, one a free colored woman, and they had several children in the neighborhood. Here was a new question, and a grave one, on which the Government had as yet developed no policy. In the absence of precedents or instructions, an analogy drawn from international law was applied. Under that law, contraband goods, which are directly auxiliary to military operations, cannot in time of war be imported by neutrals into an enemy's country, and may be seized as lawful prize when the attempt is made so to import them. It will be seen, that, accurately speaking, the term applies exclusively to the relation between a belligerent and a neutral, and not to the relation between belligerents. Under the strict law of nations, all the property of an enemy may be seized. Under the common law, the property of traitors is forfeit. The humaner usage of modern times favors the waiving of these strict rights, but allows, without question, the seizure and confiscation of all such goods as are immediately auxiliary to military purposes. These able-bodied negroes, held as slaves, were to be employed to build breastworks, to transport or store provisions, to serve as cooks or waiters, and even to bear arms. Regarded as property, according to their master's claim, they could be efficiently used by the rebels for the purposes of the rebellion, and most efficiently by the Government in suppressing it. Regarded as persons, they had escaped from communities where a triumphant rebellion had trampled on the laws, and only the rights of human nature remained, and they now asked the protection of the Government, to which, in prevailing treason, they were still loyal, and which they were ready to serve as best they could.

The three negroes, being held contraband of war, were at once set to work to aid the masons in constructing a new bakehouse within the fort. Thenceforward the term "contraband" bore a new signification, with which it will pass into history, designating the negroes who had been held as slaves, now adopted under the protection of the Government. It was used in official communications at the fort. It was applied familiarly to the negroes, who stared somewhat, inquiring, "What d'ye call us that for?" Not having Wheaton's "Elements" at hand, we did not attempt an explanation. The contraband notion was adopted by Congress in the Act of July 6th, which confiscates slaves used in aiding the insurrection. There is often great virtue in such technical phrases in shaping public opinion. They commend practical action to a class of minds little developed in the direction of the sentiments, which would be repelled by formulas of a broader and nobler import. The venerable gentleman, who wears gold spectacles and reads a conservative daily, prefers confiscation to emancipation. He is reluctant to have slaves declared freemen, but has no objection to their being declared contrabands. His whole nature rises in insurrection when Beecher preaches in a sermon that a thing ought to be done because it is a duty, but he yields gracefully when Butler issues an order commanding it to be done because it is a military necessity.

On the next day, Major John B. Cary, another rebel officer, late principal of an academy in Hampton, a delegate to the Charleston Convention, and a seceder with General Butler from the Convention at Baltimore, came to the fort with a flag of truce, and, claiming to act as the representative of Colonel Mallory, demanded the fugitives. He reminded General Butler of his obligations under the Federal Constitution, under which he claimed to act. The ready reply was, that the Fugitive Slave Act could not be invoked for the reclamation of fugitives from a foreign State, which Virginia claimed to be, and she must count it among the infelicities of her position, if, so far at least, she was taken at her word.

The three pioneer negroes were not long to be isolated from their race. There was no known channel of communication between them and their old comrades, and yet those comrades knew, or believed with the certainty of knowledge, how they had been received. If inquired of whether more were coming, their reply was, that, if they were not sent back, others would understand that they were among friends, and more would come the next day. Such is the mysterious spiritual telegraph which runs through the slave population. Proclaim an edict of emancipation in the hearing of a single slave on the Potomac, and in a few days it will be known by his brethren on the Gulf. So, on the night of the Big Bethel affair, a squad of negroes, meeting our soldiers, inquired anxiously the way to "the freedom fort."

The means of communicating with the fort from the open country became more easy, when, on the 24th of May, (the same day on which the first movement was made from Washington into Virginia,) the Second New York Regiment made its encampment on the Segar farm, lying near the bridge which connected the fort with the main-land, an encampment soon enlarged by the First Vermont and other New York Regiments. On Sunday morning, May 26th, eight negroes stood before the quarters of General Butler, waiting for an audience. They were examined in part by the Hon. Mr. Ashley, M. C. from Ohio, then a visitor at the fort. On May 27th, forty-seven negroes of both sexes and all ages, from three months to eighty-five years, among whom were half a dozen entire families, came in one squad. Another lot of a dozen good field-hands arrived the same day; and then they continued to come by twenties, thirties, and forties. They were assigned buildings outside of the fort or tents within. They were set to work as servants to officers, or to store provisions landed from vessels,—thus relieving us of the fatigue duty which we had previously done, except that of dragging and mounting columbiads on the ramparts of the fort, a service which some very warm days have impressed on my memory.

On the 27th of May, the 4th Massachusetts Regiment, the 1st Vermont, and some New York Regiments made an advance movement, and occupied Newport News, (a promontory named for Captain Christopher Newport, the early explorer,) so as more effectually to enforce the blockade of James River. There, too, negroes came in, who were employed as servants to the officers. One of them, when we left the fort, more fortunate than his comrades, and aided by a benevolent captain, eluded the vigilance of the Provost Marshal, and is now the curiosity of a village in the neighborhood of Boston.

It was now time to call upon the Government for a policy in dealing with slave society thus disrupted and disorganized. Elsewhere, even under the shadow of the Capitol, the action of military officers had been irregular, and in some cases in palpable violation of personal rights. An order of General McDowell excluded all slaves from the lines. Sometimes officers assumed to decide the question whether a negro was a slave, and deliver him to a claimant, when, certainly in the absence of martial law, they had no authority in the premises, under the Act of Congress,—that power being confided to commissioners and marshals. As well might a member of Congress or a State sheriff usurp the function. Worse yet, in defiance of the Common Law, they made color a presumptive proof of bondage. In one case, a free negro was delivered to a claimant under this process, more summary than any which the Fugitive Slave Act provides. The colonel of a Massachusetts regiment showed some practical humor in dealing with a pertinacious claimant who asserted title to a negro found within his lines, and had brought a policeman along with him to aid in enforcing it. The shrewd colonel, (a Democrat he is,) retaining the policeman, put both the claimant and claimed outside of the lines together to try their fleetness. The negro proved to be the better gymnast and was heard of no more. This capricious treatment of the subject was fraught with serious difficulties as well as personal injuries, and it needed to be displaced by an authorized system.

On the 27th of May, General Butler, having in a previous communication reported his interview with Major Cary, called the attention of the War Department to the subject in a formal dispatch,—indicating the hostile purposes for which the negroes had been or might be successfully used, stating the course he had pursued in employing them and recording expenses and services, and suggesting pertinent military, political, and humane considerations. The Secretary of War, under date of the 30th of May, replied, cautiously approving the course of General Butler, and intimating distinctions between interfering with the relations of persons held to service and refusing to surrender them to their alleged masters, which it is not easy to reconcile with well-defined views of the new exigency, or at least with a desire to express them. The note was characterized by diplomatic reserve which it will probably be found difficult long to maintain.

The ever-recurring question continued to press for solution. On the 6th of July, the Act of Congress was approved, declaring that any person claiming the labor of another to be due to him, and permitting such party to be employed in any military or naval service whatsoever against the Government of the United States, shall forfeit his claim to such labor, and proof of such employment shall thereafter be a full answer to the claim. This act was designed for the direction of the civil magistrate, and not for the limitation of powers derived from military law. That law, founded on *salus reipublicæ*, transcends all codes, and lies outside of forms and statutes. John Quincy Adams, almost prophesying as he expounded, declared, in 1842, that under it slavery might be abolished. Under it, therefore, Major-General Fremont, in a recent proclamation, declared the slaves of all persons within his department, who were in arms against the Government, to be freemen, and under it has given title-deeds of manumission. Subsequently, President Lincoln limited the proclamation to such slaves as are included in the Act of Congress, namely, the slaves of rebels used in directly hostile service. The country had called for Jacksonian courage, and its first exhibition was promptly suppressed. If the revocation was made in deference to protests from Kentucky, it seems that, while the loyal citizens of Missouri appeared to approve the decisive measure, they were overruled by the more potential voice of other communities who professed to understand their affairs better than they did themselves. But if, as is admitted, the commanding officer, in the plenitude of military power, was authorized to make the order within his department, all human beings included in the proclamation thereby acquired a vested title to their freedom, of which neither Congress nor President could dispossess them. No conclusive behests of law necessitating the limitation, it cannot rest on any safe reasons of military policy. The one slave who carries his master's knapsack on a march contributes far less to the efficiency of the rebel army than the one hundred slaves who hoe corn on his plantation with which to replenish its commissariat. We have not yet emerged from the fine-drawn distinctions of peaceful times. We may imprison or slaughter a rebel, but we may not unloose his hold on a person he has claimed as a slave. We may seize all his other property without question, lands, houses, cattle, jewels; but his asserted property in man is more sacred than the gold which overlay the Ark of the Covenant, and we may not profane it. This reverence for things assumed to be sacred, which are not so, cannot long continue. The Government can well turn away from the enthusiast, however generous his impulses, who asks the abolition of slavery on general principles of philanthropy, for the reason that it already has work enough on its hands. It may not change the objects of the war, but it must of necessity at times shift its tactics and its instruments, as the exigency demands. Its solemn and imperative duty is to look every issue, however grave and transcendent, firmly in the face; and having ascertained, upon mature and conscientious reflection, what is necessary to suppress the rebellion, it must then proceed with inexorable purpose to inflict the blows where rebellion is weakest, and under which it must inevitably fall.

On the 30th of July, General Butler, being still unprovided with adequate instructions,—the number of contrabands having now reached nine hundred,—applied to the War Department for further directions. His inquiries, inspired by good sense and humanity alike, were of the most fundamental character, and when they shall have received a full answer, the war will be near its end. Assuming the slaves to have been the property of masters, he considers them waifs abandoned by their owners, in which the Government as a finder cannot, however, acquire a proprietary interest, and they have therefore reverted to the normal condition of those made in God's image, "if not free-born, yet free-manumitted, sent forth from the hand that held them, never to return." The author of that document may never win a victor's laurels on any renowned field, but, depositing it in the archives of the Government, he leaves a record in history which will outlast the traditions of battle or siege. It is proper to add, that the answer of the War Department, so far as its meaning is clear, leaves the General uninstructed as to all slaves not confiscated by the Act of Congress.

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The negroes who remained, [in Hampton, after the flight of their masters,] of whom there may have been three hundred of all ages, lived in small wooden shanties, generally in the rear of the master's house, rarely having more than one room on the lower floor, and that containing an open fireplace where the cooking for the master's family was done, tables, chairs, dishes, and the miscellaneous utensils of household life. The masters had taken with them, generally, their waiting-maids and house-servants, and had desired to carry all their slaves with them. But in the hasty preparations,—particularly where the slaves were living away from their master's close, or had a family,—it was difficult to remove them against their will, as they could skulk for a few hours and then go where they pleased. Some voluntarily left their slaves behind, not having the means to provide for them, or, anticipating a return at no distant day, desired them to stay and guard the property. The slaves who remained lived upon the little pork and corn-meal that were left and the growing vegetables. They had but little to do. The women looked after their meagre household concerns, but the men were generally idle, standing in groups, or sitting in front of the shanties talking with the women. Some began to serve our officers as soon as we were quartered in the town, while a few others set up cake-stands upon the street.

It was necessary for the protection of the post that some breastworks should be thrown up, and a line was planned extending from the old cemetery northward to the new one, a quarter of a mile distant. Our own troops were disinclined to the labor, their time being nearly expired, and they claiming that they had done their share of fatigue duty both at the fort and at Newport News. A member of Brigadier-General Pierce's staff—an efficient officer and a humane gentleman—suggested the employment of the contrabands and the furnishing of them with rations, an expedient best for them and agreeable to us. He at once dictated a telegram to General Butler in these words:—"shall we put the contrabands to work on the intrenchments, and will you furnish them with rations?" An affirmative answer was promptly received on Monday morning, July 8th, and that was the first day in the course of the war in which the negro was employed upon the military works of our army. It therefore marks a distinct epoch in its progress and in its relations to the colored population. The writer—and henceforth his narrative must indulge in the frequent use of the first person—was specially detailed from his post as private in Company L of the Third Regiment to collect the contrabands, record their names, ages, and the names of their masters, provide their tools, superintend their labor, and procure their rations. My comrades smiled, as I undertook the novel duty, enjoying the spectacle of a Massachusetts Republican converted into a Virginia slave-master. To me, it seemed rather an opportunity to lead them from the house of bondage never to return. For, whatever may be the general duty to this race, to all such as we have in any way employed to aid our armies, our national faith and our personal honor are pledged. The code of a gentleman, to say nothing of a higher law of rectitude, necessitates protection to this extent. Abandoning one of these faithful allies, who, if delivered up, would be reduced to severer servitude because of the education he had received and the services he had performed, probably to be transported to the remotest slave region as now too dangerous to remain near its borders, we should be accursed among the nations of the earth. I felt assured that from that hour, whatsoever the fortunes of the war, every one of those enrolled defenders of the Union had vindicated beyond all future question, for himself, his wife, and their issue, a title to American citizenship, and become heir to all the immunities of Magna Charta, the Declaration of Independence, and the Constitution of the United States.

Passing through the principal streets, I told the contrabands that when they heard the court-house bell, which would ring soon, they must go to the court-house yard, where a communication would be made to them. In the meantime, I secured the valuable services of some fellow-privates, one for a quarter-master, two others to aid in superintending at the trenches, and the orderly-sergeant of my own company, whose expertness in the drill was equalled only by his general good sense and business capacity. Upon the ringing of the bell, about forty contrabands came to the yard. A second exploration added to the number some twenty or more, who had not heard the original summons. They then came into the building, where they were called to order and addressed. I had argued to judges and juries, but I had never spoken to such auditors before in a court-room. I told them that the colored men had been employed on the breastworks of the rebels, and we needed their aid,—that they would be required to do only such labor as we ourselves had done—that they should be treated kindly, and no one should be obliged to work beyond his capacity, or if unwell,—and that they should be furnished in a day or two with full soldier's rations. I told them that their masters had said they were an indolent people,—that I did not believe the charge,—that I was going home to Massachusetts soon and should be glad to report that they were as industrious as the whites. They generally showed no displeasure, some even saying, that, not having done much for some time, it was the best thing for them to be now employed. Four or five men over fifty years old said that they suffered from rheumatism, and could not work without injury. Being confirmed by the by-standers, they were dismissed. Other old men said they would do what they could, and they were assured that no more would be required of them. Two of them, provided with a bucket and dipper, were detailed to carry water all the time along the line of laborers. Two young men fretted a little, and claimed to be disabled in some way. They were told to resume their seats, and try first and see what they could do,—to the evident amusement of the rest, who knew them to be indolent and disposed to shirk. A few showed some sulkiness, but it all passed away after the first day, when they found that they were to be used kindly. One well-dressed young man, a carpenter, feeling a little better than his associates, did not wear a pleasant face at first. Finding out his trade, we set him to sawing the posts for the intrenchments, and he was entirely reconciled. Free colored men were not required to work; but one volunteered, wishing, as he said, to do his part. The contrabands complained that the free colored men ought to be required to work on the intrenchments as well as they. I thought so too, but followed my orders. A few expressed some concern lest their masters should punish them for serving us, if they ever returned. One inquired suspiciously why we took the name of his master. My reply was, that it was taken in order to identify them,—an explanation with which he was more satisfied than I was myself. Several were without shoes, and said that they could not drive the shovel into the earth. They were told to use the picks. The rest of the forenoon being occupied in registering their names and ages, and the names of their masters, they were dismissed to come together on the ringing of the bell, at two, P. M.

It had been expressly understood that I was to have the exclusive control and supervision of the negroes, directing their hours of labor and their rests, without interference from any one. The work itself was to be planned and superintended by the officers of the Third and Fourth Regiments. This exclusive control of the men was necessarily confided to one, as different lieutenants detailed each day could not feel a responsibility for their welfare. One or two of these, when rests were allowed the negroes, were somewhat disgusted, saying that negroes could dig all the time as well as not. I had had, some years before, an experience with the use of the shovel under a warm sun, and knew better, and I wished I could superintend a corps of lieutenants and apply their own theory to themselves.

At two, P. M., the contrabands came together, answered to their names, and, each taking a shovel, a spade, or a pick, began to work upon the breastworks farthest from the village and close to the new cemetery. The afternoon was very warm, the warmest we had in Hampton. Some, used only to household or other light work, wilted under the heat, and they were told to go into the cemetery and lie down. I remember distinctly a corpulent colored man, down whose cheeks the perspiration rolled, and who said he felt badly. He also was told to go away and rest until he was better. He soon came back relieved, and there was no more faithful laborer among them all during the rest of the time. Twice or three times in the afternoon an intermission of fifteen minutes was allowed to all. Thus they worked until six in the evening, when they were dismissed for the day. They deposited their tools in the court-house, where each one of his own accord carefully put his pick or shovel where he could find it again,—sometimes behind a door, and sometimes in a sly corner or under a seat, preferring to keep his own tool. They were then informed that they must come together on the ringing of the bell the next morning at four o'clock. They thought that too early, but they were assured that the system best for their health would be adopted, and they would afterwards be consulted about changing it. The next morning we did not rise quite so early as four, and the bell was not rung till some minutes later. The contrabands were prompt, their names had been called, and they had marched to the trenches, a quarter of a mile distant, and were fairly at work by half-past four or a quarter before five. They did excellent service during the morning hours, and at seven were dismissed till eight. The roll was then called again, absences, if any, noted, and by half-past eight they were at their post. They continued at the trenches till eleven, being allowed rests, and were then dismissed until three, P. M., being relieved four hours in the middle of the day, when, the bell being rung, and the roll called, they resumed their work and continued till six, when they were dismissed for the day. Such were the hours and usual course of their labor. Their number was increased some half dozen by fugitives from the back-country, who came in and asked to be allowed to serve on the intrenchments.

The contrabands worked well, and in no instance was it found necessary for the superintendents to urge them. There was a public opinion among them against idleness, which answered for discipline. Some days they worked with our soldiers, and it was found that they did more work, and did the nicer parts—the facings and dressings—better. Colonels Packard and Wardrop, under whose direction the breast-works were constructed, and General Butler, who visited them, expressed satisfaction at the work which the contrabands had done. On the 14th of July, Mr. Russell, of the *London Times*, and Dr. Bellows, of the Sanitary Commission, came to Hampton, and manifested much interest at the success of the experiment. The result was, indeed, pleasing. A subaltern officer, to whom I had insisted that the contrabands should be treated with kindness, had sneered at the idea of applying philanthropic notions in time of war. It was found then, as always, that decent persons will accomplish more when treated at least like human beings. The same principle, if we will but credit our own experience, and Mr. Rarey too, may with advantage be extended to our relations with the beasts that serve us.

Three days after the contrabands commenced their work, five days' rations were served to them,—a soldier's ration for each laborer, and half a ration for each dependant. The allowance was liberal,—as a soldier's ration, if properly cooked, is more than he generally needs, and the dependant for whom a half-ration was received might be a wife or a half-grown child. It consisted of salt beef or pork, hard bread, beans, rice, coffee, sugar, soap, and candles, and where the family was large, it made a considerable pile. The recipients went home, appearing perfectly satisfied, and feeling assured that our promises to them would be performed. On Sunday, fresh meat was served to them in the same manner as to the troops.

There was one striking feature in the contrabands which must not be omitted. I did not hear a profane or vulgar word spoken by them during my superintendence, a remark which it will be difficult to make of any sixty-four white men taken together anywhere in our army. Indeed, the greatest discomfort of a soldier, who desires to remain a gentleman in the camp, is the perpetual reiteration of language which no decent lips would utter in a sister's presence. But the negroes, so dogmatically pronounced unfit for freedom, were, in this respect, models for those who make high boasts of civility of manners and Christian culture. Out of the sixty-four who worked for us, all but half a dozen were members of the Church, generally the Baptist. Although without a pastor, they held religious meetings on the Sundays which we passed in Hampton, which were attended by about sixty colored persons and three hundred soldiers. The devotions were decorously conducted, bating some loud shouting by one or two excitable brethren, which the better sense of the rest could not suppress. Their prayers and exhortations were fervent, and marked by a simplicity which is not infrequently the richest eloquence. The soldiers behaved with entire propriety, and two exhorted them with pious unction, as children of one Father, ransomed by the same Redeemer.

To this general propriety of conduct among the contrabands intrusted to me there was only one exception, and that was in the case of Joe ——; his surname I have forgotten. He was of a vagrant disposition, and an inveterate shirk. He had a plausible speech and a distorted imagination, and might be called a demagogue among darkies. He bore an ill physiognomy,—that of one "fit for treasons, stratagems and spoils." He was disliked by the other contrabands, and had been refused admission to their Church, which he wished to join in order to get up a character. Last, but not least, among his sins, he was accustomed to beat his wife, of which she accused him in my presence; whereupon he justified himself on the brazen assumption that all husbands did the same. There was no good reason to believe that he had already been tampered with by rebels; but his price could not be more than five dollars. He would be a disturbing element among the laborers on the breastworks, and he was a dangerous person to be so near the lines; we therefore sent him to the fort. The last I heard of him, he was at the Rip Raps, bemoaning his isolation, and the butt of our soldiers there, who charged him with being a "secesh," and confounded him by gravely asserting that they were such themselves, and had seen him with the "secesh" at Yorktown. This was the single goat among the sheep.

On Monday evening, July 15th, when the contrabands deposited their tools in the court-house, I requested them to stop a moment in the yard. I made each a present of some tobacco, which all the men and most of the women use. As they gathered in a circle around me, head peering over head, I spoke to them briefly, thanking them for their cordial work, and complimenting their behavior, remarking that I had heard no profane or vulgar word from them, in which they were an example to us,—adding that it was the last time I should meet them, as we were to march homeward in the morning, and that I should bear to my people a good report of their industry and morals. There was another word that I could not leave without speaking. Never before in our history had a Northern man, believing in the divine right of all men to their liberty, had an opportunity to address an audience of sixty-four slaves, and say what the Spirit moved him to utter,—and I should have been false to all that is true and sacred, if I had let it pass. I said to them that there was one more word for me to add, and that was, that every one of them was as much entitled to his freedom as I was to mine, and I hoped they would now all secure it. "Believe you, boss," was the general response, and each one with his rough gravelly hand grasped mine, and with tearful eyes and broken utterances said, "God bl[illegible] we meet in Heaven!" "My name is Jack Allen, don't forget me!" "Remember me, Kent Anderson!" and so on. No,—I may forget the playfellows of my childhood, my college classmates, my professional associates, my comrades in arms, but I will remember you and your benedictions until I cease to breathe! Farewell, honest hearts, longing to be free! and may the kind Providence which forgets not the sparrow shelter and protect you!

During our encampment at Hampton, I occupied much of my leisure time in conversations with the contrabands, both at their work and in their shanties, endeavoring to collect their currents of thought and feeling. It remains for me to give the results, so far as any could be arrived at.

There were more negroes of unmixed African blood than we expected to find. But many were entirely bleached. One man, working on the breastworks, owned by his cousin, whose name he bore, was no darker than white laborers exposed by their occupation to the sun, and could not be distinguished as of negro descent. Opposite our quarters was a young slave woman who had been three times a mother without ever having been a wife. You could not discern in her three daughters, either in color, feature, or texture of hair, the slightest trace of African lineage. They were as light-faced and fair-haired as the Saxon slaves whom the Roman Pontiff, Gregory the Great, met in the markets of Rome. If they were to be brought here and their pedigree concealed, they could readily mingle with our population and marry white men, who would never suspect that they were not pure Caucasians.

From the best knowledge I could obtain, the negroes in Hampton had rarely been severely whipped. A locust-tree in front of the jail had been used for a whipping-post, and they were very desirous that it should be cut down. It was used, however, only for what are known there as flagrant offences, like running away. Their masters, when in ill-temper, had used rough language and inflicted chance blows, but no one ever told me that he had suffered from systematic cruelty, or been severely whipped, except Joe, whose character I have given. Many of them bore testimony to the great kindness of their masters and mistresses.

Separations of families had been frequent. Of this I obtained definite knowledge. When I was registering the number of dependants, preparatory to the requisition for rations, the answer occasionally was, "Yes, I have a wife, but she is not here." "Where is she?" "She was sold off two years ago, and I have not heard of her since." The husband of the woman who took care of the quarters of Gen. Pierce had been sold away from her some years before. Such separations are regarded as death, and the slaves re-marry. In some cases the bereft one—so an intelligent negro assured me—pines under his bereavement and loses his value; but so elastic is human nature, that this did not appear to be generally the case. The same answer was given about children,—that they had been sold away. This, in a slave-breeding country, is done when they are about eight years old. Can that be a mild system of servitude which permits such enforced separations? Providence may, indeed, sunder forever those dearest to each other, and the stricken soul accepts the blow as the righteous discipline of a Higher Power; but when the bereavement is the arbitrary dictate of human will, there are no such consolations to sanctify grief and assuage agony.

There is a universal desire among the slaves to be free. Upon this point my inquiries were particular, and always with the same result. When we said to them, "You don't want to be free,—your masters say you don't",—they manifested much indignation, answering, "We do want to be free,—we want to be for ourselves." We inquired further, "Do the house slaves who wear their master's clothes want to be free?" "We never heard of one who did not,"

was the instant reply. There might be, they said, some half-crazy one who did not care to be free, but they had never seen one. Even old men and women, with crooked backs, who could hardly walk or see, shared the same feeling. An intelligent Secessionist, Lowry by name, who was examined at head-quarters, admitted that a majority of the slaves wanted to be free. The more intelligent the slave, and the better he had been used, the stronger this desire seemed to be. I remember one such particularly, the most intelligent one in Hampton, known as an "influential darkey," ("darkey" being the familiar term applied by the contrabands to themselves.) He could read, was an exhorter in the church, and officiated in the absence of the minister. He would have made a competent juryman. His mistress, he said, had been kind to him, and had never spoken so harshly to him as a captain's orderly in the Naval Brigade had done, who assumed one day to give him orders. She had let him work where he pleased, and he was to bring her a fixed sum, and appropriate the surplus to his own use. She pleaded with him to go away with her from Hampton at the time of the exodus, but she would not force him to leave his family. Still he hated to be a slave, and he talked like a philosopher about his rights. No captive in the galleys of Algiers, not Lafayette in an Austrian dungeon, ever pined more for free air. He had saved eighteen hundred dollars of his surplus earnings in attending on visitors at Old Point, and had spent it all in litigation to secure the freedom of his wife and children, belonging to another master, whose will had emancipated them, but was contested on the ground of the insanity of the testator. He had won a verdict, but his lawyers told him they could not obtain a judgment upon it, as the judge was unfavorable to freedom.

The most frequent question asked of one who has had any means of communication with the contrabands during the war is in relation to their knowledge of its cause and purposes, and their interest in it. One thing was evident,—indeed, you could not talk with a slave who did not, without prompting, give the same testimony,—that their masters had been most industrious in their attempts to persuade them that the Yankees were coming down there only to get the land,—that they would kill the negroes and manure the ground with them, or carry them off to Cuba or Hayti and sell them. An intelligent man who had belonged to Colonel Joseph Segar—almost the only Union man at heart in that region, and who for that reason, being in Washington at the time the war began, had not dared to return to Hampton—served the staff of General Pierce. He bore the highest testimony to the kindness of his master, who, he said, told him to remain,—that the Yankees were the friends of his people, and would use them well." "But," said David,—for that was his name,—"I never heard of any other master who talked that way, but they all told the worst stories about the Yankees, and the mistresses were more furious even than the masters." David, I may add, spite of his good master, longed to be free.

The masters, in their desperation, had within a few months resorted to another device to secure the loyalty of their slaves. The colored Baptist minister had been something of a pet among the whites, and had obtained subscriptions from some benevolent citizens to secure the freedom of a handsome daughter of his who was exposed to sale on an auction-block, where her beauty inspired competition. Some leading Secessionists, Lawyer Hope for one, working somewhat upon his gratitude and somewhat upon his vanity, persuaded him to offer the services of himself and his sons, in a published communication, to the cause of Virginia and the Confederate States. The artifice did not succeed. He lost his hold on his congregation, and could not have safely remained after the whites left. He felt uneasy about his betrayal, and tried to restore himself to favor by saying that he meant no harm to his people; but his protestations were in vain. His was the deserved fate of those in all ages who, victims of folly or bribes, turn their backs on their fellows.

Notwithstanding all these attempts, the negroes, with rare exceptions, still believed that the Yankees were their friends. They had learned something in Presidential elections, and they thought their masters could not hate us as they did, unless we were [illegible]. They believed that the troubles [illegible] other help them, although they [illegible] all that was going on. They may be par[illegible] for their want of apprehension, when some of our public men, almost venerable, and reputed to be very wise and philosophical, are bewildered and grope blindly. They were somewhat perplexed by the contradictory statements of our soldiers, some of whom, according to their wishes, said that the contest was for them, and others that it did not concern them at all, and they would remain as before. If it was explained to them, that Lincoln was chosen by a party who were opposed to extending slavery, but who were also opposed to interfering with it in Virginia,—that [illegible]nia and the S[illegible]th had rebelled, and we had [illegible] to suppress the rebellion,—and although the object of the war was not to emancipate them, yet that might be its result,—they answered that they understood the statement perfectly. They did not seem inclined to fight, although willing to work. More could not be expected of them, while nothing is promised to them. What latent inspirations they may have remains to be seen. They had at first a mysterious dread of fire-arms, but familiarity is rapidly removing that.

The religious element of their life has been noticed. They said they had prayed for this day, and God had sent Lincoln in answer to their prayers. We used to overhear their family devotions, somewhat loud according to their manner, in which they prayed earnestly for our troops. They built their hopes of freedom on Scriptural examples, regarding the deliverance of Daniel from the lions' den, and the Three Children from the furnace, as symbolic of their coming freedom. One said to me that masters, before they died, by their wills sometimes freed their slaves, and he thought that a *type* that they should become free.

One Saturday evening, one of them requested me to call and see him at his home the next morning. I did so, and he handed me a Bible belonging to his mistress, who had died a few days before, and whose bier I had helped to carry to the family vault. He wanted me to read to him the eleventh chapter of Daniel. It seemed that, as one of the means of keeping them quiet, the white clergymen, during the winter and spring, had read them some verses from it to show that the South would prevail, enforcing passages which ascribed great dominion to "the king of the South," and suppressing those which subsequently give the supremacy to "the king of the North." A colored man who could read had found the latter passages and made them known. The chapter is dark with mystery, and my auditor, quite perplexed as I read on, remarked, "The Bible is a very mysterious book." I read to him also the thirty-fourth chapter of Jeremiah, wherein the sad prophet of Israel records the denunciations by Jehovah of sword, pestilence and famine against the Jews for not proclaiming liberty to their servants and handmaids. He had not known before that there were such passages in the Bible.

The conversations of the contrabands on their title to be regarded as freemen showed reflection. When asked if they thought themselves fit for freedom, and if the darkies were not lazy, their answer was, "Who but the darkies cleared all the land round here? Yes, there are lazy darkies, but there are more lazy whites." When told that the free blacks had not succeeded, they answered that the free blacks have not had a fair chance under the laws,—that they don't dare to enforce their claims against white men,—that a free colored blacksmith had a thousand dollars due to him from white men, but he was afraid to sue for any portion of it. One man, when asked why he ought to be free, replied—"I feed and clothe myself, and pay my master one hundred and twenty dollars a year; and the one hundred and twenty dollars is just so much taken from me, which ought to be used to make me and my children comfortable." Indeed, broken as was their speech, and limited as was their knowledge, they reasoned abstractly on their rights as well as white men. Locke or Channing might have fortified the argument for universal liberty from their simple talk. So true is it that the best thoughts which the human intellect has produced have come, not from affluent learning or ornate speech, but from the original elements of our nature, common to all races of men and all conditions in life; and genius the highest and most cultured may bend with profit to catch the lowliest of human utterances.

There was a very general desire among the contrabands to know how to read. A few had learned; and these, in every instance where we inquired as to their teacher, had been taught on the sly in their childhood by their white playmates. Others knew their letters, but could not "put them together," as they said. I remember of a summer's afternoon seeing a young married woman, perhaps twenty-five years old, seated on a door-step with her primer before her, trying to make progress.

In natural tact and the faculty of getting a livelihood the contrabands are inferior to the Yankees, but quite equal to the mass of the Southern population. It is not easy to see why they would be less industrious, if free, than the whites, particularly as they would have the encouragement of wages. There would be transient difficulties at the outset, but no more than a bad system lasting for ages might be expected to leave behind. The first generation might be unfitted for the active duties and responsibilities of citizenship; but this difficulty, under generous provisions for education, would not pass to the next. Even now they are not so much behind the masses of the whites. Of the Virginians who took the oath of allegiance at Hampton, not more than one in fifteen could write his name, and the rolls captured at Hatteras disclose an equally deplorable ignorance. The contrabands might be less addicted than the now dominant race to bowie-knives and duels, think less of the value of bludgeons as forensic arguments, be less inhospitable to innocent sojourners from the Free States, and have far inferior skill in robbing forts and arsenals, plundering the Treasury, and betraying the country at whose crib they had fattened; but mankind would forgive them for not acquiring these accomplishments of modern treason. As a race, they may be less vigorous and thrifty than the Saxon, but they are more social, docile and affectionate, fulfilling the theory which Channing held in relation to them, if advanced to freedom and civilization.

If, in the progress of the war, they should be called to bear arms, there need be no apprehension that they would exhibit the ferocity of savage races. Unlike such, they have been subordinated to civilized life. They are by nature a religious people. They have received an education in the Christian faith from devout teachers of their own and of the dominant race. Some have been taught (let us believe it) by the precepts of Christian masters, and some by the children of those masters, repeating the lessons of the Sabbath School. The slaveholders assure us that they have all been well treated. If that be so, they have no wrongs to avenge. Associated with our army, they would conform to the stronger and more disciplined race. Nor is this view disproved by servile insurrections. In those cases, the insurgents, without arms, without allies, without discipline, but throwing themselves against society, against government, against everything, saw no other escape than to devastate and destroy without mercy in order to get a foothold. If they exterminated, it was because extermination was threatened against them. In the Revolution, in the army at Cambridge, from the beginning to the close of the war, against the protests of South Carolina by the voice of Edward Rutledge, but with the express sanction of Washington,—ever just, ever grateful for patriotism, whencesoever it came,—the negroes fought in the ranks with the white men, and they never dishonored the patriot cause. So also at the defence of New Orleans they received from General Jackson a noble tribute to their fidelity and soldier-like bearing. Weighing the question historically and reflectively, and anticipating the capture of Richmond and New Orleans, there need be more serious apprehension of the conduct of some of our own troops recruited in large cities than of a regiment of contrabands officered and disciplined by white men.

But, as events travel faster than laws or proclamations, already in this war with Rebellion the two races have served together. The same breastworks have been built by their common toil. True and valiant, they stood side by side in the din of cannonade, and they shared as comrades in the victory of Hatteras. History will not fail to record, that on the 28th day of August, 1861, when the Rebel forts were bombarded by the Federal army and navy, under the command of Major-General Butler and Commodore Stringham, fourteen negroes, lately Virginia slaves, now contraband of war, faithfully and without panic worked the after-gun of the upper deck of the Minnesota, and hailed with a victor's pride the Stars and Stripes, as they again waved on the soil of the Carolinas.

From Macmillan's [London] Magazine.]

OPINION ON AMERICAN AFFAIRS.

CROMER, AUG. 12, 1861.

DEAR MR. EDITOR:—Your contributors are probably just now scattered, or scattering, over the whole of Europe, if not farther. Having myself been away from town since the 3d, I don't know much of what may have been the talk there about the American war, and the defeat of the Northern army at Manasses Junction. You may have fixed on some one to write on the subject, and in that case you can consign this letter to the waste-paper basket; but, if there is no one told off for this duty, I hope you will let me volunteer, for I do think that the tone of all our leading journals, (so far as I have been able to see them in this delightfully quiet little fishing village) has, with the single exception of *The Spectator*, been ungenerous and unfair, and has not represented the better mind of England. At the same time, under present circumstances, it is better, perhaps, to put what I have to say, in the form of a letter, for which I alone am responsible.

In the first place, then, this defeat, this panic at Manasses Junction, had it been ten times as disastrous as it has been, has not altered in the least, and cannot alter, the rights and wrongs of the great question at issue. A truism, this, no doubt; but, for all that, when one sees the way in which mere success is worshipped here, and the sudden spring which the South has made into popularity in newspaper columns since the last mails, a truism which needs repeating! If the North were right before, they are right now, though defeated. If the Confederates were rebels before, they are rebels still, though triumphant for the moment.

If the United States were to remain a nation at all, they had not only the right, but were bound by every feeling of national honor, to strain every nerve to bring the secessionists to reason. How did they set about the work? They were utterly unprepared, without troops, without officers, without military stores. Their troops had been carefully scattered in small detachments, over the Western and Southern States; the officers were almost all Southerners, who resigned their commissions and joined the rebels; the stores had been accumulated in the Southern forts and arsenals. They waited as long as there was hope of an amicable arrangement; when that hope came to nothing, at the word of the President, the whole North rose as one man. That rising was as grand, as noble a national act, as any which we have seen, or are likely to see, in our generation. It wrung an approval, even from that portion of the press and people of this country who were most exasperated at the unlucky Morrill tariff, and at the menacing attitude which the President's government chose to assume towards us.

Have they flinched from their work? We hear, indeed, of a regiment or two of volunteers, enlisted for three months, who are going home; but the nation has not shown the slightest symptom of turning back. On the contrary, the President, Congress, and the nation, though they may show their resolution in ways which do not please us—which would not be ours, perhaps, under like circumstances—do show the most unflinching resolution to go through with what they have begun. When this is so no longer, it will be time enough to sneer at them.

Then, as to the battle itself, and the panic; what is the fair view of it? By the time this letter is printed, we may, perhaps, have full details; at present, one has nothing beyond the barest possible dispatches, and a set of one-sided accounts, written under strong excitement, to go upon. From these, however, we find that there was a determined struggle of many hours, before the Northern troops were beaten. Jefferson Davis's dispatch begins, "Manasses Junction, Sunday night.—Night has closed upon a hard fought field; our forces are victorious," etc. There is no evidence whatever, as yet, that the troops which were in action did not behave gallantly, but much the other way. Some regiments are reported as "cut to pieces." I think that these are most likely New England or New York regiments, composed chiefly of Americans, and well organized; men who knew what they were fighting for, and how to fight. All accounts agree in the statement that the troops which took the lead in the panic, were a rabble of all nations, Americans, Irish, Germans, and others, who had been hastily thrown together, and half drilled. They will fight well enough yet, when they have been made into regulars; but volunteers, to fight well, must be borne up by enthusiasm for a cause, which here was wholly wanting. And, as to the panic, we may just as well remember what has been so well put in *The Spectator*, that these troops, "in their maddest excitement, did nothing which was not done by the Frenchmen who, within five days, drove the first infantry in Europe back from the hill of Valmy."

The advance was premature, badly planned, and not well executed. This is surely natural enough, at the beginning of such a war. It seems that the Northern press are largely responsible for the movement. And here, again, there are good grounds for anything but contempt and hard words. On the news of the defeat, all the best of the Northern papers have acknowledged their error, and formally undertaken to abstain from military criticism. Our own papers are so little in the habit of acknowledging themselves in the wrong, or of abstaining from criticism, however ill-judged, on any matter under the sun, that I confess to being rather struck by this action of the American journalists.

While speaking of American journals, I may remark that the passages cited in *The Times*, and other papers, which have so disgusted and angered many of us, are from the New York *Herald*, a notoriously Southern paper, and one of the most scurrilous journals in the whole States. At the breaking out of the war, the office of this paper was with difficulty preserved from destruction. Since that time, it has not dared to show its Southern sympathies, but has devoted itself, in the obvious interests of its clients, to the work of embroiling the Northern States with us, by its unscrupulous and lying virulence. I quite admit that the tone of the government and people of the North has been such as deeply to grieve and disappoint every right-minded Englishman; but don't let us saddle them with the frantic slanders of the New York *Herald*. These must be put, in all fairness, to the credit of the South.

Hitherto I have been speaking without immediate reference to the great cause in issue. I believe that, apart from that cause, the North are entitled to our good wishes. They are in the right, apart from all question of slavery. If they really mean to leave "State rights" untouched—if they are not even fighting to keep "the territories" free—if, as we are often told in newspaper articles, slavery has nothing to say to the war at all—I must repeat that they are emphatically right.

But does anybody seriously believe this? Will any serious person get up and say, in his own name, or write in his own name, that the meaning of the whole war—the point really at issue, from first to last—has not been, and is not, (to put it at the lowest) whether slavery shall be confined to its present limits in North America, or allowed to extend as and where it can? That *was* the issue; perhaps it is so still. But those who entered on the war with this as the goal of their hopes and efforts, who would gladly have accepted the limitation of slavery to its present limits a few months or weeks ago, will, unless they are very different men from what I believe them to be—unless the teaching of all history is vain—not be content now with this compromise. The great cause of freedom will draw them, and the nation after them, along paths which they would never have sought for themselves.

It is the battle of human freedom which the North are fighting, and which should draw to them the sympathy of every Englishman, and make him cast to the winds all Morrill tariffs and angry talk about Canada, all bad manners, and hard words. If the North is beaten, it will be a misfortune such as has not come on the world since Christendom arose. An empire will be founded in these Southern States on the simple base of slavery, having no other starting point or principle, whatever, than their right to enslave men of their own flesh and blood. It is of no use to speculate upon what the acts and policy of such a State will be. The world will see that soon enough, should it arise. Meantime the Northern States stand alone between us and it, and the greatest misfortune which can happen to us and to mankind, will be their defeat.

God grant that they may hold on, and be strong! God grant that they may remember that the greatest triumphs have always come, and must always come to men, through the greatest humiliations. God himself could not set men free but through this rule. I am yours very truly,

THOMAS HUGHES.

From the London Spectator, Sept. 21.

THE "SATURDAY REVIEW" ON MRS. STOWE.

LETTER FROM "TOM BROWN."

SIR,—A writer in the *Saturday Review* of last week, in an article on "Mrs. Beecher Stowe's Wounded Feelings," has done me the honor of coupling my name with hers. It does not appear exactly why he has done this. Probably it is due to a letter of mine in a late number of *Macmillan's Magazine*, in which I maintained what no person slightly acquainted with the recent history of the United States could ever have doubted, what the reviewer himself, after Fremont's proclamation, and the other news brought by the last mail, cannot, I suppose, now doubt—that the slavery question is at issue, is in fact the material issue, in this war.

What a Saturday Reviewer may say or think of me is not of the least consequence; nor would it be worth while to notice the tone of that or of other leading English papers on any home question. We are used to them, and their habits of speech and thought, and have become comfortably case-hardened. But this is not so with Americans, and in view of the bitter feeling which has been roused in them by our press within the last six or eight months, and which will probably outlive our generation, I should be glad if you will allow me to say a few words.

Let any Englishman try to put himself honestly in the place of an American, and then read such articles as the one to which I have alluded, and which is by no means an unfavorable specimen of the class, and I venture to say he will no longer wonder at the effect they have had in the United States. They are remarkable for two characteristics: first, for the deliberate imputation of mean motives, and, secondly, for the cruel spirit in which they are written. It may have been right to say unpleasant things, but it cannot be right to say them in the way of all others which will give most pain. To a nation or a man engaged in a struggle for life or death, the tone of flippant and contemptuous serenity is the worst we can adopt, if we must speak. Take this article as a specimen: If an English gentleman felt a call to write remarks on the letter of a very distinguished American lady—a letter which is, at any rate, full of deep sorrow for the estrangement between our two countries—need he have entitled his remarks "Mrs. Stowe's Wounded Feelings"? Ought he to have talked about "a good cry, and a flounce out of the room"?—ought he to have sneered at her appeal to the "great fellowship of Christian freedom"? or to have congratulated her "that she has at least contributed a lucifer match to the conflagration"? This is nothing but saying what he had to say in the most offensive manner, and seeking to inflict, or being utterly careless of inflicting, unnecessary pain. If that be the object of Saturday reviewers, of course there is nothing more to be said. They do their work in masterly style. But the nation is paying somewhat dearly for its penny whistle of smart writing, by means of which many of its leading journalists are doing their best to rouse the hatred of all nations against us.

As to the imputation of the worst motives to the Northerners by the *Times* and the *Saturday Review*, from the first outbreak of hostilities till now, could anything have been more unfair, or more needless? Nations as well as men are two-sided. There is in them both the mean self-seeking nature, and the manly, God-like nature, always struggling the one against the other. To which will you appeal, if you wish to see nation or man go right and act nobly? The surest way to make men act from low motives, is not to give them credit for high ones. Nothing can be easier, and to a certain extent it proves our cleverness to do this. Every action probably has its mean side, and if it should turn out after all that the mean is the stronger in any particular case, our foresight would have been at fault had we not anticipated this. To take the particular instance in point.

We all know that the North has not put the slavery question forward officially. All of us who care to study the subject know why this has not been done. Many of us think the policy unwise, and the reason wholly insufficient. We may think and say that, if persisted in, it will ruin the cause of the North, that it has already given an enormous advantage to the secessionists. But this is quite another thing from crying out, over and over again, "It is naught, it is naught. These Yankees are, after all, only fighting for tariffs and hurt vanity." It was our duty, as the nation which has taken the lead in the abolition of slavery, to have borne all things from, and hoped all things for, those who had gone down into the lists with the great Slave Power; to have given them credit for what they could not, or dared not, yet avow; to have encouraged them to go bravely on in the path they had taken, let it lead them where it might. We have not done this. Our press has chosen to take the other course, to impute the lowest motives, to cull out and exult over all the meanness, and bragging, and disorder which the contest has brought out, and while we sit on the bank to make no allowances for those who are struggling in the waves. The consequence is the state of feeling we see now in all loyal Americans towards England.

I am, yours truly,

THOMAS HUGHES.

The Liberator.

No Union with Slaveholders!

BOSTON, FRIDAY, NOVEMBER. 1, 1861.

"*I lay this down as the law of nations. I say that the military authority takes, for the time, the place of all municipal institutions, slavery among the rest. Under that state of things, so far from its being true that the States where slavery exists have the exclusive management of the subject, not only the President of the United States, but the commander of the army, has power to order the universal emancipation of the slaves.*"

"*From the instant that your slaveholding States become the theatre of war, civil, servile or foreign, from that instant the war powers of Congress extend to interference with the institution of slavery in every way in which it can be interfered with, from a claim of indemnity for slaves taken or destroyed, to the cession of the State burdened with slavery to a foreign power.*"

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

☞ The following Memorial to the next Congress has been prepared for universal circulation, with the belief that it will readily be adopted by all but those who are in favor of eternizing the accursed system of slavery—who, while pretending to be on the side of the Government, are secretly in hearty sympathy with the Southern traitors—and who would prefer to see the Federal forces every where defeated, the blood and substance of the people expended to no purpose, and the rule of the Southern Confederacy victorious over the whole country, rather than have the oppressed set free under law, even though a satisfactory adjustment is proposed in the case of the so-called loyal slaveholders. Let the most active measures be at once taken to procure the signatures of men and women, voters and non-voters, to this Memorial, in every city, town and village. A MILLION such can be easily obtained by energetic and concerted action—but no time is to be lost. In a note just received from Gerrit Smith, he says—"I am glad to receive this morning from Boston, three copies of a Petition of excellent form. I immediately put my name to one, and will, without delay, have them all in circulation. Let the enclosed draft be accepted as my share of the expense in scattering copies of the Petition over the country."

☞ Printed copies of the Petition, for gratuitous circulation, may be obtained at the Anti-Slavery Offices in Boston, New York and Philadelphia.

MEMORIAL OF THE PEOPLE TO CONGRESS.

"PROCLAIM LIBERTY THROUGHOUT ALL THE LAND, TO ALL THE INHABITANTS THEREOF."

To the Congress of the United States:

The undersigned, citizens of , State of , respectfully submit—

That as the present formidable rebellion against the General Government manifestly finds its root and nourishment in the system of chattel slavery at the South; as the leading conspirators are slaveholders, who constitute an oligarchy avowedly hostile to all free institutions; and as, in the nature of things, no solid peace can be maintained while the cause of this treasonable revolt is permitted to exist; your honorable body is urgently implored to lose no time in enacting, under the war power, the total abolition of slavery throughout the country—liberating unconditionally the slaves of all who are rebels, and, while not recognizing the right of property in man, allowing for the emancipated slaves of such as are loyal to the government a fair pecuniary award, in order to facilitate an amicable adjustment of difficulties; and thus to bring the war to a speedy and beneficent termination, and indissolubly to unite all sections and all interests of the country upon the enduring basis of universal freedom.

☞ *Editors of newspapers are requested to give this Memorial one or more insertions in their columns.*

PRESENT RELATION OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH TO SLAVERY.

The religion of a country should be its most active and vigorous helper in the renunciation of evil-doing and the commencement of practical reform. As far as the vice of slaveholding is concerned, our readers are aware that the churches of our popular religion have been its main bulwark; not only doing nothing to overthrow it, but holding active complicity with it, and placing active obstruction in the way of those who *would* overthrow it.

The Presbyterian church stands third in relative numbers and weight of membership among the sects in this country. Its influence, therefore, has been very great, especially in the West. In no church have the ministers and church-members been more determined in the maintenance of slavery; in none have greater hardness of heart and blindness of mind been manifested, both in the systematic allowance of the worst features of the system, and in the manufacture of arguments by which to maintain its necessity and propriety. As to the arguments, those which Mrs. Stowe has put into the mouths of the Presbyterian ministers depicted in "DRED" are almost a literal copying of the debates in their Presbyteries and Synods: and as to the facts, it was a Presbyterian church in Tennessee which not only refused to take measures against Deacon Netherland for the killing of his aged slave, (on a charge afterwards proved groundless,) but which dismissed its minister for urging the enforcement of "discipline" upon the murderer; and it was the Presbyterian Board of Missions which took into its service Rev. Cyrus Byington, (formerly missionary of the "American Board" at Stockbridge, in the Choctaw nation,) without regard to the fact that he was an accomplice after the fact in the burning alive of one of his church members by another. After the perpetration of this crime in their Choctaw mission, the "American Board" had found "embarrassments and perplexities" pressing heavily upon them, and had made haste to shuffle the whole mission off their hands. But the Presbyterian Board of Missions found neither embarrassment nor perplexity in this state of things; they were accustomed to slavery, *and to its results*; and they made no difficulty about immediately taking under their care that group of slaveholding churches in the Choctaw Nation, and that wolf in sheep's clothing who called himself "pastor" of the Stockbridge church, when the Boston managers of the "American Board" had dropped them as "too hot to hold."

The Presbyterian Church, however, having always, like the other churches, been troubled by a small minority of protestants against slavery, cast an anchor to windward to break the force of remonstrances on that subject as early as in 1818; for in that year they published that famous Declaration which they have ever since appealed to as showing them free from guilt in the matter of slavery. This double-faced and deceitful document used many and strong expressions unfavorable to slavery, *at the same time allowing its indefinite continuance among its ministers and church-members*. Ever since, they have continued to buy, hold, and sell slaves! Ever since, also, when charged with guilt in regard to slavery, they have held up the empty *words* of this Declaration in their defence! So Pilate, after delivering up Jesus to be crucified, washed his hands *to show his innocence!*

Such *has* been the position of the Presbyterian Church since 1818. But times have changed and men are changing. "The world" has made many movements in the direction of anti-slavery. Has the change yet reached the Church? Let us look at the latest evidence.

We joyfully hasten to note a specimen, the only one we have seen, of satisfactory progress in one of the departments of that body, "The United Presbyterian Church." Its "General Synod," comprising sixteen Presbyteries, a body representing considerable wealth and influence, lately held a meeting in Allegheny City, Pennsylvania, and adopted the following, among other resolutions:—

> Resolved, That while as Christian men and patriots we zealously and heartily support our National Government in the present war for the maintenance of its integrity, we are not blind to the defects of our institutions, to the defective administration of law, and our sins as a nation: that we trace our present national difficulties mainly to slavery; that by this, and our other sins, . . . we have offended God, and there is no hope for us but in repentance and return to Him; that we recognize that our repentance cannot be acceptable to God, unless we, as a nation, break off our sins, unless we acknowledge Him and His law and providence, and ceasing to countenance this wicked system of slavery, use all the means in our power to carry into effect the law of the Bible, "to loose the bands of wickedness, undo the heavy burdens, to let the oppressed go free, and that ye break every yoke," and remembering that "righteousness exalteth a nation," and that "sin is a reproach to any people," in accordance with the principles of the Declaration of our National Independence, seek to maintain every man in the enjoyment of his rights as a man.
>
> Resolved, That the Slave Power, by inaugurating this wicked rebellion against the government, has forfeited all claim to any protection or toleration of its peculiar institution; and as the most speedy way of establishing justice, insuring domestic tranquillity, and suppressing the rebellion, we approve of the manumission, by military proclamation, of the slaves; and the confiscation of all the property of those found in arms against the government, in all the military districts in which our commanding officers now have, or may hereafter have, military jurisdiction.

This is very good talk. The general course among those few American ecclesiastical bodies which are far enough advanced to *talk* right, on the subject of slavery, has been to stop there, and let the talk be a substitute for action. But the Synod at Allegheny showed that they meant what they said, by choosing a committee of six to proceed to the city of Washington "for the purpose of pressing upon the attention of the President and his Cabinet, as well as upon other officers of the Government, the duty and necessity of taking immediate steps to put away our national sins, that we may be restored to the favor of God."

This is one happy exception, in the midst of a sect that seems, in the main, devoted as earnestly as ever to the continued toleration of slavery. Every other expression of Presbyterian sentiment that we have seen either confines itself to empty talk, and *mere* talk, more or less unfavorable to slavery, or makes direct or indirect opposition to any interference with slavery by the Government or the army. Take, for example, the resolutions of two Synods, whose annual meetings have just closed, and the editorial position of two Presbyterian newspapers, of wide circulation and influence.

The Synod of New York and New Jersey, in the midst of a series of warmly patriotic resolutions, vigorously supporting the war, falls back upon the old double-faced testimony of the Presbyterian church (above described) as expressive of its sentiment, and recommends prayer instead of work in regard to slavery, as if the duty of removing it belonged to God and not to its own members. Here is its testimony:

> "3. That while we do not feel called on to add anything to the repeated testimony of our Church on the subject of slavery, nor to offer any advice to the Government on the subject, still, fully believing that it lies at the foundation of all our present national troubles, we recommend to all our people to pray more earnestly than ever for its removal; and that the time may speedily come when God by His providence shall take it away, that nothing may be left of it but the painful record of its past existence."

The Synod of Illinois talks more strongly, but takes no action. It says—

> "We acknowledge the hand of God in the scourge of civil war. We confess that our national forgetfulness of God, our pride and worldliness, our lust of power, and, above all, our complicity in the sin of slavery and in all those iniquities by which it has been upheld, have merited this our national chastisement and humiliation, and we affectionately enjoin upon all the members of our churches that they give themselves to such confession, repentance, and prayer, as shall contribute to arrest the judgments of God. And especially do we enjoin the most thorough self-examination in reference to the sin of complicity with that gigantic wrong which is the chief occasion of this Divine chastisement; that if there be any among us who, in their personal, social, or political relations, have failed to clear themselves of all responsibility for this iniquity, they may hasten to repent and bring forth fruits meet for repentance."

The New York *Observer* has so openly and uniformly discouraged and opposed all movement towards the abolition of slavery, and has so steadily upheld the American Tract Society, and the American and Presbyterian Missionary Boards, in their complicity with our national sin, that no particular quotation from it is now needed. It moves sometimes directly, and sometimes with serpent windings, but always to the same end; and some of its later indirect manifestations have been, the praise of those American members who tried to prevent the "Evangelical Alliance," at its late session in Switzerland, from acting against American slavery; and an elaborate eulogy on Thomas Fowell Buxton, for qualities which it falsely represents as diametrically opposed to those of American Abolitionists.

The New York *Evangelist*, after quoting half a column in direct opposition to emancipation from the intensely pro-slavery *Christian Intelligencer*, adjusts itself on the fence in this fashion:—

> "An act of general emancipation is certainly one that would be attended with immense difficulties, and which ought not to be attempted rashly. Yet that it may become an issue of the present war none can deny. Intelligent men are forced to look such a contingency in the face. We have regarded it as a measure which might become a military necessity, to be adopted in the last resort to save our national existence. Yet it is a step which the Government would undertake with reluctance, even though provoked to it by incorrigible Rebellion. Such a Proclamation, as it would change the object of the war, might lead to farther divisions inimical to a speedy return of peace and good order, and perhaps to social disorganizations unfriendly to the welfare of the slave. But even if emancipation is not proclaimed, let the present war be carried on successfully, and it must lead to the destruction of the Slave Power as a dominant influence in our politics, and of all further compromises disastrous to Freedom; and this, we believe, insures the total destruction of the system of slavery at no distant day. But, whatever the final result, we trust it will be so ordered as not to break the unity of the North. Let us keep our own ranks together, and they will march to ultimate victory."

In short, while the great majority of the Presbyterian churches either practise slaveholding or maintain the right of all who please to practise it, most of the remainder seek to occupy a neutral position. They do almost nothing against the great sin and shame of our country; and the little that they *say* seems a feeble attempt to keep up with the irresistible progress of public opinion outside their boundary.—C. K. W.

ENGLISH WRITERS ON THE AMERICAN WAR.

If the voice of England, as expressed by its leading public journals and by individuals of prominent station, has not been as we had reason to expect it would be, in emphatic condemnation of the Slaveholders' Rebellion in this country, and of their purpose to establish a great slaveholding empire on this continent, it is still true that England has furnished some men, in politics and literature, whose generous and comprehensive views, liberal spirit, and courageous rebuke of the prevalent tone of English criticism on American affairs, prove that we of the North may count some of our truest friends among the legislators and educated men of England, even as our fathers, in their day, had no truer, wiser, or braver friends than Chatham, Burke, and others, who in Parliament and elsewhere condemned the war,—infinitely less odious than that now forced upon us—which an overbearing government was then forcing upon these colonies.

Our readers will agree with us, we are sure, that few things have been written or published, on either side the water, which evince a more friendly spirit towards our Northern States, or a clearer understanding of the question really at issue between the North and the South, than the two letters, which we publish this week, by Mr. Thomas Hughes, better known in this country as the author of "School Days at Rugby," and "Tom Brown at Oxford." The former letter was addressed some two months since to the editor of *Macmillan's Magazine*, and was published in that journal; the latter appeared more recently in the London *Spectator*. It gives us pleasure to publish them in connexion, and we thank the writer who has spoken these timely, sensible, and judicious words. There is no mistaking their tone of generous sympathy with all that is noblest and best in our Northern struggle with the Slave Power of the South; while their call to a higher duty, than we have yet suffered ourselves as a people to admit, is as manifestly that of a wise and faithful friend, earnestly desiring our complete and highest success. Such counsel and criticism can do us only good. We need not ask a reading for "Tom Brown's" letters.

In this connexion we also mention the recent lecture "On the Civil War in America," delivered at the Bradford Mechanics Institute to a large audience by W. E. Forster, Esq., member of Parliament for that large and flourishing town. The lecture was fully reported in the London *Times*, and deserves the attention of every American. At present, a brief notice of it is all we can give in our columns. Mr. Forster has evidently studied the American question thoroughly,—more so, we fear, and in a more comprehensive spirit, than have most of the statesmen of England. He, too, discerns with clearness, and sets forth with marked ability and convincing power, the causes of the Southern rebellion, the designs of the Southern conspirators, the immediate motive of the North in resisting them, and the grand result which, in his judgment, must inevitably follow, viz., complete emancipation,—the only justification of the war, and the sure remedy for the disease which has entailed the war upon us. The Boston *Traveller* says of Mr. Forster, that "he has given to his constituents, and through the press to all Britain, the best narrative of the causes of our contest that has appeared in Europe, and one that has not been surpassed by any American work on the subject." The *Journal* says that Mr. Forster, by this lecture, is placed "second only to John Bright in a true comprehension and able discussion of the subject."

Mr. Forster thus explains the apparent and the actual ground occupied by both North and South:—

> "Thus it was that the North and South came to be arrayed one against the other; but there was this difference, that whereas the South were fighting avowedly for the right to perpetuate and extend slavery, the avowed object of the North was simply the preservation of the Union. Therefore it was true that the South appeared in the contest to be more pro-slavery than did the North to be anti-slavery. But in reality the North were fighting against slavery as much as the South for it; for if the South succeeded they would establish a slave power such as he had described; if they failed, slavery would receive a blow from which it could not recover."

And thus he speaks of England's duty at this moment:—

> "After stating why he believed that, whether the Union was or was not restored to life, slavery had received what would be found to be its death-blow, Mr. Forster closed with a few remarks upon the duty of England, in the course of which he stated that in action this duty was clear—adherence to our rule of absolute non-intervention. We could not interfere for the North; we should insult them if we tried to do so. *It would be an eternal disgrace to us if we interfered for the South and for slavery.* And we must remember that any breach of international law, by infraction of a legitimate blockade or by a premature recognition of the Southern Confederacy, contrary to the international rules which we ourselves had laid down, would be such intervention.
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> Mr. Forster sat down amid loud cheers, and received the cordial thanks of the assembly for his lecture."

A VOICE FROM THE TOMB.

Among those who fell in the late disastrous battle at Ball's Bluff was a young man of the very highest excellence and promise, combining physical beauty and vigor with high intelligence and nobleness of spirit. Those who knew Lieut. William L. Putnam, of Roxbury, speak of him with enthusiasm, as strikingly eminent in all that gives attractiveness to youth, and promise of ripened excellence in coming years. He fell in the act of aiding a brother officer. At his burial, his face preserved its usual aspect of serene cheerfulness.

The last letter written home by young Putnam, before this premature close of his earthly career, contains this remarkable expression, showing that he understood the meaning of our present trouble, and the use, needful to be made, of the contest in which the nation is now engaged. He wrote—I trust this war will never cease, let fall who will fall, until liberty shall be secured for every human being in our country!—This striking fact corroborates the statement made by the *Transcript* respecting him, that "He was one, out of many, of those young soldiers of freedom, whose very education and refinement of intellectual and moral perception led them to engage in the present war."

It is doubly sad to see those die who seem best prepared to live with advantage to their nation and their age. May the last message of this beautiful soul be seed, bringing forth abundant fruit, among his associates in the camp, and his wide circle of mourning friends at home.—C. K. W.

THE EDITOR'S PROGRESS REPORTED.

During Mr. Garrison's absence, those of his friends who do not take the *Standard* will be glad to see the following incident of his visit to New York, which we clip from that paper:—

> Public mention of a private entertainment is sometimes not improper, and we drop a line here for the eyes of the personal friends of the pioneer of the anti-slavery cause, just to say that on his recent passage through New York he was honored at a friend's house with a social reception of ladies and gentlemen, who constituted, on their coming together, one of the most intellectual and brilliant evening parties held in this city this fall. Among the guests were many persons of both sexes widely known in literature, many distinguished members of the learned professions, and many of the staunch early friends of the cause, who are now in venerable years. Mr. Garrison appeared in greatly improved health, full of a fine animation, exhibiting (as everywhere) his characteristic mirthfulness and seriousness.
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> A pleasant incident gave quite a parliamentary turn to a portion of the entertainment. Mr. Oliver Johnson showed to the company the first bound volume of *The Liberator*, for the year 1831—then a little paper not bigger than a pane of glass in a parlor window—also reading Harrison Gray Otis's contemptuous description of the garret where it was edited and printed, and the beautiful poem which Lowell wrote upon that as a text. Of course, Mr. Garrison was not permitted, thereupon, to go clear of a speech, and a happy speech he made—full of good feeling, full of high hopes, full of trust in God. The Rev. Dr. Cheever followed in a somewhat similar strain, paying a heartfelt tribute of respect and gratitude to Mr. Garrison for his life-long devotion to the cause. Horace Greeley, who was also asked for, put into ten or fifteen minutes so much humor, sense, satire, logic, and fact, all in his terse and unmistakable style, that everybody clapped hands in irresistible applause. The Rev. O. B. Frothingham, on being called out, succeeded by some adroit wit in reconquering his seat, after a very few words, and before the company were honestly willing to yield it back to him. Then came Theodore Tilton, who spoke in a vein of humorous story-telling, but less in jest than in earnest.
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> Other speeches probably would have followed, but the sudden opening of two great doors disclosed a supper-table, whereon was promise of more solid substance to take the place of
>
> "The feast of reason and the flow of soul."
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> It is safe to say that the appetites were like the speeches, for both were good, but it would hardly be dignified to mention how late these good friends sat into the night, sipping at their cups of tea, and at the general flow of talk. It should be said, however, that all the conversation, like all the addresses, breathed a common spirit of love for freedom, whose good cause, though standing imperilled in these evil days, is now daily rallied afresh by many champions—grown lately numerous since the early days when there was but one. That one is still in hale and vigorous life, and may he not grow old until Freedom has won her final victory in the land!

STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES, BY THE PENNSYLVANIA A. S. SOCIETY.

Since the last anniversary of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society, a violent disruption of the American Republic having taken place, through the treasonable withdrawal of nearly all the Slaveholding States, which have organized themselves into an independent Southern Confederacy, the objects of which are the interminable prolongation of slavery, the subversion of the Government, and the overthrow of all free institutions, by a wickedly aggressive and desperately malignant war on their part, it devolves upon this Society clearly to define its position in relation to the present anomalous state of things, so as to keep its testimonies unimpaired on the one hand, and to prevent needless misconception and injurious misrepresentation on the other.

This Society has nothing to retract or modify in regard to its object, its principles, or its measures. Always animated by a spirit inflexibly loyal to the cause of freedom, and having for its sole object the triumph of that cause universally, without regard to race, color or condition, it finds no language adequate to express its abhorrence of a system which consigns four millions of the inhabitants of the land, with all their posterity, to the most degrading and intolerable bondage—ranking them in the category of personal and real estate, property to be used and transferred like household goods, brutes to be driven to unrequited toil, and recognizing their common humanity only for the purpose of making them strictly responsible to their tyrannical masters in all things, under terrible pains and penalties. In any other land, however dark and benighted, the toleration of such a system would indicate complete deadness to shame and deep corruption; but, in a country like ours, claiming to be the most enlightened on earth, boasting of its religious and political privileges, and glorying in an instrument which declares it to be a self-evident truth, that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with an inalienable right to liberty, it presents an exhibition of shameless hypocrisy and blood-red criminality, wholly unparalleled—especially, attempting, as it does, to find its justification in the highest religious sanctions, alike under the Jewish and the Christian dispensation. To seek to perpetuate such a system is the most comprehensive iniquity that can be perpetrated; to make any compromise with it is always full of guilt and danger; to demand its immediate and total abolition is the dictate of justice and humanity.

The principles of this Society remain unchanged, because they are unchangeable; being based upon human nature and the law of the living God, and in defence of which, prophets have been put to death, and apostles crucified, and martyrs carried to the stake, and patriots executed upon the scaffold. Its measures have ever been rational, and well-adapted to promote the righteous object in view, and limited to the exercise of a peaceful, lawful, constitutional right of protest and reformation, using only the weapons of reason and argument, for the sole purpose of establishing the freedom of all classes upon an enduring basis.

To the malicious attempt, which has been so extensively made, to identify the secessionists of the South with the abolitionists of the North, this Society unequivocally affirms that no two classes can be more unlike, or more opposed to each other, in spirit, design and action. The former aim to give unlimited range and lasting perpetuity to slavery and the slave-trade: the latter are for the immediate liberation of all in bondage. The former are under the control of an unappeasable selfishness, a satanic aspiration for universal dominion, an imperious spirit that would "rather reign in hell than serve in heaven," and striving to break down, as intolerable nuisances, all the free institutions of the North. The latter are animated by an unselfish and all-embracing philanthropy, seeking the welfare of the oppressor as well as the oppressed, and desiring to put an end to all sectional animosities and divisions by the proclamation of universal freedom. The former contemptuously trample the Declaration of Independence beneath their feet, and boldly give the lie to its self-evident truths; the latter heartily subscribe to that Declaration, as defining the origin, nature and scope of human rights. The former are armed with bowie-knives and revolvers, and ready to stab, shoot, or hang any abolitionist who may venture upon Southern soil; the latter resort to no other weapons than those of entreaty, warning and rebuke, meeting all calumnies with patience, all insults with forbearance, all outrages in the spirit of martyrs. In short, the former are desperately bent upon mischief, and "full of treason, stratagems and spoils"; the latter are laboring disinterestedly to save the country from ruin, and fill it with the abundance of peace, by extracting the only root of bitterness.

As it respects the tremendous conflict now going on between the forces of the Federal Government and those of the Southern Confederacy, this Society, and the abolitionists in every section of the country, are united in the sentiment, that the rebellious attitude of the former finds no justification whatever, but is marked by every feature of malignity, treachery, murderous violence, and savage barbarity; that it has for its object, not only the perpetuation of the inhuman system of slavery, but the subversion of free institutions universally; that all the allegations brought against the Government, by the conspirators, of designing to interfere with slavery in an unconstitutional manner, are without foundation; that, therefore, the Government is simply acting on the defensive, and endeavoring to execute its constitutional prerogatives, in accordance with the original bond of Union.

But this Society, believing the cause of this bloody strife to originate solely in slavery, and in the haughty spirit of tyrannical mastery engendered by it, deems it the height of infatuation, on the part of the Government and people, to think of bringing back the rebellious portion to loyalty under the Constitution, and effecting a peaceful settlement of difficulties, while leaving untouched the source of all those desolating judgments which are now sweeping through the land. Nor is this a desirable result. Like causes produce like effects. Neither the old compromises, nor any new ones, can produce harmony, or avert divine retribution. Our nation is reaping as it has sown. "Ye have not proclaimed liberty every man to his brother, and every man to his neighbor; therefore, I proclaim a liberty for you, saith the Lord, to the sword, to the pestilence, and to the famine." To avert still heavier judgments, therefore—to make a real union of all the States and the preservation of a free government possible—it becomes the solemn duty of the nation to decree the immediate and total abolition of slavery. The powers of the General Government are ample for this purpose, on its own plane of action. In anticipation of the present state of things JOHN QUINCY ADAMS said, years ago, in his place in the House of Representatives of the United States,—laying it down as the law of nations,—"From the instant that the slaveholding States become the theatre of war, civil, servile or foreign, from that instant the war powers of Congress extend to interference with the institutions of slavery in every way in which it can be interfered with. . . . . Not only the President of the United States, but the commander of the army, has power to order the universal emancipation of the slaves." From this weighty authority, there is no intelligent dissent. The Government, therefore, is invested with the power to "proclaim liberty throughout all the land to all the inhabitants thereof," in the midst of the exigencies of war, and to maintain its supremacy over the whole country. Those exigencies now fully justify the immediate exercise of that power. The rebellion is precisely where slavery exists as a cherished institution; it is the product of slavery; the whole slave population are made the efficient instruments of the rebels to overturn the Government, and to consummate their treasonable designs. The enemy is yet at the gates of the Capital, threatening its security and keeping the Government in continual peril. All the property held in common by the nation, within the limits of the Southern Confederacy, has been perfidiously seized, and turned to the support of this vast slaveholding conspiracy. Hundreds of millions of property, the amount of Southern indebtedness to the North, have been basely confiscated. The nation is bleeding at every pore. The wail of bereavement is heard in every quarter; for the slain are rapidly multiplying, and every day witnesses fresh victims falling on the battle-field, struck down by the weapons of the minions of an impious slaveholding oligarchy. The daily expenditures forced upon the Government by this war are of a startling character, and must constitute a fearful aggregate in the end, if the rebellion be not speedily put down. To save this ruinous waste, to stop this shocking effusion of blood, to make a solid peace possible, nothing is wanted but the total abolition of slavery. If this be not done, then there is no hope of reconciliation or prosperity, and the doom of the nation is sealed. In the language of President Lincoln, uttered before his inauguration, "A house divided against itself cannot stand. I believe this Government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free. It will become all one thing, or all the other." Again:—"This is a world of compensations; and he who would be no slave must have no slave. Those who deny freedom to others, deserve it not for themselves; and, under a just God, cannot long retain it." The President has it now in his power, as had Pharaoh of old, to let the oppressed go free, so that the land may have rest, and the retributive judgments of Heaven be removed far from it. If he refuses to improve this sublime opportunity to do the grandest and most beneficent work of the age,—whether through weakness or perversity,—then more than the guilt of Pharaoh will rest upon his head; and, instead of preserving the Government he has sworn to defend, he will but have hastened its downfall by refusing to strike the only blow necessary for its perpetuity. But if he will declare freedom for all, wherever the flag of the nation advances, the flames of civil war will be speedily extinguished, the smiles of an approving Heaven secured, and his memory will be crowned with lasting honor.

THIRD FRATERNITY LECTURE.

The eloquent discourse of George William Curtis on "National Honor" held an immense audience in breathless attention for an hour and a half on Tuesday evening. The lecture had brilliancy, wit, pathos, exquisite beauty, but, to our surprise, as well as regret, it lacked "the one thing needful" in our present crisis.

In the portion of this discourse touching upon slavery, the speaker deliberately argued that Government should, at present, interfere with that institution no further than the necessities of war actually demand. He advised the confiscation of the slaves of rebels, whether or not they were engaged in warlike operations, and showed the absurdity of the distinctions which some have striven to draw upon that point, indulging the rebels in proportion to the extent of their slaveholding, and allowing the claim to property in human beings, when the claim to all other property has been justly forfeited. But he would have slavery touched no further than this during the present war, *unless* ill success on our part, or new and unforeseen emergencies, shall render further action against it indispensable to our success in the war. *If* peace can only come by the emancipation of all the slaves, he would say "Amen!" But if the necessity for emancipation did not manifestly appear in this form, he would postpone all thought and action upon that subject until complete triumph over the rebellion should have been secured.

The lecturer dwelt much, and strongly, on the importance of *saving* the national honor. In our judgment, national honor is a thing yet to be *attained* by this slaveholding nation. The war offers a most auspicious opportunity to *commence* the work of attaining it. To slight this opportunity, to postpone to a superlatively uncertain to-morrow this chance to throw off the greatest of evils and secure the greatest of blessings, seems to us the madness that precedes destruction. Procrastination here will be the thief of more than time.

We had hoped from Mr. Curtis something better than an endorsement of the great delusion under which the Republican party are now laboring. It was some satisfaction to find that the ideas above objected to were heard in silence by the immense audience, while enthusiastic applause followed those expressions which bore strongest against slavery. We subjoin the *Journal's* report:—

"Mr. Curtis stated his subject to be 'National Honor.' Honor he defined as manhood, and the obligations of honor to do all that a man can and ought. After pointing out its origin, and the conditions of mind and feeling which go to strengthen and maintain it, he considered it more particularly in connection with our present national crisis. We in this country have not only the conditions and necessities of nationality, but we have the political union, which is the source of patriotism. It is this which makes us now, instead of being a scattered and drifting fleet like the Spanish Armada, as a single ship from whose deck the tempest-tossed mariners behold walking toward them on the water, the spirit of Union, saying, 'It is I, be not afraid!' (Applause.)

The sentiment of patriotism seems to have been but newly awakened, and a year ago we might well have doubted its existence. But the defection of traitors, the accumulated defalcations of Cabinet ministers, and at last the open attack on our flag, has roused our people to action. The movement was of the people alone, for they had little to expect from an administration which groaned out a cry for fasting and prayer, when it should have given a stentorian command to aim and fire. (Applause.)

We are compelled to believe that there can be but one nation, and the duty of every citizen is to aid in maintaining the Government and put down the rebellion. To save the honor of the nation we must take up arms, not to change the form of government, but to defend it as it is. This war is a struggle between two spirits, which mutually strive for the ascendancy in this country. We must meet it as the mariner meets the whirlwind. The masts must go; the cargo and the treasure must be thrown over, if need be, to save the ship. This is not a war of subjugation or emancipation; but if peace can only come by conquering the rebellious section—Amen! If peace can only come by the confiscation of the property of all rebels—Amen! If peace can only come by the emancipation of the slaves—Amen! (Loud and continued applause.)

The right to do this is undeniable. How and when this right should be used is a far different question. It is easy to say that slavery is the cause of the war, and that it must be destroyed; but the question of to-day is how to heal the wound it has made; and believing that the war must inevitably lead to emancipation, he would rather see it the result of the grave deliberations of earnest men in time of peace, than have the decree written with the point of the sword upon a drum-head. But if they force us to answer which is most precious, Government or slavery, they shall have the answer. The mower sweeps across the field to gather the harvest, and not to destroy snakes and vermin; but if the snakes and vermin come in his way they will be destroyed. (Applause.)

After peace shall be restored, our national honor will each us to inquire how can another rebellion be rendered impossible. He believed the rebellion to be the result of a settled purpose on the part of the slaveholders, and this was the policy necessary to preserve the system of slavery. When we fully understand that slavery is identical with treason, we shall devote ourselves religiously to the great question of emancipation. It must be the result of conviction, and not of any party emotion. Already the main support of the slave system—the cotton monopoly—is passing from their hands. How and by what plan emancipation is to be accomplished will be the next question for the nation to settle.

Our national honor will teach us to guard with more jealous care the duties of our citizenship, to mingle more in politics, and carry out in our own lives the principles of a popular government, instead of leaving all the work of elections, except the mere depositing of a vote, in the hands of others who will do our work.

He closed with an eloquent apostrophe to the spirit of peace which would yet come to a restored nation. We may get blows under which our country will sicken and reel. We have not yet seen the depth to which we must sink; but as we go down our eyes shall see light on the mountain-tops. Eyes must weep: God dry them. Hearts must break: God comfort them. But I see the genius of our country transfigured on the mount of the future; in her right hand is justice, and in her left hand peace."

☞ The call of the Quartermaster of the army for all blankets for the soldiers that can be spared from families, is but feebly responded to, though the Government pays the full market value for them.

NEW PUBLICATIONS.

THE ANTI-SLAVERY HISTORY OF THE JOHN BROWN YEAR: being the Twenty-seventh Annual Report of the American Anti-Slavery Society. pp. 337.

Though long delayed by circumstances not within the control of the Society or its Committee, this Report is altogether welcome and timely. It was not a light or brief work to prepare a fitting history of this—one of the most eventful years in our country's history. So far as the question of slavery is concerned,—and who does not know that that has for years entered into nearly every government measure, into all the political parties, all the religious sects and societies, and more or less into all business and social life,—that history is most thoroughly given in this Report. It is much the most elaborate and complete report the Anti-Slavery Society has ever published; and no injustice is done to any one of the valuable series of Reports which have preceded it, when we say that upon none of them have so much time, labor and careful investigation been expended as upon this. With much pains to bring it within a moderate compass, its length has unavoidably been extended to more than double the average of former reports; but we are sure that no one who has occasion to read or refer to it will regret its length; while the manifest care which has been bestowed upon it, under the influence of a feeling of more than usual responsibility for the absolute accuracy of every point, will commend it to every person, of whatever shade of opinion, as one of the most valuable and reliable historical documents ever published in our country.

The report is now for sale at the Anti-Slavery Office, 221 Washington Street, and will be found at several of the book-stores in the city.

"WOMAN'S RIGHTS under the Law: In Three Lectures, delivered in Boston, January, 1861, by Caroline H. Dall, author of 'Woman's Right to Labor,' 'Historical Pictures Retouched,' &c. — Boston, Walker, Wise, & Company. 245 Washington St., 1861."—pp. 164.

This excellent work is dedicated "To the friends of forsaken women throughout the world;" and it is so dedicated "because the lives of such women are the legitimate result of the spirit of the law." Its three lectures treat, 1, of the Oriental Estimate of Women, and the French Law in regard to them; 2, of the English Common Law; and 3, of the United States Law, with some thoughts on Human Rights.

A respectable clergyman once told us—as his reason for refusing to sign a remonstrance against the Fugitive Slave Law—"I am a law-abiding man." We are often tempted to maintain a lazy acquiescence in the theory that the law is, on the whole, right and best, because this theory excuses us from the great (and the thankless) labor of reforming it. In this book Mrs. Dall has shown us the evidence that, in regard to women, as in some other points, "the law of God, positive law and positive morality, sometimes coincide, sometimes do *not* coincide, and sometimes *conflict*." A thorough assurance of this must needs precede any hearty and persistent efforts at a reform in the law. American women greatly need information upon the points here treated of. Those who know the wide intelligence, diligence, and conscientious faithfulness of Mrs. Dall, will need no assurance of her ability to treat this subject in a satisfactory manner. To others it may be said, first, that technical accuracy has been secured in it by the revision of manuscript and proofs by the Hon. Samuel E. Sewall; and next, that this book, in beauty of form, clearness of statement, and depth of interest, is a worthy companion to the works previously published on other branches of the subject, by the same author."

"THE HARBINGER OF HEALTH: containing Medical Prescriptions for the Human Body and Mind. By Andrew Jackson Davis. New York: A. J. Davis & Co., 274 Canal St., 1861.—pp. 428.

This book, written in the peculiar dialect of spiritualism, treats of various matters in physiology, pathology, and the treatment of disease, recommending the judicious use of human magnetism in nearly all cases of disordered health, and especially the use of one's own magnetic energy on different parts of his own body. A large portion of it consists of diagnoses and prescriptions, and a copious alphabetical index assists the student to find both diseases and remedies. The writings and the life of Andrew Jackson Davis assure us that this work is an honest attempt to benefit the sick and suffering. It is for sale by Bela Marsh, at 14 Bromfield street.

☞ "A Northern Printer" (whom we understand to be George K. Radcliffe of Haverhill) has printed Charles Sumner's admirable speech at the Worcester Convention on a broad sheet, intending to circulate it among those soldiers who have gone to the war from Haverhill, and among the families in Essex County and beyond it, as far as the means are furnished him. Let those help him who would redeem the Republican party from the disgrace of disregarding the counsels of their best and ablest man.

ANOTHER ACT OF TREACHERY. The only arrest for treason in Iowa has been that of George Frane of Rochester, Cedar county, who, it is alleged, wrote a letter to the rebel sheriff of Bates county, Mo., informing him that Coppic, of John Brown notoriety, had left Northern Missouri for the purpose of recruiting men in Iowa, and was to go back to the army on a certain day by the Hannibal and St. Joseph railroad, and that he should be intercepted at all hazards. The proof of such information being sent is satisfactory. Coppic and his company were intercepted, and he and one of his men killed, and several others were severely wounded. Frane has confessed privately that he gave the information above specified; but his own admission was not held legally sufficient to convict him, and he was discharged. He is, however, a fugitive from the popular wrath.—*Journal*.

☞ Perhaps the foregoing explains the origin of that diabolical outrage in Western Missouri, the partial burning of the Little Platte River bridge, so as to make it give way under a train of cars containing nearly one hundred passengers. Coppic perished at that place. The incidents were given in the *Liberator*, Sept. 13th, and on the 27th a sketch of Coppic's life was given by his friend Mr. Hinton.

☞ We learn that A. T. Foss held a very large and impressive meeting at Brattleboro', Vt., last Sunday evening. Rev. William H. Channing was present, and made an earnest and congratulatory speech.

IMPORTANT ORDER IN REGARD TO SLAVES. The following order was sent out with the commanders of the forces accompanying the Naval expedition:—

WAR DEPARTMENT, Oct. 14, 1861.

SIR,—In conducting military operations within States declared by the proclamation of the President to be in a state of insurrection, you will govern yourself, so far as persons held to service under the laws of such States are concerned, by the principles of the letters addressed by me to Major-General Butler on the 30th of May and 8th of August, copies of which are herewith furnished to you. As special directions, adapted to special circumstances, cannot be given, much must be referred to your own discretion, as Commanding General of the expedition.

You will, however, in general avail yourself of the services of any persons, whether fugitives from labor or not, who may offer them to the National Government; you will employ such persons in such services as they may be fitted for, either as ordinary employés, or, if special circumstances seem to require it, in any other capacity, with such organizations, in squads, companies, or otherwise, as you deem most beneficial to the service. This, however, not to mean a general arming of them for military service. You will assure all loyal masters that Congress will provide just compensation to them for the loss of the services of the persons so employed. It is believed that the course thus indicated will best secure the substantial rights of loyal masters, and the benefits to the United States of the services of all disposed to support the Government, while it avoids all interference with the social systems of local institutions of every State, beyond that which insurrection makes unavoidable, and which a restoration of peaceful relations to the Union, under the Constitution, will immediately remove. Respectfully, SIMON CAMERON, Secretary of War.

Brig. Gen. T. W. SHERMAN, commanding expedition to the Southern coast.

BATTLE OF BALL'S BLUFF.

The last *Liberator* contained the brief and incorrect notice that first arrived here respecting the disastrous battle of Edwards Ferry, or, more properly, of Ball's Bluff. Numerous contradictory reports about it have since been in circulation. We give, below, an abstract of the official report, lately received, from Edward W. Hinks, Colonel of the 19th Massachusetts Volunteers, commanding Baker's Brigade.

Col. Hinks, proceeding to Harrison's Island to support Gen. Baker, found that he had been killed, and that everything was in deplorable confusion, his column having been entirely routed, and being then in precipitate retreat, throwing away their arms, deserting their killed and wounded, and leaving many prisoners in the hands of the enemy. Col. Hinks at once took the command, and endeavored to restore order, sending the 19th Massachusetts Regiment to the front, on the Virginia side of the Island, to oppose the anticipated advance of the enemy. He commenced the gathering of the wounded, and the rescue of small parties of our defeated troops on the Virginia shore, but the boats used for crossing thither had been swamped and lost in the precipitate and disorderly retreat, and the small boats and rafts proved miserably insufficient. No further Federal reinforcements came to the Island.

The Confederate Commander, being asked by a flag of truce, refused permission to remove the wounded, except a few whose injuries seemed fatal. He also refused to let the Surgeon cross and treat the wounded, except on condition of his remaining a prisoner. A party of ten men, however, were graciously permitted to bury the dead on the Virginia shore at night.

During the night, a retreat was effected, in good order and without accident, to the Maryland shore, assisted by a portion of the Massachusetts 2d, on this side the river.

Col. Hinks's estimate of loss, among the 2,100 Federal troops engaged, is—Dead, 150; Wounded, 250; Prisoners, 500. *Large* numbers of wounded and unwounded were drowned when the boats were swamped, as well as in attempts to swim the river during the night. The bodies of the killed were rifled of all valuables by the enemy.

Lieut. Col. Palfrey, commanding the 20th Regiment Massachusetts Volunteers, reports to Gov. Andrew that seven companies of the above Regiment, with a portion of the Massachusetts 15th, were also engaged on the Virginia shore, greatly outnumbered by the enemy, and suffered very serious losses, amounting nearly to fifty per cent. of the 318 rank and file engaged, and more than that proportion of the officers.

The following despatch from Lt. Col. Palfrey, of the Mass. 20th, has been received at the State House. It gives an accurate account of the casualties to the officers of that regiment:—

TAKEN PRISONERS.—Col. Wm. Raymond Lee, of Roxbury; Major Paul J. Revere, of Boston; First Lieut. George B. Perry, of Boston, Adjutant Charles L. Pierson, Salem, and Assistant Surgeon Edward H. Revere, of Boston.

DROWNED.—Lieutenants Alois Babo, of Boston, and Reinhold Wesselhoeft, of do., both of Company C., probably drowned.

KILLED.—Lieut. W. L. Putnam, of Roxbury.

WOUNDED.—Captain Ferdinand Dreher, of Boston, of Company C., badly wounded. Captain George A. Schmitt, of Cambridge, badly wounded. Lieut. Jas. J. Lowell, of Cambridge, of Co. E., slightly. He is doing well. Lieut. O. W. Holmes, Jr., of Boston, Co. A., slightly. Doing well. Capt. John C. Putnam, of Boston, Co. A., right arm gone. Doing well. All the other officers are safe.

WASHINGTON, October 28.

ORDERS ISSUED, THANKING THE TROOPS ENGAGED IN THE BATTLE AT BALL'S BLUFF. The following Order has been issued:—

"*Headquarters Army of the Potomac*, Washington, Oct. 26, 1861.

General Order, No. 32. The Major General commanding the Army of the Potomac desires to offer his thanks and to express his admiration of their conduct, to the officers and men of the detachments of the 15th and 20th Massachusetts, 1st California and Tammany regiments, and 1st U. S. Artillery and Rhode Island Battery engaged in the affair of Monday last, near Harrison's Island. The gallantry and discipline there displayed deserved a more fortunate result, but situated as those troops were, cut off alike from retreat and reinforcements, and attacked by an overwhelming force of from five to seven thousand, it was not possible that the issue could be successful. Under happier auspices such devotion will insure victory. The General commanding feels increased confidence in the troops composing Gen. Stone's division, and is sure when next they meet the enemy, they will fully retrieve this check, for which they are not accountable.

By order of Major General MCCLELLAN.

S. WILLIAMS, Ass't Adj't General."

☞ The Washington correspondent of the New York *Tribune* says that the death of Col. Baker of Oregon has caused great mourning in the family of President Lincoln. It was the desire of the President and Mrs. Lincoln that the body of Col. Baker should be taken to the White House and placed in the East Room, but that course was not practicable.

TWO THOUSAND REBELS ROUTED BY THREE HUNDRED OF FREMONT'S BODY GUARD. The following is a special dispatch to the St. Louis *Republican*:

"*Head-quarters Western Department, Government Station, Missouri, Oct.* 26. The following dispatch has been received, announcing a most brilliant victory at Springfield by Gen. Fremont's Body Guard, numbering 150 men:—

NEAR BOLIVAR, Oct. 26. *General*: I respectfully report that yesterday, at 4 P. M., I met at Springfield about 2000 rebels formed in line of battle. They gave me a very warm reception, but your guard, with one feeling, made a charge, and in less than three minutes the enemy were completely routed. We cleared the city of every rebel and retired, it being near night and not feeling able to keep the place with so small a force.

Major White's command did not participate in the charge. I have seen charges, but such brilliant bravery I have never seen and did not expect. Their war-cry, 'Fremont and the Union,' broke forth like thunder. (Signed,) CHARLES SEAGONI, Major Commanding Body Guard."

Col. John M. Richardson, who rode over to the vicinity of Springfield last evening, says Seagoni was guided to the town from Jefferson to the Mount Vernon road, by Judge Owens.

The rebel camp was just out of the city. Seagoni was compelled to pass through a lane and let down a number of fence rails before he could charge on the foe, thus drawing their fire. There was a good deal of street firing in Springfield and from the houses.

Two secessionists who ran out of their houses and fired at the Body Guard were killed. Seagoni was advised of the force of the rebels, but he was determined to have a fight. Col. Pierce, said to be from Arkansas, commanded one of the rebel regiments.

It is thought the cause of the increased rebel force at Springfield was the large amount of plunder gathered there for some weeks past, which, it is stated, they intended to take South with them, but which will of course fall into our hands. The loss of either side is not stated.

OFFICIAL ACCOUNT OF THE NAVAL ENGAGEMENT BELOW NEW ORLEANS. *Washington, Oct.* 25. Commodore McKean's despatches have been received at the Navy Department. Captain Pope of the Richmond, reports that the hole made in her by the ram was two feet below the water line, and five inches in circumference. At the first alarm the men coolly repaired to quarters, and as the ram passed abreast of the Richmond the entire port battery was discharged at her, with what effect it was impossible to discover owing to the darkness.

A red light was shown as a signal of danger, and the squadron got under weigh in a very few minutes, having slipped their cables. The Richmond covered the retreat. The Preble went over the bar, while the Richmond and Vincennes grounded. The enemy now coming down the river, with five steamers, commenced at us, while we returned the fire from our port battery and rifled gun on the poop, our shot however falling short, while their shell burst on all sides of us, and several passed directly over the ship.

At 9.30 Commander Handy, of the Vincennes, mistaking my signal to the ships outside the bar to get under weigh, for a signal for him to abandon his ship, came on board the Richmond with all his officers and a large number of the crew, the remainder having gone on board the Water Witch. Commander Handy, before leaving his ship, had placed a lighted slow match at the magazine. Having waited a reasonable time for an explosion, I directed Commander Handy to return to his ship with his crew, and to start his water, and if necessary at his own discretion to throw overboard his small guns, for the purpose of lightening the ship, and to carry out his kedge with a cable to heave off by.

At ten A. M. the enemy ceased firing, and withdrew up the river. During the engagement a shell entered our quarter port, and one of the boats was stove by another shell. Capt. Pope reports that the Vincennes and Richmond are both afloat, and the leak of the latter so reduced that the small engines keep the ship free. It is only temporary, and the ship will have to go to some place and have three planks put in.

I have received rifled guns, and have placed the 32-pounder on the forecastle, and a 12-pounder on the poop. Could I have possibly managed this ship in any other way than keeping her head up and down the river, I would have stopped at Pilot-town to give battle, but this was found too hazardous, owing to her extreme length. The attempt was made, but a broadside could not be brought to bear without running the ship ashore.

☞ The affair near Lebanon, Mo., in which eighty-eight Federal soldiers attacked and routed at least four hundred rebels, was truly a gallant one, and its details, as sent by telegraph, have been confirmed. It occurred on the 13th ult. A Rolla correspondent of the St. Louis *Democrat* says of this action:—

"The number killed was greater than was reported. A detachment was sent to bring in the dead. The enemy were found on the field with a flag of truce, engaged in the same duty. Sixty-two of the enemy's dead were buried, and one was killed on our side. Four of the rebel wounded have since died, making a total of sixty-six killed on their side. A captain and lieutenant were killed. The Rev. Mr. Ernest, a Methodist priest of Lebanon, is reported among the dead. We took eighty-one guns, mostly double-barreled shot guns, which were broken around the trees by our men.

The enemy were posted on foot as infantry, with their horses in the rear, held by every fourth man. Captain Switzler fired a pistol in order to draw the enemy's fire. As was intended, the rebels fired their pieces, killing Tucker through an opening in the brush. Our men then made the charge, rushing forward with loud yells, which terrified the rebels' horses, and caused a regular stampede. Short work was made. Some managed to get on their horses. One hundred and ten of the latter fled to Lebanon riderless. The enemy were pursued a mile and a half; thirty-four prisoners were taken. Lieut. Montgomery sabred six men, and a negro servant killed two and brought in one prisoner. The rebels numbered four hundred, while but eighty-eight of our men were in the engagement—about one to five. The achievement was a brilliant one. The rebel prisoners said they did not expect to fight all officers; in their innocence they believed that because our men all had swords, they were consequently officers."

☞ The taking of Lexington, Mo., on the 16th ult. by Major White, was done by 150 men. The rebel garrison numbered 400, under the notorious Capt. Shelby. Major White sent forward a spy and discovered the strength of the enemy. The surprise was so complete that the rebels knew nothing of the approach of our force until a volley was poured in upon them. They threw down their arms in the greatest confusion and fled in every direction. Our men pursued them for eight or nine miles and took a great quantity of pistols, guns, knapsacks, and other articles, which they threw away to facilitate their flight.

Besides these, they found two pieces of cannon at the post. There are now there more than one hundred of the rebels, sick or wounded.

Portions of the town are utterly laid waste, and there is actual suffering among the inhabitants for food and the necessaries of life. The stores and many dwellings have been stripped. The rebels took everything they could carry, and wantonly destroyed much that they were obliged to leave.

FEDERAL VICTORY AT ROMNEY, VIRGINIA. *Washington, Oct. 27th.* Lieut. Gen. Scott to-day received the following despatch, dated Romney, Va., Oct. 26, P. M. "In obedience to your orders, I moved on this place at 12 o'clock last night, attacked the enemy at 3 o'clock this afternoon and drove in their outposts, and after a brilliant action of two hours, completely routed them, taking all their cannon and much of their camp equipage, and many prisoners. Our loss is but trifling, but cannot say to what extent.

Brig. Gen. B. F. KELLY, Commanding."

THE MESSAGE OF GOVERNOR HARRIS, OF TENNESSEE. The Nashville *Union* of Oct. 9th, contains the message of Gov. Harris, delivered to the Legislature on the day preceding. We make the following extracts from it:—

"It is due to Tennessee to say, and it may be said without disparagement to other States, that our people have done more in the work of raising, organizing, arming and equipping an army than was ever before accomplished by any State in the same length of time. Having no military organization, and almost without arms, and destitute of authority to raise troops or procure arms until the passage of the act of the 6th of May last, within less than two months from the passage of this act thirty thousand volunteers were organized and thrown into the field.

Too much credit cannot be awarded to the patriotic people of the State for the alacrity with which they have rushed to the standard of their country upon the first intimation of necessity. I have been compelled to decline the services of a large number tendered in excess of the demand. In addition to the provisional army of the State, a number of regiments have been raised for Confederate service, making in the aggregate thirty-eight infantry regiments, seven cavalry battalions and sixteen artillery companies, which Tennessee has contributed to the common defence."

THE GREAT NAVAL EXPEDITION.—Three days ago information appeared in all the papers, of an immense naval expedition, which had long been in secret preparation, and which was to sail from Annapolis, with sealed orders, for some part of the South.

Its departure was first delayed by a storm, and then a day was given to rehearsal, at Fortress Monroe, of the complicated movements of landing with surf-boats. Meantime, it was reported that the clerk of the commanding officer had absconded, carrying with him the maps, charts, plans and sealed orders of the expedition. This rumor was afterwards contradicted. This fleet actually sailed from Fortress Monroe, on Tuesday morning, Oct. 29th. How unspeakably greater, every way, would the effect of this expedition have been upon the enemy, had its departure been preceded by a proclamation of Freedom to the Slaves.

☞ Lt. Porter, of the Powhatan, reports, arrived at Maranham Sept. 24th, only five days after the Sumter had left. The latter had cruised for two or three days at the mouth of that harbor to overhaul the brig Maria, expected from New York. The Governor of Maranham treated the officers of the Sumter with every courtesy, promising them that they might sell the Maria there if she was captured, and supplied her with coal, but was unwilling to do the same by the Powhatan. On entering Maranham, the Sumter got ashore and lost her false keel, and when she left was leaking. She left under sail, having housed the smoke stack. She had taken no prizes since the Abbie Bradford, and it was understood that her motto was to burn, sink and destroy, particularly Boston and Eastern vessels. Lieut. Porter left Sept. 28th, and put into St. Thomas Oct. 9, where his last despatches are dated.

THE FRIENDLY SLAVE. One of the officers of the Massachusetts 20th, who was in the battle at Ball's Bluff from early morning until late at night, states that he did not leave the Virginia shore until 9 P. M., when he found a friendly negro, who, in the hour of darkness, ferried him across in his skiff to a place of safety upon the Maryland shore.

☞ The General Sherman who has command of the coast expedition is the Sherman of artillery renown, in connection with the battery of his name. The Sherman in command in Kentucky is the brother of Senator Sherman, and when the rebellion broke out was residing in Louisiana, from which he hastened to offer his services to the Government.

COMPLETION OF THE PACIFIC TELEGRAPH—THE FIRST MESSAGE.

ST. JOSEPH, Mo., Oct. 25. The Pacific Telegraph was completed to San Francisco yesterday, and was in fine working order last evening. The first through message transmitted over the line was from Stephen J. Field, Chief Justice of California, in the absence of the Governor, to Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States. In consequence of the line being closed East of here before we received notice of the line working last night, we were obliged to hold the message, with others, over night. The enterprise is a complete success. Press despatches and private business forwarded from here up to 12 o'clock last night, were laid before the public in California this morning.

CLEVELAND, Ohio, Oct. 25. The following message from H. W. Carpenter, President of the California State Telegraph Company was received to-day:

SAN FRANCISCO, Oct. 25. *To J. H. Wade, President of the Pacific Telegraph Company*: We greet you across the Continent. You beat us by a day or two, but we forgive you, and for it receive our congratulations. (Signed) H. W. CARPENTER.

NEW YORK, Oct. 25. The overland telegraph to California is completed. The following dispatch was received this afternoon:—

SAN FRANCISCO, Oct. 25. *To the Mayor of New York*: San Francisco to New York sends greeting, and congratulates her on the completion of the enterprise which connects the Pacific with the Atlantic. May the prosperity of both cities be increased thereby, and the projectors of this important work meet with honor and reward." H. F. TESCHEMAKER, *Mayor of San Francisco.*

SAN FRANCISCO, Oct. 25. An announcement has just been made of the completion of the last link of the Overland Telegraph. The Pacific to the Atlantic sends greeting, and may both oceans be dry before a foot of all the land that lies between them shall belong to any other than our united country.

The completion of the last link of the American Telegraph to this city connects Cape Race with the Golden Horn, traversing nearly 5000 miles with one continuous wire, and bringing those two points within two hours' telegraphic time of each other.

The next westward extension of the line will be via Behring's Straits to the north of the Amoor river, to which point the Russian government is already constructing a line, commencing at Moscow.

One very important feature in this project is the fact that when the line to the Amoor is finished from both sides, the whole world will be in telegraphic connection with but forty miles of submarine cable across Behring's Straits.

Pending the completion of the extension to the Amoor, it is proposed to establish at this port a line of mail steamers to China and Japan, bringing the Chinese mails and news to this city in twenty days. From hence the news will be telegraphed to New York or Cape Race, so as to reach Europe in advance of the despatches sent via the Red Sea route.

T. STARR KING'S GREETING FROM CALIFORNIA.—Rev. T. Starr King sends the following note of greeting from distant California:—

SAN FRANCISCO, Oct. 24th—8 P. M. *Editors Transcript*: All hail! A new bond of Union between Pacific and Atlantic! The lightning now goeth out of the West and shineth even to the East! Heaven preserve the Republic; and bless old Boston from hub to rim! THOS. STARR KING.

NEW YORK, Oct. 26. The following is the reply of the Mayor of New York to the despatch of the Mayor of San Francisco:—

"New York returns her greetings to San Francisco. Let the union thus so happily consummated between them ever remain unimpaired. The Union forever, whether between the East and the West or the North and South. Let it be continued and preserved."

GREETINGS TO THE PRESIDENT FROM CALIFORNIA.—*Washington, Oct. 27th.* Since Friday, when the Pacific and Atlantic Telegraph was opened, the President has received a number of dispatches over the line. These embrace the announcement from the President of the Telegraph Company that the line is completed, and express a hope that it may be a bond of perpetuity between the States of the Atlantic and those of the Pacific.

Gov. Downey of California expresses in the name of the people of that State their congratulations at the completion of the noble enterprise that places them in immediate communication with the Capital and with their fellow-citizens in the East, and expressing the hope that the golden links of the Constitution may ever unite us a happy and free people.

The President and Secretary of the Pioneers, the oldest organization on the Pacific coast, send greetings to the President of the United States as a society loyal, and as a State loyal. They pray God to save one and indivisible our glorious Union.

Leland Stanford sends the following: "To-day California is but a second's distance from the National capital. Her patriotism with the electric current throbs responsive with that of her sister States, and hold civil liberty and union above all price."

The Grand Division of the Sons of Temperance sends the following:—

"To the President of the United States greeting: Liberty, Union and Temperance, one and inseparable forever. By order. JOHN WADE, P. G. W. P."

The Mayor of Stockton transmits the following:—"Stockton sends greeting to your Excellency, with the assurance that she is true to the Constitution and the laws, and for the thorough crushing out of rebellion."

Gov. Nye, in behalf of the Territory of Nevada, says: "Mountain bound Nevada avails herself of the earliest opportunity to send upon the wings of lightning to her National home assurances of her filial attachment to the Union as formed by our fathers, and her earnest sympathy with those who are striving to maintain it."

The following is dated Capitol, Carson City, Nevada Territory, through her first Legislative Assembly: "To the President and people of the United States, greeting: Nevada for the Union, ever true and loyal. The last born of the nation will be the last to desert the flag. Our aid to the extent of our ability can be relied upon to crush the rebellion.

(Signed) J. L. VAN BAKELEN, *President*."

☞ FRATERNITY LECTURES. ☜

FOURTH SERIES.

The public of Boston and vicinity are respectfully informed that the FOURTH SERIES of FRATERNITY LECTURES continue weekly at TREMONT TEMPLE.

The lecture on Tuesday Evening, Nov. 5, will be by REV. T. WENTWORTH HIGGINSON,

To be followed on successive TUESDAY EVENINGS by Lectures from the following gentlemen:—

November 12—RALPH WALDO EMERSON.
" 19—WILLIAM R. ALGER.
" 26—HENRY WARD BEECHER.
December 3—FREDERICK DOUGLASS.
" 10—DANIEL S. DICKINSON.
" 17—EDWIN H. CHAPIN.
" 24—EZRA H. HEYWOOD.
" 31—WILLIAM S. STUDLEY.
January 7—WENDELL PHILLIPS.

Organist - - HOWARD M. DOW, Esq.

Doors to be opened at 6 1-2 o'clock. Lectures to commence at 7 1-2 o'clock, precisely.

A limited number of tickets (admitting the bearer and a lady,) are offered for sale at $2 each; to be obtained at Oliver Ditson & Co.'s, No. 277 Washington street, John C. Hayes & Co.'s, 33 Court street, D. O. Goodrich's, 302 Washington street, of the several members of the Fraternity hitherto having the disposal of tickets, and at the Tremont Temple. Oct. 11

☞ A. T. FOSS, an Agent of the American A. S. Society, will speak on "The War," at Keene, Sunday, November 3.

☞ THE TWENTY-EIGHTH NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY SUBSCRIPTION ANNIVERSARY.—The exigencies of the cause having this year occasioned an earlier call for funds than usual, friends at home and abroad are entreated to advance and increase their subscriptions as far as practicable,—addressing them to WILLIAM I. BOWDITCH, Esq., *Treas. Am. A. S. Society, Boston.* MARIA WESTON CHAPMAN.

☞ AID FOR FUGITIVE SLAVES.—The fund raised to aid fugitive slaves is now, and has been for some time, exhausted. Those who are disposed to contribute to this deserving charity are respectfully invited to leave their contributions with FRANCIS JACKSON, Hollis st., or R. F. WALLCUT, at the Anti-Slavery office.

☞ NOTICE.—Mrs. H. F. M. BROWN, of Cleveland, Ohio, has been appointed an Agent for the *Anti-Slavery Standard*; and is fully authorized to receive new subscriptions to the same, as well as payments on old accounts. Mrs. Brown's address is 288 Superior street.

☞ MERCY B. JACKSON, M. D., having had fifteen years' experience in the Homœopathic treatment of diseases, offers her professional services to the Ladies and Children of Boston and vicinity.

References.—David Thayer, M. D.; Luther Clark, M. D.; John M. Tarball, M. D., Boston. Eliphalet Clark, M. D., Portland, Me.

Rooms No. 20 Bulfinch street. Office hours from 2 to 4 P. M.

TERMS REDUCED,

AT the Round Hill Water-Cure in Northampton, Mass., to $7 and $10 per week. Open Summer and Winter. DR. HALSTED'S success in the treatment of Woman's diseases is well known. The cure is speedy and reliable. Those brought on beds, even, are soon enabled to walk. Over four hundred cases of spinal diseases, paralysis and loss of the use of limbs have been restored; and numerous cures have been made of various stubborn difficulties which had lingered without help for years. For the success in treating more ordinary complaints, and the great favor given the Turkish Chemical and other Baths, see circular sent gratis.

Needing a little change, and desirous to confer as well as to receive benefit, Dr. H. will make a few professional visits, travelling expenses being paid, without charge. Northampton, Oct. 30.

Woman's Rights under the Law.

THREE Lectures delivered in Boston, January, 1861, by Mrs. C. H. Dall.
I. The Oriental Estimate and the French Law.
II. The English Common Law.
III. The United States Law, and some Thoughts on Human Rights.
16mo., cloth, 63 cts.
Published by WALKER, WISE & CO., 245 Washington street, Boston.

Uniform with
Woman's Right to Labor, 63 cts.
Practical Illustrations of the same, 63 cts.
Historical Pictures Retouched, $1.00.
All of which are sent *free* by mail on receipt of the price.
Oct. 25—3tis

THE most able and brilliant book, called forth by the present struggle, is

THE REJECTED STONE:

Or, Insurrection vs. Resurrection in America.

By a Native of Virginia. 12mo., flexible covers—50 cts. Published, and sent free by mail, on receipt of the price, by WALKER, WISE & CO., 245 Washington street, Boston.
Oct. 25—3tis

Poetry.

From the Atlantic Monthly for November.

THE WASHERS OF THE SHROUD.

BY JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL.

Along a river-side, I know not where,
I walked last night in mystery of dream;
A chill creeps curdling yet beneath my hair,
To think what chanced me by the pallid gleam
Of a moon-wraith that waned through haunted air.

Pale fire-flies pulsed within the meadow mist
Their halos, wavering thistle-downs of light;
The loon, that seemed to mock some goblin tryst,
Laughed; and the echoes, huddling in affright,
Like Odin's hounds, fled baying down the night.

Then all was silent, till there smote my ear
A movement in the stream that checked my breath:
Was it the slow plash of a wading deer?
But something said, "This water is of Death!
The Sisters wash a Shroud,—ill thing to hear!"

I, looking then, beheld the ancient Three,
Known to the Greek's and to the Norseman's creed,
That sit in shadow of the mystic Tree,
Still crooning, as they weave their endless brede,
One song: "Time was, Time is, and time shall be."

No wrinkled crones were they, as I had deemed,
But fair as yesterday, to-day, to-morrow,
To mourner, lover, poet, ever seemed;
Something too deep for joy, too high for sorrow,
Thrilled in their tones, and from their faces gleamed.

"Still men and nations reap as they have strawn,"—
So sang they, working at their task the while,—
"The fatal raiment must be cleansed ere dawn:
For Austria? Italy? the Sea-Queen's Isle?
O'er what quenched grandeur must our shroud be drawn?

"Or is it for a younger, fairer corse,
That gathered States for children round his knees,
That tamed the wave to be his posting-horse,
The forest-feller, linker of the seas,
Bridge-builder, hammerer, youngest son of Thor's?

"What make we, murmur'st thou, and what are we?
When empires must be wound, we bring the shroud,
The time-old web of the implacable three:
Is it too coarse for him, the young and proud?
Earth's mightiest deigned to wear it; why not he?"

"Is there no hope?" I moaned. "So strong, so fair!
Our Fowler, whose proud bird would brook erewhile
No rival's swoop in all our western air!
Gather the ravens, then, in funeral file,
For him, life's morn-gold bright yet in his hair?

"Leave me not hopeless, ye unpitying dames!
[illegible], half-seeing. Tell me, ye who scanned
The stars, Earth's elders, still must noblest aims
Be traced upon oblivious ocean-sands?
Must Hesper join the wailing ghosts of names?"

"When grass-blades stiffen with red battle-dew,
Ye deem we choose the victors and the slain:
Say, choose we them that shall be leal and true
To the heart's longing, the high faith of brain!
Yet here the victory is, if ye but know.

"Three roots bear up Dominion: Knowledge, Will,—
These two are strong, but stronger yet the third,—
Obedience, the great tap-root, that still,
Knit round the rock of Duty, is not stirred,
Though the storm's ploughshare spend its utmost skill.

"Is the doom sealed for Hesper? 'Tis not we
Denounce it, but the Law before all time:
The brave makes danger opportunity;
The waverer, paltering with the chance sublime,
Dwarfs it to peril: which shall Hesper be?

"Hath he let vultures climb his eagle's seat
To make Jove's bolts purveyors of their maw?
Hath he the Many's plaudits found more sweet
Than wisdom? held Opinion's wind for law?
Then let him hearken for the headsman's feet!

"Rough are the steps, slow-hewn in flintiest rock,
[illegible] slippery those with gold
[illegible] mock:
[illegible] sceptre hold,
Who, given a Fate to [illegible] the block.

"We sing old sagas, songs of weal and woe,
Mystic because too cheaply understood;
Dark sayings are not ours; men hear and know,
See Evil weak, see only strong the Good,
Yet hope to balk Doom's fire with walls of tow.

"Time Was unlocks the riddle of Time Is,
That offers choice of glory and of gloom;
The solver makes Time Shall Be surely his.—
But hasten, Sisters! for even now the tomb
Grates its slow hinge and calls from the abyss."

"But not for him," I cried, "not yet for him,
Whose large horizon, westering, star by star
Wins from the void to where on ocean's rim
The sunset shuts the world with golden bar,—
Not yet his thews shall fail, his eye grow dim!

"His shall be larger manhood, saved for those
That walk unblenching through the trial-fires;
Not suffering, but faint heart is worst of woes,
And he no base-born son of craven sires,
Whose eye need droop, confronted with his foes.

"Tears may be ours, but proud, for those who win
Death's royal purple in the enemy's lines:
Peace, too brings tears; and 'mid the battle-din,
The wiser ear some text of God divines;
For the sheathed blade may rust with darker sin.

"God, give us peace!—not such as lulls to sleep,
But sword on thigh, and brow with purpose knit!
And let our Ship of State to harbor sweep,
Her ports all up, her battle-lanterns lit,
And her leashed thunders gathering for their leap!"

So said I, with clenched hands and passionate pain,
Thinking of dear ones by Potomac's side:
Again the loon laughed, mocking; and again
The echoes bayed far down the night, and died,
While, waking, I recalled my wandering brain.

From the Cambridge Chronicle.

WHAT DOST THOU HERE?

BY C. F. O.

The voice of the Lord to the wilderness came,
"Elijah! what doest thou here?"
And the prophet arose at the terrible sound,
And came forth from the cavern of fear.
"What doest thou here? The Lord has his need,
And to flee from his service is vain;
Arise, and return, and the monarchs anoint
Over Syria and Israel to reign.
The prophet anoint who shall stand in thy place,
Thy mantle cast over his head,
For the wrath of the Lord is abroad in the land,
The wicked shall faint with their dread.
Who escapes from the sword of Hazael, before
The sword of fierce Jehu shall quail,
And Elisha the remnant shall utterly slay,
Who have bowed to the worship of Baal."

The Angel of God stands and calls us to-day;
Come forth, for the battle is here,
And the conflict at hand with oppression and wrong,
And the forces of evil draw near.
They would trample down justice and truth in the land,
With fetters would chain up the right,
And smother the life-breath of Liberty out
With the ruffianly grasp of their might.
Arise from the couch of your indolent ease!
Shake off the cold palsy of fear!
Arise from your dreams and your greed and your gold!
For the Angel of God standeth here.
The prophet-age coming this age must anoint,—
Gird your loins, make no laggard delay,
And think not to bide, for the Lord calls the roll,
He musters his armies to-day.

AUTUMN.

The melancholy days are come,
The saddest of the year;
Of wailing winds, and naked woods,
And meadows brown and sere.

Selections.

THE NEW YORK HERALD.

From the secession of South Carolina to the fall of Sumter, the *Herald* outdid all the journals of the South in its advocacy of the Southern rebellion. It justified it as a wise and necessary defence against the anti-slavery sentiment of the Republican party and of certain Northern men, precisely as it now clamors for the arrest and incarceration of the same men for presuming to form a judgment upon a system which has well-nigh proved our national ruin. It endeavored to bring up public opinion to the point of acknowledging the independence of the Southern Confederacy. It labored to bring about a compromise with the rebels by demanding that everything they asked for should be granted. It denounced any measure of coercion, any attempt to enforce the laws, and insisted that our troops should be withdrawn from Southern forts. It never ceased in its abuse of Mr. Lincoln and his Administration, declaring again and again in these terms and in similar language, that the people "would hold it to a bitter responsibility for the shameful imbecility and fanaticism with which it was betraying the interests of the country." It appealed to the people of the North, and especially to the capitalists of this city, of Boston, and of Philadelphia, to stop the wheels of Government by refusing to lend it a dollar, that it might be thus coerced into yielding to the South all that it demanded at the point of the bayonet, and he compelled to compound a peace. It comforted the South, and threatened the North with the dire calamity of a divided North, and a consequent bloody civil war among ourselves. It predicted the ruin that was to visit us by the overthrow of all our trade, which would be removed to Southern cities to flourish under a Southern tariff. It declared that the North-West would thus be seduced by their interest from their allegiance, and would desert the Government and the Union for the sake of free goods smuggled in under the Confederate tariff. It denounced any attempt at a blockade of our ports as illegal and impossible. It threatened the country with an acknowledgment of the Southern Confederacy by the great Powers of Europe, declaring that it was certain to be made before the middle of the year—July last. And above all, it urged that the bastard Constitution, conceived and brought forth at Montgomery, was so much superior to the Federal Constitution that it should be substituted for it, declaring that it would be accepted by the Northern people by an overwhelming majority. Nor did it do each one of these things once, but all of them many times. From the moment of the secession of South Carolina up to the 16th of April, when there was a mass meeting at the corner of Nassau and Fulton streets, for the special enlightenment—either one way or another—of the *Herald* establishment, that paper was uniform and persistent in its devotion to the cause of the insurrectionists, using all its ingenuity and ability, all its industry and power, to the one sole end and aim of establishing the rebellion upon the ruin of the Government and the degradation of the Northern people. Day after day, week after week, month after month, the *Herald* was consistent and earnest, and in its desire for the consummation of treason and the overthrow of the institutions of a free people, sometimes forgot its frivolity and flippancy, and in the devout sincerity of its purpose was even occasionally decent for a day or two together.

It would be easy to fill several columns with extracts to show that all we have here said is true to the letter; that it reiterated again and again its prophecies of the utter ruin, commercial and political, of the North, and the complete success of the rebellion; and that, to insure the fulfilment of these prophecies, it piled up, month after month, argument, persuasion, and menace, trusting to that great influence which it assumes to hold over the public mind to justify its wisdom and its forethought. Over a door to an inner office in that establishment was draped a Secession flag, as a preliminary to a display of the whole set from its windows, provided for that happy moment when New York, led by the *Herald*, should rise in revolt, and declare its adherence to the Southern rebellion. It would be easy, we say, to prove all this by page upon page of evidence from its own columns, and to show how it abounded with absurd forewarnings and dangerous appeals. But, as the greater includes the less, we shall content ourselves with a few significant passages advocating the adoption of the Montgomery Constitution as a substitute for the Federal Constitution, and the entire submission of the North to the usurpation of Jeff. Davis.

On Sunday last the *Herald* said: "There are few journals which have been so steady in their *devotion to the great constitutional principles* on which our institutions are based;" and "as to changing our mind on MINOR QUESTIONS OF POLICY when the circumstances of the times call for it, our readers need not be told that it is our habit to do so." We will turn to the file for March to see the character of that "devotion," and to learn what the *Herald* esteems "minor questions of policy."

On Sunday, the 17th of March last, exactly seven months ago, the *Herald* said:—

"Now, by the unanimous adoption of the new Constitution by the Southern Congress, the President, the Secretary of State and the Republican party, know *what the South wants;* and as there is nothing *unreasonable in their demands,* and as nothing less will satisfy the Southern States, the *best course* for the Border States, and all other States, North and South, to pursue, is to ADOPT THIS INSTRUMENT OF RECONSTRUCTION." * * *

The leading article of the *Herald* of March 19th is entitled "The Ultimatum of the South—What Ought the Administration to Do?" And it proceeds to tell its readers what, in most emphatic terms, beginning thus:—

"Mr. Lincoln and his advisers have, at length, an opportunity of throwing off the *selfishness, fanaticism, and suicidal imbecility* which have, so far, characterized the course of the present Administration, and of taking measures which cannot fail to secure a reconstruction of the Union within a limited period. The adoption by the Montgomery Congress of a Constitution is equivalent to a manifesto to the rest of the country, of the precise wants of the people of the seceding States. It may be regarded as the ultimatum of the South to the North, and as the *only* basis upon which the former will *consent to negotiate* with those WHOSE YOKE THEY HAVE RECENTLY THROWN OFF."

And the *Herald* then proceeds to show that this ultimatum is one which should be accepted by the North, for, it says:—

"There is *no point of difference* between the Constitution of the United States and that which has been adopted by the Southern Confederacy, in which *the provisions of the latter are not an improvement upon the former.*"

And again:—

"There is *no* part of it which cannot be consistently adopted by the North, and which will not commend itself to sober-minded, conservative citizens in the non-slaveholding portion of the Union, * * * and if submitted to the people of *all* the States, there is no question that it *would be acceded to by three-quarters of their whole number.*"

Such was the gauge the *Herald* took in March of the patriotism of the Northern people, and of their loyalty to the Constitution and the Union bequeathed them by their fathers. Another article in the same paper was devoted to a careful analysis of this Montgomery Constitution, which we were urged to adopt, with its "very important and most desirable improvements" on the old one, but which the Northern people have since thought it worth while, in spite of the *Herald*, to do something to defend. Its provisions in regard to slavery it put first "in the order of their importance," as follows:—

1. That African slavery in the Territories shall be *recognized and protected* by Congress and the Territorial Legislatures.
2. That the right to slaveholders of *transit* and SOJOURN in any State of the Confederacy, *with their slaves* and other property, shall be *recognized and respected.*
3. That the provision in regard to fugitive slaves shall extend to any slave *lawfully carried* from one State into another, and *there* escaping or taken away from his master.

We hardly need point out to the reader, that these propositions would legalize slavery all over the Union, permitting the slaveholder to reside where he pleased with his slaves, and setting aside, on his behalf, every law of the free States protecting the rights of a freeman. This the *Herald* labored to prove was the only basis on which the Union could be reconstructed, for, it said:—

"The constitution and law-makers of the Confederate States, and the people thereof, are really in earnest in this business, and have not the remotest idea of coming back under the existing Constitution and Government of the United States, upon any terms or any *tinkering* compromises whatever."

On the 20th of March the leading article of the *Herald* was entitled: "The Ultimatum of the South—Necessity of its Indorsement by *the City of New York.*" The adoption of the Constitution of the Southern Confederacy it pronounced a "cheering event," for the instrument was one admirably adapted "to the wants of the country in the present crisis," and "affording clear proof the skill, energy, and forethought, with which the Government of the new Republic are moulding its destinies." It again declared:—

"There is no point of difference between the Constitution of 1789, and that framed by the Congress at Montgomery, in which the *provisions of the latter are not an improvement upon the former.*"

But it improved upon this text, and appealed to the people of this city to begin the good work of inaugurating Northern insurrection and accepting service under Jeff. Davis and his fellow conspirators. It said:—

"The new Constitution is, in fact, the olive-branch which the South holds out to the North; and *whatever course may be pursued by the Lincoln Administration,* it is the *duty* of the people of *this city* to signify, with promptness, *their* readiness to accept it. * * * * Before six weeks it might be submitted to the popular vote, and would *undoubtedly be accepted by over three-fourths of the States.* * * * * It is especially necessary that the conservative *masses of this metropolis* SHOULD TAKE THE LEAD in endorsing the Constitution which the Confederate States of the South have adopted, and *of signifying their willingness to acquiesce in the same.*"

In two other articles in the *Herald* of March 20th the same policy—of its "minor questions of policy"—is advocated. The "masses" are appealed to; the "leading conservative men of the metropolis" are appealed to; the President is appealed to to convene Congress, and Congress is appealed to; and the West is appealed to; all to save the country by the adoption of the Montgomery Constitution. And finally a last appeal is made to the whole country thus:—

"The Southern Confederacy has a MIGHTY DESTINY before it, and the only way the Northern States can *share* it, and *be saved from ruin, is by adopting the new Constitution.*"

Is this enough? We think so. The *Herald* got its answer by-and-by; and from the time the "masses" paid it that memorable visit, to show how profoundly they had been moved by its labors on behalf of the Jeff. Davis conspiracy, how completely they were under the control and influence of that journal—from that time to now, the "masses," and "conservative leaders," the great "metropolis," the West, the East, in short the whole country, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from the Canada line to Mason and Dixon's, have given their estimate of the *Herald's* advice. And if there be anybody who believes that it does anything more than attempt to throw a flimsy disguise over these opinions now in its persistent efforts to sow discord, to arouse disturbances, to goad the Government to some rash act of foolish oppression, and to excite everywhere jealousies and prejudices that may lead to scenes of strife, then such person is possessed of a degree of credulity that is almost incredible.—*New York Tribune.*

MR. BEECHER ON FREMONT AND CONTRABANDS.

On Sabbath morning the following remarks of the Rev. Henry Ward Beecher were made, not in the sermon, but upon giving out a notice of meetings of ladies in the congregation, for the purpose of providing hospital stores for our armies, and particularly with reference to furnishing stores for the hospitals of St. Louis:—

"The poor West seems destined to neglect. We remember the fate of Kansas, when the cause of liberty was imperiled there. And now, in turn, the same cause hangs in suspense in Missouri. When right and justice are to be established, it would almost seem as if that were a reason for our Government to disown them. And I cannot but express my solemn conviction that both our Government, and in a still greater degree the community, have done great injustice to the cause in Missouri, in the treatment which has been bestowed on that noble man, Gen. Fremont. I have narrowly watched the course of things, not unacquainted with the reality of facts in the case; and it is my settled judgment that, partly from private ambition, partly from political reasons, and partly from calculating aspirations of rivals, the most unjust influences have been permitted to issue against this heroic man. My faith in his administrative ability is not a whit less than in 1856. For aught that we can see, he is second in military capacity to none of the able generals that are now serving their country. It has wisely been thought not fit for public journals to criticise the administration of our generals, or the plans of the Administration, in advance, nor until the whole results have been disclosed. It is impossible for men remote from the field, ignorant of the mingled political and military reasons that shape conduct, ignorant of the trials and difficulties, of the limitations and restraints of armies, to judge correctly, or criticise justly. But why is this moderation observed toward Gen. McClellan, and toward Gen. Anderson, in Kentucky, and his successors, but vociferously violated in the single instance of Gen. Fremont? For the Army of the Potomac no stint is given to means and implements. Missouri, if not neglected, is yet tardily supplied with a penurious hand. Every step is made matter of many-voiced criticism, in a spirit that shows that there is a foregone judgment, and that men are anxious to find reasons for purposes which they have already formed. Either let Gen. Fremont alone to work out the proper results of his campaign, or, if it is proper to subject him, at each step, to such abusive investigation and report, let the same liberty be indulged in the case of our other Generals. Not one word of the Army of the Potomac, and its noble leader; not one word of the Army of Western Virginia, and its indefatigable and cautious General; not one word of the management of affairs in Kentucky, under the administration of the noble Anderson, who has laid his health upon the altar of fidelity to his country; but against Fremont incessant, insidious, and unreasonable complaint. It is a shame; and there ought to be an indignation in the community that shall bring this trifling with the public interests committed to this man's hands to an end. His field is larger than that of any other army. His means are less. He has had neither the sympathy nor the help that he had a right to expect. And if this campaign shall fail in his hands, it is my solemn conviction that the public interests will have been sacrificed for the sake of putting out of the way a dangerous rival."

In the evening, prefacing a collection for the American Missionary Association, which was to be specifically employed for the religious and secular instruction of the 1,800 emancipated slaves in and around Fortress Monroe, Mr. Beecher said:—

"Gen. Butler called them 'contrabands,' and all people seemed relieved, and snapped at the expression as if it was a very felicitous thing. My friends, it is one of the great disadvantages of the position in which the North are placed that they dare not say *Freemen* and *Liberty* in this conflict. The South have this particular advantage: that they know that they are fighting for slavery, and say so. They are not complicated in that regard. Their issue is simple; and, though selfish and monstrous, they have the advantage which comes from simplicity and from manly frankness. The North are in a position in which they do not dare to say that they are fighting for liberty. We *are.* We are not fighting directly for emancipation; but we are fighting for that Constitution and for those institutions which we believe will inevitably bring liberty, in the process of time. I am well aware of the embarrassments in which Government is placed. I would not say a word, nor exert an influence, to complicate matters, or make their fearful responsibility more onerous. I would lighten their hands by every just, generous sentiment, and every charitable construction; but I must be allowed, and I think it is proper and right, to say, that it is not inconsistent with the soundest policy, and with the truest construction of duty, for the President, for the members of his cabinet, and for the generals of the army, to say that they shall give every constitutional advantage in this struggle to liberty, and that the animus with which they go forth is the maintenance of constitutional laws, because they embody essentially the spirit of liberty. Every attempt to dodge, and equivocate, and get around this question; every attempt to be sensitive in favor of slavery, and to make allowance in that direction, is very bad policy, to say nothing about justice and higher considerations. And we never shall carry this conflict victoriously through until men cease to have the sacred words of liberty stick in their throat, and make long circuits and periphrases when they come to that question; and I thank God that there is one man who dares to speak out upon it. That man, with whose name the cause of liberty was so intimately associated in the campaign of 1856, seems destined still to be identified with the progress of that sacred cause. He alone, of all our generals, seems to have had that far-seeing wisdom which springs from the very spirit and love of liberty. How simple and clear are his utterances. He alone dares to call slaves by their own odious name—*slaves*—a word which the Constitution would not utter, and which men sensitive of shame do not love to speak. He alone has declared that the slaves of men found in arms against their country shall become freemen. Mark it: Not, with verbal dexterity, 'contrabands;' not men without name, anomalous, nondescript; but, as if inspired from on high with the very spirit of religion, and acting according to its most undoubted inspirations, Fremont has declared that slaves shall become free men. The heart and conscience of the whole North responded to that touch. Therefore Fremont will never be forgiven."—*Ibid.*

THE GREAT QUESTION.

The great business of this country being to put down the present slaveholding rebellion, the question, How to put it down? is always in order for discussion, and cannot be kept out of sight and hearing by any agreement whatever. When we are told that we must yield to the Administration, and to its method of carrying on the war, we readily assent. We *must* yield to it; we *do* cheerfully, cordially and earnestly support all its measures for carrying on the war. It should have all the money and all the men it wants, and it should not be embarrassed by unfriendly and captious criticism. But when we are told that the Administration has definitely pronounced, once for all, against the policy of making use of the negroes, free and slave, as a weapon of war, we answer, first, by denying the statement, and, second, that even if its present policy tends that way, there is no certainty and no probability that it is so wedded to its theories or so embarrassed by its acts that its policy cannot be changed. Almost every man says he is ready for emancipation in case the war cannot be brought to a successful end without it. If the Republic or slavery has got to go to the wall, they say, let slavery go. They refuse, however, to admit the emergency. Probably the Administration now does the same. Very well; the question is one of opinion and fact. We don't deny that possibly the rebellion may be crushed without freeing the negroes. But we are and always have been for a short war. The present condition of affairs doubtless has its charms for contractors and adventurers; but the people, especially the business community, prefer a condition of peace, and will demand that the rebels shall be put down as speedily and as effectually as possible. If emancipation is the speediest and most effectual way, the people will sooner or later find it out. There is nothing in the history or the present position of the Administration which leads us to suppose that its modification of Gen. Fremont's proclamation is anything more than an indication of its policy toward Kentucky; perhaps its temporary policy there. It is obliged to deal with questions as they arise, and the events of a week or a day may induce or compel a sudden and absolute change of ground. Some new aspect of the contest, some new disaster, perhaps, may precipitate upon us the question of emancipation for immediate solution; and the New York *Herald* may be compelled to change front upon it again as suddenly as it has done within the last two months. The history of this war, on the part of both Government and people, is little more than a record of the discovery of mistakes and the rectification of blunders. Nobody is to blame. The press which supposed that the rebellion was a mere continuation of the system of bullying by which the South had always won its victories, and the statesmen who fancied it could be quelled by patiently waiting thirty, sixty, or ninety days, were equally honest, but have been proved equally mistaken.

Among the most pernicious blunders which have embarrassed our warlike operations, has been the blunder of underrating the strength of the rebels. As a matter of course, we have overrated the strength of the loyal States. In estimating the strength of the Confederate States, we have regarded slaves as an element of weakness, assuming the truth of the old adage, "so many slaves, so many enemies," and forgetting that they can never be the enemies of their masters until they are treated as friends by us; that at best, in their present position, they are but neutrals, and as such, an element of neither weakness nor strength to the enemy; and that, from the moment that our refusal to recognize them as allies, or the desperate necessities of the rebellion, compels the Confederate Government to appeal to them for help, slavery becomes an element of positive and terrible strength.

By a table prepared for the American Almanac of 1861, by Mr. Kennedy, the Superintendent of the Census, it appears that the free population of all the States, not including the District of Columbia or the Territories, was, in 1860, 27,280,070. Of this number, the free States had 18,831,329; the slave States, 8,448,741. The entire slave population was 3,999,765. Counting the slaves as neutral, the relative strength of the two sections, without estimating the difference as to the means and appliances of war, is represented by their free populations respectively, viz.: as 18 8-10 to 8 4-10. Adding the slaves to the free population of the South, either as laborers, supporting the whites, or as combatants (and they are already acting in the former capacity, and sooner or later will be in both,) and the relative proportions are as 18 8-10 to 12 4-10. Adding the slaves to the population of the North, the proportions are 22 8-10 to 8 4-10.

Mr. Hickman's proposition seemed simple and feasible. Eighteen millions can overpower eight millions. It was based on the supposition of the neutrality of the slaves. This is a delusion now, and will prove a greater and more fearful delusion as the war proceeds. It is *now* practically eighteen millions to twelve millions. But we may better Mr. Hickman's formula, and make it twenty-two millions to eight millions, or thereabout, if we please. To one complexion or the other it must come at last. However anxious our Government may be to protect the Union men of the Border States, without requiring anything of them in return, except that they shall allow our troops to guard their farms, hen-roosts, and slave-pens, Jeff. Davis will allow no neutrality in *his* dominions. This war will up-turn the foundations of Southern Society, and every man, woman, and child must take part, on one side or the other. The four millions of irrepressible Africans *must* work and fight on one side or the other; and, if not allowed to work and fight for us, they will work and fight against us.

Now let us look at some further deductions from Mr. Kennedy's tables. Slaves between the ages of fifteen and sixty are regarded as able-bodied, for working or fighting. There were, in 1850, between these ages, 815,425 male slaves. In 1860, calculating the increase in the same proportion as the increase of the whole slave population, there were 1,019,281. Every one of these men is now at work, supporting the families of the rebel soldiers, or performing the exhausting labor of the trenches and the drudgery of the camp, which Northern "mud-sills," in our armies, have to do for themselves. In Maryland, there are 22,000 of these able-bodied male slaves. There were in Virginia, in 1850, 121,564 able-bodied male slaves: to-day there are 126,000, and 14,000 able-bodied *free* colored men—140,000 men helping support the Rebel armies, if not actually helping to constitute the Rebel armies. Supposing we permitted them to work for us? or supposing we should welcome them within our lines, instead of sending them back to report of our flag that it is the emblem of oppression, and of our Eagle; that for the poor slave his bones are brass and his feathers are iron? How long in such a case, would Beauregard flaunt the rattlesnake flag in sight of the White House? There are 53,322 of the same class in Kentucky; 69,358 in Tennessee; and in both States, 4,100 able-bodied free colored men. Total, in both States, 126,000. What? Allies or enemies? Every one of them is a Union man, and, if we choose to have him so, a fighter for the Union. North Carolina has 78,000 of the same class, besides 5,000 free colored men; South Carolina, 104,000 of both classes; Georgia, 115,000; Alabama, 111,900; Mississippi, 124,000; Louisiana, 99,100; and Missouri, 27,750. These figures, compiled with care, show the strength of this class in the Border, Atlantic, and Gulf States. On which side, at each point of landing, shall this immense force fight and work?—*Ibid.*

☞ The capture of the New York brig Granada, by the privateer Sallie, off Charleston, adds to the apprehension felt by ship owners in regard to these freebooters. The war risk was not inserted in the policy of the Grenada, so she is a total loss.

ST. PATRICK ON SLAVERY.

To the Editor of the New York Tribune:

SIR,—In your article, "The Clergy on War," many were pleased to see the testimony of St. Anselm of the eleventh century. Allow me to present one 600 years before his, an authority which our Hibernian friends will duly appreciate, and very justly so. The venerable apostle of Ireland left but two well authenticated compositions, and one of these was really a tract or a general epistle against slavery. The occasion of it was this:—

Coroticus, a British chieftain, though professing Christianity, made a descent upon the coast of Ireland, and carried off, and sold to the Picts, a number of converts whom St. Patrick had recently baptized. He immediately dispatched a messenger to the slave-dealer, requiring that he should instantly release the captives and return them home. The requisition, however, was treated with neglect or contempt; whereupon St. Patrick, styling himself a "Bishop, and established in Ireland," thus proclaimed:—"To all that fear God—these marauders and robbers are excommunicated and estranged from Christ; and it is not lawful to show them any civility, nor to eat or drink with them, nor to receive their offerings, until they have sincerely repented and made atonement, and *liberated* those servants and handmaids of Christ." And he further required all the faithful, into whose hands this epistle might fall, "to get it and read it before the people everywhere, and, if possible, to Coroticus himself, and communicate it to his soldiers, in the hope that they might return to God." [Lanigan Eccles. Hist. I., p. 297; Moore's History of Ireland, p. 118.] D. D. V.

Morrisania, N. Y.

PROGRESS OF DESPOTISM.

"It being necessary to form a ticket of Electors, and the time being too short to call a Convention of the people, it was suggested that the Richmond editors should prepare a ticket, thus relieving the people of the trouble of making selections. The ticket thus formed has been presented. Among the names we find those of Wm. L. Goggin of Bedford, and R. T. Daniel of Richmond; E. H. Fitzhugh of Ohio county; John R. Edmunds of Halifax, and C. W. Newton of Norfolk City. Every district in the State is embraced in this editorial report."

The above precious morsel is among our latest news from the rebel capital. It will be remembered that Mr. Russell, in some of his earlier letters, told us how the ruling classes of the South had resolved to disfranchise the people, when their slave empire was established. We did not expect to see this consummation reached so quickly. But events move rapidly, in these fast times. Already the people of the South begin to murmur portentously at the gross deception that has been put upon them. Instead of European recognition, a prosperous independence, and plenty of free niggers—they begin to realize how harshly war is using them, and how dreary the prospect ahead. Under this state of things, with a powerful army ready to overwhelm in front, and vast fleets hovering upon their flank, it might be dangerous to intrust the sacred right of suffrage to the deceived and discontented masses. The rulers might, by such a course, suddenly find their kingdom falling from under their feet, and their schemes of towering ambition terminated at the end of a dangling cord. So the aristocratic editors of Richmond, by order of the leading conspirators, determine that there is no time to call a convention, and therefore proceed to put an electoral ticket in nomination themselves, which the people are graciously permitted to go through the form of ratifying. If this rebellion last much longer, the common people may find that they are no longer free American citizens, but the serfs of a slaveholding oligarchy—and the ravings of Southern rhetoricians, that capital should own its labor, may be by them sadly realized.—*Tribune.*

SAY NOTHING ABOUT SLAVERY. Suppose the Fugitive States had absconded upon the Tariff question? Or the public land question? Or a question of Representative apportionment? Would political justice, or even political expediency, which is something meaner, have demanded of us anything so irrational as debate without reference or allusion to the subject-matter of debate? What moralist rebukes a sinner, and yet spares his easily besetting sin? Slavery has seceded; taken up arms; engaged in a wicked and unnatural rebellion; yet slavery is just that which we are not to mention, and much less discuss. Thus a writer in a New-England newspaper, whose eyes are in the back part of his head, complains that "the fertile fields of the South are to be deluged in blood, and all this to carry out the one idea of Abolitionism." Sagacious censor! Suppose we reverse his proposition and say that "the fertile fields of the South are to be deluged in blood, and all this to carry out the one idea of slavery." Would not this be as near the truth, and perhaps nearer? Why will not these "O-no-we'll-never-mention-it" gentlemen see that *they* are as garrulous about slavery as the veriest Immediate Abolitionist?—*Ibid.*

THE QUAKERS SUPPORTING THE WAR.

The Quakers who live on the Maryland western shore and in the neighboring parts of Pennsylvania and Virginia, have just had their yearly meeting, and have adopted an address giving to the members of the Society the following advice:—

"In the present condition of civil society, government is indispensable for the security of life and the preservation of property, and, therefore, all who enjoy the benefits of government should contribute to defray the expenses of its administration, conducted in such way as those selected for that responsible duty shall think it right and proper to administer it. If every one were to contribute to the expenses of those acts only which he approves, the government could not be maintained, and anarchy and confusion, with all their hurtful consequences, must necessarily ensue. There would be a great difficulty, too, if not an impossibility, in consistently making the refusal, inasmuch as duties on many articles in use are laid for precisely the same object. The true position of Friends in the civil community is, to be quiet, peaceable citizens, under whatever government is established over them, cheerfully obeying all laws with which they can conscientiously comply; and as they are found to do this, greater respect will be paid to their scruples for non-compliance with those laws which they cannot obey, and against which the grounds of their testimony can be made more obviously manifest."

STILL ANOTHER SLAVER.

One after another the masters and mates who have been most actively engaged in the slave trade from this port have been captured and confined by Marshal Murray. Time was when it was the rarest thing in the world that a slaver was taken, but with Rynders that state of things passed away, and now hardly a week passes without the arrest of some of these piratical gentry. On Sunday, William Garnett, mate of the slaver Buckeye, was arrested by Deputy Marshal Anderson, on warrants issued in the usual way. Mr. Murray has been in search of this culprit for more than a month, but without success, until the officer chanced to meet him as he was crossing one of the ferries to Brooklyn. On being taken to Police Headquarters, he was confronted with the United States Marshal. Garnett asked, in the most innocent manner possible, on what charge he had been arrested. And when asked if he was not the mate of the Buckeye, he blandly replied that he did not know there was any such vessel. "Ah!" said the Marshal, "that is really unfortunate; but perhaps our course of treatment for a few days will refresh your memory. It is a remarkable fact, I notice, that you slaver chaps have very short memories. Several, however, have wonderfully improved in this respect after two or three days of Dr. Sutton's treatment." So Mr. Garnett, like many other precious gems, was locked up securely for safe-keeping. Yesterday morning he had a glimmering recollection that there *was* such a vessel as the Buckeye; but as to his having been mate a-board, that was all misty and confused. Perhaps by this day week—or say, for instance, when he sees the half-dozen witnesses the Marshal has to confront him with—his former official connection with the vessel in question may be more clearly defined in his mind.

The Buckeye cleared from this port for one of the West India islands, but *en route* slipped over to the coast of Africa—which lay too handy to resist the chance—and got a full cargo of negroes, which was safely disposed of to Cuban speculators. Her Captain—the man Booth, who was recently arrested, and is now being examined—came back to New York with a clear conscience and a pocket full of money, neither of which, unfortunately, are likely to avail him in his present predicament.

The Marshal yesterday arrested fifteen of the crew of the slaver Nightingale, on board the storeship Relief, of the African squadron. These men served on the Nightingale, and, upon her seizure, they were put on the storeship, their places being supplied by a prize crew. On the arrival of the Relief, at this port, they were taken into custody, and are now locked up for trial.—*N. Y. Tribune, Oct. 15.*

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PRICE FORTY DOLLARS.

THIS is a new style, first class, double thread, Family Machine, made and licensed under the patents of Howe, Wheeler & Wilson, and Grover & Baker, and its construction is the best combination of the various patents owned and used by these parties, and the patents of the Parker Sewing Company. They were awarded a *Silver Medal* at the last Fair of the Mechanics' Charitable Association, and are the best finished and most substantially made Family Machines now in the market.

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OPENED BY

H. A. PETERMAN, M. D.

THE Proprietors of this Institution take pleasure in announcing to the invalids of Michigan and its neighboring States, that they have opened their WATER-CURE at St. Mary's Lake, and are now in readiness to receive patients.

This Institution is situated in one of the most healthy and pleasant locations in the State, on the banks of a beautiful little lake, four miles North of the City of Battle Creek.

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The lake, whose waters are as clear and soft as those of a spring from the granite mountain's base, is well supplied with boats and bath-houses. No more beautiful fresh water bathing can be found in any land.

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Particular attention given to the treatment of diseases of the Eye. All operations performed that warrant a prospect of restoring sight to the blind. Our treatment for Cataract is entirely new, and in advance of anything hitherto known.

A supply of beautiful Artificial Eyes kept constantly on hand.

Paralysis, and every variety of Nervous and Chronic diseases, will be treated.

The Ladies' Department is under the care of Mrs. S. A. Peterman, whose long experience in the treatment of the diseases incident to the female constitution renders her treatment unsurpassed by that of any physician now practising in that department of the medical profession.

There will be a competent Music Teacher in attendance, to give instruction in Piano, Guitar, and Vocal Music, to such as may wish to take medical treatment and pursue the study of Music at the same time. For such, this will be found a most desirable location, where the mental and physical systems may both be developed; the one in the music room, the other in rambling through the leafy woods, in the Gymnasium, and in boat-rowing, than which no better exercise can be found.

We intend, with the aid of competent help in every department, to make *this* CURE the invalid's HOME, as well as a place for medical treatment.

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Physicians and Proprietors,

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St. Mary's Lake, Michigan, May 20, 1861. J 21

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No. 31 Winter Street, Boston.

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☞ The following gentlemen constitute the Financial Committee, but are not responsible for any debts of the paper, viz:—FRANCIS JACKSON, EDMUND QUINCY, EDMUND JACKSON, and WENDELL PHILLIPS.

The United States Constitution is "a covenant with death, and an agreement with hell."

☞ "What order of men under the most absolute of monarchies, or the most aristocratic of republics, was ever invested with such an odious and unjust privilege as that of the separate and exclusive representation of less than half a million owners of slaves, in the Hall of this House, in the chair of the Senate, and in the Presidential mansion? This investment of power in the owners of one species of property concentrated in the highest authorities of the nation, and disseminated through thirteen of the twenty-six States of the Union, constitutes a privileged order of men in the community, more adverse to the rights of all, and more pernicious to the interests of the whole, than any order of nobility ever known. To call government thus constituted a Democracy is to insult the understanding of mankind. . . . It is doubly tainted with the infection of riches and of slavery. There is no name in the language of national jurisprudence that can define it—no model in the records of ancient history, or in the political theories of Aristotle, with which it can be likened. It was introduced into the Constitution of the United States by an equivocation—a representation of property under the name of persons. Little did the members of the Convention from the Free States imagine or foresee what a sacrifice to Moloch was hidden under the mask of this concession."—JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.

Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind.

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Refuge of Oppression.

[From the Boston Post.]

THE NATIONAL PLATFORM!

PURPOSES OF THE WAR.

Congress, by a vote nearly unanimous, passed the following resolution, which expresses the voice of the Nation, and is the true standard of loyalty:—

"That the present deplorable civil war has been forced upon the country by the disunionists of the Southern States, now in arms against the Constitutional Government, and in arms around the Capital; that in this National emergency, Congress, banishing all feeling of mere passion or resentment, will recollect only its duty to the whole country; that this war is not waged on their part in any spirit of oppression, or for any purpose of conquest or subjugation, or purpose of overthrowing or interfering with the rights or established institutions of those States, but to defend and maintain the supremacy of the Constitution, and to preserve the Union, with all the dignity, equality, and rights of the several States unimpaired; and that as soon as these objects are accomplished, the war ought to cease."

The ultra anti-slavery men of the North begin to show their opposition to Mr. Lincoln. The *Liberator* and *Anti-Slavery Standard* do not disguise their contempt for the present Administration; and papers like the New York *Independent*, the *Tribune*, the *Times*, and others, follow at a greater or less distance behind. There is a host of them that show that only the opportunity is needed for them to speak as they never before have.—*Newburyport Herald.*

It is the conduct of these men and presses which has done as much to involve our country in its present difficulties as the action of Southern rebels; and the traitorous language of the Boston *Liberator* every week—of Phillips, whenever he speaks, and of Sumner and all others of their ilk, is as Revolutionary, politically demoralizing, and tends as directly to involve the nation in general anarchy, as any uttered South of Mason and Dixon's line. The brazen declaration of the Boston *Liberator* which has stood at the head of its column for years and years in large and conspicuous type, that "*The United States Constitution is a covenant with death, and an agreement with hell,*" is a constant insult to the Government of the country, an infamous libel upon the achievers of our nation's independence, and a daring and insolent invitation and encouragement to the sedition which is now cursing our land with misery, oppressing it with sorrow. We were told by this class of men when the consequences of their conduct were predicted many years ago, that the Union was in no danger—civil conflict was impossible—the first indication of violent revolt would be repressed by overwhelming power—the social intercourse between the States and the reciprocity of trade were mere bagatelles—the negro, the negro was all that was worthy of consideration,—that it was our duty to regulate the domestic institutions of our neighbors—the morals of our companion were the subjects that lay upon our consciences, not our own short comings,—we had but to *revile* our fellow-men to gain the kingdom of Heaven, and secure a political millennium. These were the promises made by those whose action has been one of the principal causes of the overshadowing calamity now upon us—who have obliged us to cover our peaceful hills with armed men, our fertile valleys with the weapons of death, and to color our rivers with blood—who have taken from the laborer his employment, the merchant his mart of trade, and imposed upon the whole people a burden of debt and taxation which must be answered in the sweat of their children. Shall the councils of such demagogues be listened to longer? Shall the incendiaries who have applied the torch to the fabric bequeathed to us by our fathers be suffered to add fuel to the flame which threatens to consume all, and no remonstrance be offered? Will it be permitted that the arm of the Government shall be palsied by the dictation of the authors of the mischief? No, no; unless the American people are bereft of reason, and are doomed to destruction. Then let the public voice be uttered with a significance that shall admit of no doubt of its earnestness, in condemnation—aye, execration—of all who would render this war anything but a war for the preservation of the Constitution and a restoration of the Government—of all who refuse to sustain the President in his effort to save his country in the manner Congress has directed, and in accordance with his own conscience and honest patriotism.—*Post.*

IS THIS DISUNION?

The signs are that the Government is not strong enough to save the Union, and at the same time to save slavery.—*Mr. Sumner, at the "Fraternity."*

Taken simply by itself, though cowardly and false in the extreme, this might pass for a mere expression of opinion; and as the opinion of Mr. Sumner, it would not be of much account. But considered in connection with the other sentiments uttered by him, it exhibits the real disunionism which prompts all his rhetorical outpourings. Within a certain circle, Mr. Sumner is doing as much mischief as any traitor on the other side of the line.—*Courier.*

Charles Sumner says that Government is not strong enough to save the Union and the Constitution. So say the secessionists, and they have adopted a new constitution, and if the loyal States will adopt it also, they will then allow the Union may be restored. Garrison, who denounces the Constitution as a covenant with death, sits by the side of Sumner, listens to his denunciation of the Constitution, applauds his sentiments, and unites with him in his opposition to President Lincoln's efforts to restore the Union by preserving the Constitution. Boutwell, who has belonged to, and deserted from, all parties—the slipperiest politician in Massachusetts—says "ditto" to Sumner; while Claflin—Chairman of the Republican State Committee; the man who invited Sumner to make his abolition speech at Worcester, and who has since been re-elected Chairman of the Republican State Committee—sits "cheek by jowl" with Phillips, Garrison, Boutwell, and other anti-constitutionalists, expressing his delight at Sumner's denunciation of our present form of Government and his advocacy of revolution. Here is where these men are leading the people of Massachusetts—into opposition to the Constitution, to the Administration, to the policy declared by Congress; into revolution and anarchy upon the soil of the old Bay State! Such conduct is infamous—the design of such a conspiracy is beyond tolerance, and should receive the severest practical rebuke loyal citizens are capable of dealing. What do these men do to relieve the country from the perilous condition it is now in? Do they furnish money or men? Has Phillips, or Boutwell, or Garrison, or Claflin, or Sumner, raised a hand to aid enlistments, or to support Mr. Lincoln in his attempt to maintain the Constitution, and restore the Government and the Union to their former supremacy? Not at all; but we find them laboring to paralyze the national power by exciting dissension among citizens of the loyal States, and chilling the patriotic spirit of the country by trying to convert the war from its only justifiable purpose—*the restoration of the Union and the Constitution*—to an unlawful crusade against State institutions! This they know, if successful, must result in separation and revolution—in a total destruction of our present form of government; yet they persevere in their unholy work, and laugh like fiends at the woe and bloodshed they provoke. It is cowardly wicked to attempt to evade the issue: the Administration seeks to restore the Constitution in all its functions—the Sumner emancipationists to overthrow it. It is the worst of treason to dodge the question. Let every man take his position for or against the Constitution,—for or against the Administration. The hour is rapidly approaching when, here in Massachusetts, our lives, our property, the safety of our families and all that is dearest to man's heart will be put in imminent jeopardy by such demagogues—such intriguing aspirants and traitors to the public peace as are striving to substitute for the Government bequeathed to us by the achievers of our independence, an Utopia conceived by sickly brains and urged by corrupt hearts. We repeat—let the line be distinctly drawn—let those who do not approve of the policy of the Administration in this war take their stand as a distinct body, and those who sustain it gather beneath the folds of the glorious banner of the Constitution, and the weakest be forced to the wall. If Mr. Sumner and Wm. Lloyd Garrison are the true exponents of Massachusetts' sentiments, let the country know it; if they utter the opinions of only a meagre minority, it is essential to the political health of the State that that fact should be established beyond equivocation. Do not permit them to dodge behind one party organization and then another, but wherever they are, draw them forth: let those who believe in them follow them, and those who do not cast them out. The stench is becoming rank—fumigation must take place, or political rottenness will sink the State into an untimely grave. Mr. Sumner's Cologne bottles are not the weapons with which the approaching contest is to be waged; nor the vituperative rhodomontades of Mr. Phillips, nor the slang of Mr. Bird, nor the smooth, hypocritical cant of Mr. Boutwell—but men of action—serious, patriotic, decisive action, must prostrate the power of mouthing revolutionists, or surrender the Government into the hands of those who strive for its destruction. The sooner the decision is made, the better, and then we shall know whether this is a war for the benefit of white men or negroes—*thirty millions of people or four.*—*Boston Post.*

A GOOD UNION SPEECH.

Hon. Nathaniel Wolfe addressed a mass meeting at Cooper Institute, on Monday night. Mr. Wolfe is a Kentuckian, and was received by the audience with shouts of applause, indicating the delight with which New York welcomes a man from Kentucky, on the Union platform. Mr. Wolfe addressed the immense assembly as a representative of the Union men of that gallant State, now engaged in the bitterest portion of the conflict, around their own homes. We find in a morning paper a report of the speech, evidently revised by Mr. Wolfe.

The remarks of such a man on such an occasion are worthy of profound regard. His is no idle political harangue. The meeting which he addressed was called to ratify local nominations for office, and he had no personal interest to serve, no political clap-trap to exert. His speech is national in its character, and addressed to the mind of the nation. Stating the origin of the war, he says:—

"I will not exhaust your patience by tracing minutely the causes which have led the people of this country to the very verge of self-destruction. Fanaticism has contributed her share. The graceless zealot, urged on by false philanthropy, sought the abolition of slavery, at the expense of the very existence of the white man. The advocates of abolition should lay their faces in the very dust. It is to them that we owe, in a great measure, the misfortunes of our country. It is incomprehensible to a rational and reflecting mind, that a class of men should exist in this enlightened age, whose vocation seems to be to pull down everything which wisdom established. They may rest assured that their doctrines and their labors can result in no good to our country. Sooner or later, their mad career will drive the men of the slaveholding States into one united effort to overthrow the Government—a Government which should encircle in its maternal arms all the citizens of the great Republic. But if the abolitionist is the dire enemy of our institutions, so is the secessionist. His is a heresy, which the combined wisdom of the nation has united in condemning. Secession is a principle which is at war with all good government; it is the prolific source of every evil with which society could be possibly afflicted. War, murder, rapine, robbery, arson, in short, every crime known in civil society, are the legitimate fruit of that horrible heresy."

He states the views of Union men in Kentucky, which he may be supposed to know, as the only views on which we can expect to retain that brave old State in the Union:—

"Kentucky has proposed terms of peace. They were rejected—and pity it is 'tis so. The guarantees of slave property which she proposed are reasonable, and they will be insisted upon by her. And although she is unshaken in her fidelity to all her constitutional obligations, she will never consent that the institution of slavery in the States or the Territories shall be injured or destroyed by the action of the General Government. The proclamation of Fremont, emancipating the slaves, would, probably, have lost us the State, if the President had not modified it. Kentucky does not, and will not, object to the confiscation of slaves or any other property, owned by persons in rebellion against the Government, but she will never consent to emancipation accompanying confiscation. I have thus spoken frankly and freely."

This brief, clear and definite expression of the views of Kentuckians who dare to be Union men, where it is something to boast of, and where it costs something to call one's self a Union man, merits the consideration of Northern politicians and patriots. When Kentucky shall have driven from her soil the last rebel who now insults her loyalty, what will the North do for the gallant Union men of Kentucky?

As a Southern man, Mr. Wolfe's evidence of the state of the Southern mind is valuable. He remarks:—

"I have stated that this war is not waged for the emancipation of the slave. The Congress of the United States, representing the sentiment of the non-slaveholding States, have so declared it by solemn resolution. Go to the camp of the national soldier, as I have done, and ask him if he has shouldered his musket to emancipate the slave, or to interfere in the relations of the master towards his slave, and he will answer, No. He will tell you that his purpose is to uphold the rights of the people under the Constitution, and not to wrong the people by violating their rights.

And I tell you here, to-night, that a large portion of the people of the South only need to be convinced that equality of rights is the principle on which the battles are to be fought, and they will rally once more under the 'Star-Spangled Banner,' and unite in the overthrow of the desperate and unprincipled leaders who have hurried them into rebellion to gratify their selfish and mean ambition."

The remarks of Mr. Wolfe confirm the views which we have expressed so frequently. We have as great an enemy in abolitionism at the North as in secessionism at the South.

Let us heed the warning from Kentucky thus given. "*Sooner or later, their mad career will drive the men of the slaveholding States into one united effort to overthrow the Government, which should encircle, in its maternal arms, all the citizens of the Great Republic.*"—*Journal of Commerce.*

Selections.

OUR PRESENT DANGER.

We suppose there can be no doubt, if the question of slavery or anti-slavery had never been made to divide parties in our land, as to what would be the present position of our Government towards the "peculiar institution." It would be recognized at once as the weakest point of the rebels, our assaults would be specially directed against it, and he would be considered either a traitor or a fool who should suggest the showing it any special favor.

All that is asked of the Administration is to forget party, and act accordingly; and all that is required of the people of this land is to support the Government by acting in the same spirit. This, we believe, is what the great bulk of the nation wish, and what they will do, if they are not befogged, bamboozled, and cheated of their purpose by partizan leaders.

A great hue-and-cry has been lately raised against the abolitionists, which has been joined in by those who should be in better business. It is not in our province to apologize for the eccentric positions or ultra sentiments of this class of men. We have never been in sympathy with them any farther than to respect and admire their purity of purpose and self-sacrificing sincerity, and we never expect to be. But we do say that the clamor against them as enemies of the Government, and as obstacles to the success of this contest, is signally unjust, and that the real clog to our energies and neutralizer of our efficiency comes from another and an opposite quarter. The anti-slavery men of the North, of every grade of sentiment, have shown as great readiness to forget the past, in our present peril, as has any other class of community. That we are not now an entirely united people, is far from being their fault; and for the small accomplishment of our armies, they are in very slight degree responsible.

The fact is—and it may as well at once be told—that we have reached the present stage of our contest with the indifferent success which has attended our movements, chiefly because the *opponents* of the anti-slavery men could not forget *their* prejudices, and sacrifice *their* party feeling. We state this in no spirit of reproach. We know the weakness of human nature, and how difficult it is for us to turn our backs upon the rooted ideas of our past life. We recognize freely the sincerity of these men, and bear in mind that in the case of many of them, an age has been reached when convictions become too firmly settled to be rudely eradicated. But a regard for truth compels us to say that, unknowingly and undesignedly it may be, but none the less really, it is owing to their hesitancy and indecision, and failure to forget old prejudices, more than to any other cause, that we are, at the end of six months' preparation, with the outlay of $200,000,000, no nearer quelling the rebellion than we are. Let us look at a few facts in this connection.

Recurring to the remark which we made at the outset, we say again that slavery is the most vulnerable point of our enemy; that, political prejudice aside, no one would question that it was the point to be struck first, and to be struck hardest. We now say, in addition, that it is the single point which we have been chary in attacking; that it is just here that our enemies have been spared from feeling the full force of our power; and that this policy, which every dictate of military necessity condemns as an insane absurdity, has been adopted in deference to the party prejudices of the opposition to the anti-slavery men of the North.

We surely need offer no proof of this last statement. It is patent upon the face of nearly every newspaper and in the speech of nearly every public man connected with this class in the country. There are noble exceptions in the persons of statesmen like Andrew Johnson, Daniel S. Dickinson, and Lewis Cass, and we hasten to put these names on record; but the general tone is an endeavor to keep alive the old pro-slavery prejudice, and to continue to counsel tender treatment towards the pet institution of slavery.

It is time this thing should stop, and that these men should understand that it is their own prejudices which need to be conquered as well as those of the abolitionists. The war will never be in a way to come to an end till they realize this thing. We may fight for years, and our capitalists may pour out their money like water—our efforts will be fruitless, our treasure will be spent in vain, until we have thoroughly learnt this lesson. Our enemy is the most determined, bitter, and vindictive power ever seen in arms upon our continent. He hates us all with cordiality. Abolitionist and conservative come alike under the ban of his resentment. The tenderness which the latter class would use towards his pet institution no more mollifies his wrath than did the guns which our craven captain threw into Hatteras Inlet, the other week, appease the resentment of his captors. There is but one way to meet him, and this is with hard blows.

When we conclude to strike hard blows,—when we give the enemy to understand that old prejudices are so far forgotten that we shall concede neither quarter nor consideration to the institution of slavery while it is in arms against the Government, but that every slave of every rebel upon whom we lay hands shall not only be confiscated, but shall be used to put down the rebellion,—then we have taken the first step towards success. We leave the sphere of the usefulness of liberated contrabands to indicate itself to the commanders of our army. They may be serviceable as guides, or a far larger class may be employed on intrenchments, or for similar purposes; but appropriated and used they must be, and that without the shade of a scruple. We do not ask this because we favor a war for the purposes of emancipation. Every one knows that the contest was not entered upon for this purpose, and recent events show that our people are not now prepared for its adoption. But the country does demand it as a military necessity. It will insist, in tones increasingly emphatic, that slavery shall not stand in the way of crushing the rebellion. It will imperatively require of our rulers at Washington, and the Generals of our army, that they shall strike the accursed institution, even, if necessary, out of existence, while it stands in the way of the restoration of peace and good government in the land. Common sense and ordinary military precaution require this at our hands. The opposite course is pregnant with defeat in the future, as it has been fruitful of disaster in the past. This thing cannot be too strongly urged home on men's consideration. It is time that the craven, cowardly war which has been pursued against Mr. Sumner and a few others, whose chiefest fault is that they are too enthusiastic in the cause of the country, should cease. All the censure we have should be brought to bear upon those men who are asking quarter and consideration for the institution which is the obviously vulnerable point of the traitors, and a blow at which is certain at once immeasurably to advance the progress of our arms.—*Norfolk County Journal.*

HOW WILL IT END?

BY J. M. BACON.

The most casual observer of the progress of events during the inception and the prosecution of the war thus far, cannot have failed to perceive that a wide difference exists between putting down rebellion and securing a permanent peace. Enough has been developed already to show that the cause of the war is not attracting that attention which is essential to secure a settlement on terms that will render the peace enduring and perpetual. Our leaders and people are so anxious to get out of this war that they are persistently striving to bring it to a close without inquiry as to its cause. Nay, worse; they are striving to make themselves believe that the real cause of the war did not cause it—striving to cheat themselves—to believe a lie, and thus to hush up present difficulties by carefully preserving, guarding, protecting, and nursing the cause which produced them, that it may years hence bring forth another rebellion, with its awful horrors.

There is indeed a feverish, sensitive, and all-pervading feeling in the community in regard to the slavery question—amounting almost to universal conviction that IT is the parent of our troubles. Slavery is an exciting question—a more exciting question than war. War can be talked about, written about, discussed in every way, freely and fully, and it is highly patriotic to advocate it, and more patriotic to enlist in it and fight in it; but it is very imprudent to discuss slavery, not to say vicious. In all *high* quarters, there is manifest the clearest intention to avoid it. We can bombard Hatteras, storm the masked batteries of Bull Run, butt our brains out against Manassas, meet death in the camp or in the field, but we cannot march up and confront slavery. We can construe the Constitution so as to enable us to raise armies to kill our "Southern brethren," and the President can find ample authority, or, if not authority, ample excuse for taking the property of the people to pay the expenses of butchering the rebels; but to give freedom to a slave appals him; and if, under the necessities of warfare, the thing is likely to be done, the President suddenly remembers that it is not authorized by law, and he "most cheerfully" interposes to save the law from violation, and the master from loss.

This very ticklishness on the slavery question, when we are so comparatively cool and moderate on the war itself, shows at once how fearfully vital is the connection between it and the war, and also the depth of the conviction of the people that such is the case.

It seems as though we are willing to do anything, and suffer everything, rather than allow slaves to become free. There is not quite so much squeamishness about depriving the master of the use of his slave as there is in allowing the slave to obtain any advantage out of it.

The ingenious application of the term "contraband" to slaves was supposed at first to be a clever dodge which would answer the end of weakening the master without freeing the slave; but it proves to be comparatively harmless to the masters as a body, and stands forth to the world a confession of our cowardly design to sneak behind a paltry subterfuge in order to escape doing justice to the race which we have oppressed and trodden under foot. We dare not do justice. We dare not even avow our intention to do justice. We dare not even so much as allow that we can be driven by force of circumstances to emancipate the slaves, who are now employed by their masters in running the bullets which are to kill our sons and brothers. Dare we?

Then why interpose an act of Congress?—why go to the extreme of an inference to construe an act of Congress to mean that it shall not be done? Why beat about for shadows of excuses to prevent emancipation from being accomplished by the necessity of war? All other "military necessities" are gladly recognized, and speedily made available; but this—the greatest necessity of all—the very key to unlock all our complications—thrust into the faces of our ministers and generals at every corner—they dare not take hold of. So it is.

This fear of meeting squarely the issue of slavery which is so squarely presented to us, and the desire to postpone the settlement of it to some future time, is positive proof that we do not regard ourselves as equal to the responsibilities of the day and the occasion. We are like the bankrupt merchant who dares not examine his books, and endeavors to find relief from anxiety in vain efforts to imagine that his liabilities are much less than his fears have hinted and his books prove.

I have understood that some members of the Cabinet were once opposed to slavery, and desired to cripple its power. It is not likely any other Administration will have presented so fair an opportunity for doing the deed. It may never so occur again; for the strain on our institutions now will weaken them so, that with slavery maintained intact, another rebellion will destroy them utterly. The policy now will be precedent the next time, and precedent fortified by such laws as the Slave Power will be enabled to enact in her behalf, if she comes out of this war having won, in addition to former conceded constitutional guaranties, the still greater guaranty or concession that, of all the institutions and interests in the country, *it* alone is sacred and exempt from the contingency of military necessity and martial law. With this point conceded by the only Administration ever elected on anti-slavery grounds, the "peculiar institution" will come out of the war stronger than ever before, unless this peculiar policy of the Lincoln Government is overthrown or defeated. Slavery never asked so great a concession before, greedy though it has been beyond all reason; and this one granted, how can the Administration make any stand against its other claims? Indeed, the alacrity and "cheerfulness" with which this point was given up, is regarded as a pledge that the Administration will, to the last extremity, stand by the abomination; and it is a pledge that the border States will take good care shall be fully redeemed. When the next "adjustment" is made, the good faith of the Administration will be invoked by the Holts and Prentices and Carlisles of the border States, to make good *their* promises to the Union men of Maryland, Virginia and Kentucky, and these promises amount to full protection of slavery in all its extreme demands. To yield, the Administration has already prepared the way; and the end will be that we have fought, impoverished the country, and come out of the war saddled with the Breckinridge platform and interminable taxation.—*Independent.*

SECESSION BARBARITIES.

The *Journal of Commerce*, with others of like sympathies, discredited the statements of eye-witnesses that our surgeons were fired on while dressing the wounded at Bull Run, and that some of our wounded were butchered by the rebels. The following, however, from the Richmond *Examiner*—the immediate organ of the Jeff. Davis Government, is quite unequivocal. The editor is speaking of the Unionists of a portion of Western Virginia, and says:—

"The most of them have packed up, ready to leave for Yankeedom at the shortest possible notice. In Braxton County, *every Tory had been shot by his neighbor*, and in several other counties the citizens devoted to the Confederate cause *are doing good service in the same manner.*"

The following extract from Col. Geary's official report of the recent skirmish at Bolivar Heights, on the Potomac, has stood for at least ten days uncontradicted:—

"One of the Union soldiers taken by the enemy was Corporal ——, Third Wisconsin Regiment, who was wounded in the action. The other Corporal, Benaiah Pratt, of Company A, Twenty-eighth Regiment Pennsylvania Volunteers, was accidentally taken by a few of the enemy, whom he mistook for Massachusetts men, their uniforms corresponding, in all respects, to that of the latter. The four men who were killed were afterward charged upon by the cavalry and stabbed through the body, stripped of all their clothing, not excepting shoes and stockings, and left in perfect nudity. *One was laid out in the form of crucifixion, with his hands spread, and cut through the palms with a dull knife.* This inhuman treatment incensed our troops exceedingly, and I fear its consequences may be shown in retaliating acts hereafter."

Senator Sumner's speech on "The Barbarism of Slavery" will be proved within the truth by the incidents of this war.—*New York Tribune.*

THE EFFECTS OF REBEL CRUELTY.

All hearts are sickened, and all minds wrought to fury, at the murderous cruelty displayed in every contest by the ignorant rebels, now "maddened to crime." The killing of the wounded, the threatening and abuse of prisoners, the stripping and mutilation of the dead, were violations of the laws of civilized warfare, even in the days of Grotius, "the father of public law." They are now publicly practised and gloried in by the rebel army, as the late disaster at Ball's Bluff fully attests.

The first results of this truculence and barbarity may be to intimidate and sadden. But those are wanting in a knowledge of human nature who do not see that this is but a first stage of the process; the next is *retaliation;* the third, *vengeance;* and vengeance will be the instrument of *success.* We deplore such a necessity, but if they continue this course it is inevitable, if not just.

Let us once determine we are fighting with brutal fiends instead of men, and our soldiers will fling away pity and honorable treatment, and scotch even the wounded serpent as a cumberer of the earth. Then will be witnessed scenes of unparalleled atrocity, which we shall tremble to record and blush to remember.

We shudder to think of the repetition of the Spanish cruelties of the sixteenth century in Holland; but the argument rushes to its conclusion, and our infuriated soldiery will not be restrained when they deny quarter to those whose motto is "no quarter"; in whose mouths every Federal soldier bears names offensive alike to God and man; and who are teaching them a fearful lesson.

"They but teach
Bloody instructions, which, being taught, return
To plague the inventor: this even-handed justice
Commends the ingredients of their poisoned chalice
To their own lips."

—*Philadelphia Inquirer.*

SACREDNESS OF SLAVERY.

In every compromise upon the subject of slavery, and in all legislation to conciliate the South, property in slaves has been regarded as peculiarly sacred. This tradition still holds good at Washington. If we may credit the following, the Administration, acting through its military officers, entertains the idea that slavery is too holy to be touched, even for the purpose of saving the country:—

"A slave belonging to Jeff. Offord, a Secessionist of Spencer county, made his escape, and delivered himself up at Camp Sherman on our fair grounds. The officers of the camp handed him over to Mr. Dent, our Provost-Marshal, who, under instructions from Gen. Sherman, returned him without reward to his owner."—*Louisville Journal.*

If the *son* of a rebel had escaped, and desired to join our army, how gladly would he have been received! If the *horse* of a rebel had come within our lines, how quickly he would have been seized and used for our purposes! But the *slave* is not treated either as a person or as property. The vilest institution upon which the sun ever shone, the primal cause of the rebellion, and the one great iniquity for which God is now dealing with the nation, is treated by the Administration as if it were the only really sacred thing in the land—not to be touched but on pain of death! Is it any wonder that we are defeated in our plans, and that our hosts stand still as if paralyzed by some invisible power?—*Independent.*

MR. CAMERON'S ORDER.

Whether the late journey of the Secretary of War to the headquarters of Gen. Fremont in Missouri is to result in the displacement of the latter, seems to remain in doubt, though we were strongly assured from Washington that the removal had been fully resolved on. The issuing of the order, however, is still delayed, and, should Fremont intercept and beat the rebel hordes fleeing before him in South-Western Missouri, the postponement will probably be indefinite. But, whether the commander in the West is or is not to suffer from the Secretary's visit, we are joyful in the assurance that the Secretary has profited by it. The inhalation of prairie breezes seems to have increased his stamina, if we may judge from his order to Gen. T. W. Sherman in command of the great Naval Expedition, given in our special dispatch from Washington yesterday.

Gen. Sherman's destination is some point on Jeff. Davis's seaboard, where he can hardly fail to fall in with the article delicately termed "contraband" by Gen. Butler. He is likely—not to put too fine a point on it—to fall in with "niggers," many of whom rejoice in the blessing of being owned and cared for by white rebels. How is he to treat this sable merchandise? He will want men to use at least his spades and shovels; for the "contrabands" at Fortress Monroe, with a disrelish for the prospect of falling once more into slavery, which proves the inveteracy of ignorant prejudice, all but unanimously refused to set their faces Southward. Let others luxuriate in the delights of Dixie, they were as near the focus of Jeff. Davisism as they considered either inviting or safe. But the spades and shovels went along, nevertheless; stout arms are needed to wield them; while "old soldiers" would about as soon face a battery as throw up an intrenchment. What then?

Secretary Cameron tells Gen. Sherman that, with regard to "persons held to service," he is to govern himself by the principles enunciated in his (the Secretary's) two letters to Gen. Butler on that subject; but he adds the rather important and sensible amplification that he (the General) is to avail himself of "the services of *any* persons, whether fugitives from labor or not, who may offer them to the National Government; you may employ such persons in such services as they may be fitted for, either as ordinary employés, or, if special circumstances seem to require it, *in any other capacity*, with such organization, in squads, companies, or otherwise, as you deem most beneficial to the service. This, however, not to mean a *general* arming of them for military service." He adds—(and here is where the laugh comes in, after the word loyal)—"You will assure all *loyal* masters that Congress will provide just compensation to them for the loss of the services of the persons so employed." No doubt of it.

The Secretary is evidently a man of progress. He gets on. And, as it is morally certain that this Order has been fully considered at headquarters, and will not be modified by the President, we may congratulate the loyal States and people on an assured prospect that the traitors in arms against the Union are hereafter to be allowed to take care of their own human chattels, to watch them, keep them, and reclaim them, without aid or comfort from those who have all they can do to prevent the overthrow and ruin of the nation by those traitors. In [illegible], the Government [illegible] onerous obligations to its r[illegible] enemies.

This is so good th[illegible] we w[illegible] not [illegible] not better. We are content to see the true position approached by stages, so that the progress be steady and unmistakable. The truth that slavery is the sole impelling and sustaining cause of this rebellion—that it is a traitor and worthy of death—makes itself felt day after day by larger and still larger majorities of those who are sternly resolved that the Great Republic shall emerge from this terrible ordeal stronger and more glorious than ever. Let us nourish faith by patience.—*New York Tribune.*

RECOGNITION OF THE CONFEDERACY IMPRACTICABLE.

No one can fail to have observed, within the last week or two, the growth of an indefinite feeling that we ought to take, or are going to take, some decided course in favor of the South, as a means of saving ourselves from the inevitable consequences of a privation of cotton. It has even been asserted that the Emperor Napoleon, the needs of whose subjects in this respect, if not nearly so great as our own, are likely to be much more speedily felt in the policy of state, is about shortly to announce his formal recognition of the Southern Confederacy, and that our own Government may be expected, or required, to follow suit. If the people who talk and write in this way would only reflect a little on all that is implied in the line of conduct which they suggest, it would hardly be necessary to demonstrate the folly and criminality of the direction which their wishes tend.

Without much injustice to any one, we may recognize the independence of the Southern Confederation as soon as we please. It would not be consistent with our usual practice to do so until the new Power has attained greater consolidation, and it would raise natural suspicions of our being meanly eager to clinch the calamity of the once mighty republic. Still we have an indubitable right to do it if we like, taking the chance of any resentment or hostility which our alacrity might provoke. But there is not a little moral cowardice in continually speaking of the acknowledgment of Jefferson Davis's government as all that is necessary to secure our customary supplies of cotton. The mere recognition of the Southern Confederation would manifestly not alter our position in the slightest degree for the better. There is, on the contrary, much room for holding that it would alter it for the worse. If the ports of the South towards which our manufacturers are beginning to turn such wistful eyes, still belong to the dominions of the Federal government, the right of that government forcibly to obstruct our entrance to them may possibly be disputed. We have treaties with the United States granting us the rights of traders on stipulated terms, and it has to be inquired whether these rights can legally be set aside to serve the purposes of a domestic quarrel. In fact, we learn by the last mail that this view of the case has been strongly contended for on our behalf, in the United States District Courts. * * * But if, on the other hand, the South be an independent government, in hostility to that Union of which it formerly constituted a part, the right of the latter to blockade its ports is as little open to dispute as any right which can possibly exist under the law of Nations. What is it, then, that is required of us? Not only that we should recognize the independence of the Southern Confederation, but that, having done that, we should forbid the United States to carry on against it one of the most legitimate operations of war, further at least than it might not interfere with our own convenience. This is, in plain terms, that we should declare war against the United States in order to prevent them from using the only weapon by which, if by any, they can have the slightest hope of reducing their adversaries, call them rebels or enemies or what we will, to submission. We cannot think there are many men in the country who would, knowingly, and with their eyes open, recommend this course of procedure. There are considerations tending to show its manifest shortsightedness and impolicy, which may be urged on another occasion. For the present it may suffice to say that it would give a shock to the system of public law throughout the world, by which we should inevitably be the severest sufferers in the end, and that the disastrous effect of such an example set by such a country as England would be infinitely heightened by the glaring selfishness of the motive.—*Manchester (England) Guardian of October 15th.*

GEN. FREMONT AND THE ADJUTANT GENERAL'S NOTES.

Has the meaning of *ex parte* testimony been forgotten? In a great case to be tried and a verdict rendered with no appearance for the defendant, no sifting of the testimony for the Government, no evidence adduced for the defendant, no judicial mounting up and presentation of the facts and the law? In a peripatetic Adjutant General, taking notes from the general account in command and the Secretary, and taking the unsifted testimony of men who know what is expected from them, and whom to please, and from whom to expect contracts or preferment, to be put forward to forestall public opinion—whose ipe publication disparages the Government by assigning to the enemy the general's plans, and that weapon for which the War Department is responsible? Has the surprise granted by the peripatetic general to the Secretary of Department, so soon as the President determined to retain him, been so overwhelming that his Department has to attack a general by insinuate and indirection before a people who have determined to try the law of justice—a general whose exhibitions of energy, in spite of all the neglects of that Department, are proclaimed, the most popular man in the Northwest and with the masses of our whole people.

It is an open question whether any Major General in our armies is competent for the consideration of the campaign and the battle-field. Upon Gen. McClellan has not reputation enough made to afford to make a mistake, or he is as much deprived of assistance as to risk for one what Napoleon risked in Italy. He is a general in his prime, and has been most thoroughly trained and informed, and who has shown more high and fine military qualities. He is a hero in fact. Gen. McClellan. We propose no comparison, except in his favor, between him and Gen. Fremont. We simply say that all our Major Generals are on trial, and, so far as we are concerned, it is our duty to be as fair in this trial as any, before the people and before our enemy, we mean to see that Gen. Fremont is not condemned without at least the forms of a fair trial.

It is a fair trial we want for him, and he is defending the government against its enemies in Missouri, so he assures us, but the government, and the Secretary of State, the facts more exactly, is at anything but cruel injustice, when a General is driving our enemy in Missouri, to be condemned and condemn him behind his back?

The truth is, neither the government nor the people have any desire to acquit or condemn Fremont. The government has judicially made out a sufficient case against Fremont, they not least, for the responsibility of his prompt removal, instead of showing that he is wrong in his facts, instead of showing by thus referring his case to the people and to our enemies?

The facts are afloat. Not some of them would seem to be false. The War Department has not yet fully decided to realize the importance and provide for the necessity of his great department. The cause in the Northwest is not the cause of the Secretary of State, disbanding, leaving him but about 5000 soldiers for Cairo, the great supply depot of the Mississippi, and which alone needs 20,000, and for the whole of Missouri and the rule of Kentucky. A large force of army was entering Missouri. They real object might be Cairo, it might be Kentucky, it might be they struck. He did what we imagine any good General would have done—strengthen the weak. The involved the fortification of St. Louis, and the people of the great Northwest think Gen. Fremont is a fine strategist and has proved to be defended Saint Louis, and the line of the Potomac. He applied to the War Department for the proper forces to make his contracts. They were not sent. This leaves a sphere in this country to defend, and upon him. Of course he made mistakes, and in his desperate emergency could not stop to think.

How for the mistakes were his own, and how for the mistakes were those which he had to correct the series of the situation, and which to be sent of

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He wrote and telegraphed for small arms and ordnance, and he was not by red tape, and, in the very entering Missouri, he got arms and men where he could not get for Kentucky.

No intelligent man in Missouri, enemy or friend, has denied his demonstrated superiority in the military [illegible] commission. He had in all respects to [illegible] without aid. Not a soldier, not a [illegible] Quartermaster which should have strained [illegible] to aid him, the first five thousand available must be sent where they said it was needed, and careless of his necessities, to Washington. In spite of this, he did everything, he performed as many of forty thousand men, of which the War Department has sent of all these facts, he has contrived to complain as imperfectly armed and supplied! It is clear that he is not in fault for the facts, and that not reliance Gen. Lyon against a possible attack. The Secretary of State, such is his nature, is not his fault that Col. Mulligan was not relieved. He is to-day in possession of three-fourths of Missouri.

Among other things he issued a proclamation, of the second of which, under martial law, which overrides all arts of confiscation, and all other laws—an act that he and his staff, and Gen. Lyon, Freemont, without the concurrence of Congress, and without proclamation of war, has the power, and therefore to defy our courts by suspending the writ of *habeas corpus*.

If General Fremont made a mistake, it was not that the necessity for the proclamation did not exist, but that he had not power to enforce it. This is to say, simply that practical question. We will not waste time to contract his position in the proclamation, suppose it to be, as Judge Lowell the public lists of the world, with that of the Administration, which, on the other hand, in its letter to General Fremont, proposes, after the relations of rebel matters to their slaves have been considered, to turn his free Government into an immense slaveholder, and, on the other, in its instructions for the Naval Expedition, clearly authorizes the arming (though not the proclamation of the general arming) of negroes in the Southern States.

The result of the whole matter is this: that General Fremont has doubtless made some inevitable, and it may be some culpable mistakes—that the most serious charges against him by those to the War Department to resist; and that whether he is in conjunction with the Secretary of State, he has subjected to substantially the same complaints which would have been made against any General of the highest executive capacity, placed in the same circumstances of neglect and disappointment, who had with much means done so much. The Government has not accomplished enough in the last month to afford to come before its popular support by the publication of such hearsay "notes" as those against General Fremont, and, on the other, to the country enemies to defend himself, especially when that very publication is the publication of the enemy of his plans and his weakness.—*Boston Transcript.*

WILLIAM LOWELL PUTNAM.

We take from the *Daily Advertiser* the following in regard to this noble young soldier, who was briefly noticed in the last *Liberator*:—

This young man, who died at Doylesville, Md., Oct. 22, of a wound received the previous day at the battle of Bull's Bluff, was the 2d Lieutenant of Co. E, 20th Regiment Mass. Volunteers. He was son of S. R. Putnam, Esq., of this city. He was a man of Mental Anlicen with military honors, but Monday, Oct. 28, after service conducted by Rev. Dr. Hurlut in the Old Cambridge Church, post and station, the following notice of his life and character was read by Rev. James Freeman Clarke, which will be interesting to the many friends of this excellent young man:—

The boy-soldier, whose remains are before us, came, by both parents, from the best New England races. His father is descended from the ancestor of old General Putnam, and his family on this side contains such statesmen and scholars as Timothy and Judge Pickering. On the other side, his mother's family has given us its statesmen, sages, poets, poets, scholars, orators, economists, philanthropists, and now gives to us also a hero and martyr. His great-grandfather, Judge Lowell, inserted in the Bill of Rights prefixed to the Constitution of the State, the clause declaring that "all men are born free and equal," for the purpose, as he avowed at the time, of abolishing slavery in Massachusetts; and he was appointed by President Washington Federal Judge of this district. His grandfather was minister of this church, honored and loved as one of the best men of his time, by his parishioners. Of others I need not speak: but to those who know not personally our young friend, it may be well to mention some of the noble traits indicated that he would fully keep the promise given in the tradition of his family.

Born in Boston in 1840, he was educated in Europe, and in the best institutions of this—and where, in France, Germany and Italy, he showed the best advantages and secured honors of manhood, easily all languages, and where he faithfully studied chemistry and Christian morals. Under their the best and most loving guidance, he read with joy the vivid descriptions of Virgil and Homer, and drank the lofty philosophy of the bosomed of Mussini and the ruins of Cumæ. He studied with diligence and success, and, on his return to his native American scholar, though he was so young, knew more than many of the best scholars of Europe. French scores, Dr. Gaspin, of Nantes in Brittany, said he was the most learned in the Greek, Latin, and devoted himself to his instruction as if he had very young in his care and charge. Thus he gave his gentleman will bear of his death with pain, and his friends will be proud of his fame and his fate. Thus accomplished, he returned to his native land, but, modest and earnest, he made no display of his acquirements. He was not, and he was not required anything. When the war broke out, he concerned, and heart and soul, for the service of his country. His strong sense of duty overcame the reluctance of his modesty and sensitiveness. A presentiment that he should not return alive was very strong in his mind. He wrote to the great himself cheerfully, and said in entire strength of conscience, "I feel that it is my duty, and I go." And in the full conviction of immortality he added, "What is death, mother? It is nothing." He was fitted for the duty, and fidelity to every duty gained him the respect of his superior officers, and his generous, constant temper and his cheerfulness of manners brought him an unexampled affection. He readily fulfilled the duty of a soldier, and, with a high feeling, it was to attain its true end—and in one day, and received the wound of which he soon died, but it might not cease till it opened the way for others to follow.

In the fatal battle a week ago, Lowell fell, as is reported, while endeavoring to save a wounded comrade—fell, as he fell, with his face to the enemy, *in inferiore parte acetabuli.*" Brought to the hospital tent, he said, "I am glad I am wounded—I am wounded—Go to some one else, to whom you can do more good; you can do no good to me." Then, he may, giving the water to the soldiers who needed it more than himself.

Brave and beautiful child!—as it for this that you had inherited the noble blood of your ancestors and had been so wisely educated and carefully trained? Was it for this, to be struck down in the battle-field, as a hundred others against overwhelming numbers? How hard to consent to let your precious life be sacrificed to the selfishness of people—through the ignorance or the carelessness of those whose duty it was to make the preparations before sending them to the field! How can we bear to think of it?

We could not bear it, unless we believed in God. We believe that he ordains all things for the best. This is not our blind chance, not any human folly, which controls the events of life. It is the organic order—how for these forms, excellent in times of peace, may have been positive impediments in times of the emergency—how for these are not in evidence before the people, and cannot be in evidence, at present.

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OUR NATIONAL ADMINISTRATION.

Editor of the Liberator:

DEAR SIR—Our national administration,—poor simple souls, and as ignorant as simple,—have never dared to inquire for the cause of the rebellion that convulses the Union, and fills the land with bloodshed and devastation. They know it is a great rebellion, and that the rebels are very wicked, and that is pretty much all they know about it. They mean to quell it, but they do not mean to ascertain the cause of the outbreak; for if they do, they will be required to remove it, and that they will not do. They seem quite as solicitous to save the cause of the rebellion, as to save the Union and the government. By removing the cause of the war, peace could be immediately dictated to he rebels. It could be forced upon them, whether they will or not, by a power that would prove irresistible. But one of the great stumbling-blocks, preventing the speedy termination of the slaveholders' democratic rebellion, is the personal ambition of the three leading members of President Lincoln's cabinet,—Seward, Chase, and Cameron. They have each an eye to the succession, and it requires much time to watch each other, look after Fremont, M'Clellan, and other military leaders, and set their nets, their traps, and their hair-triggers, so as to ensure success. Washington is alive with traitors. Every important measure, whether civil or military, is known to the rebels before it is known to loyal citizens, and yet no measures are taken to remove the evil. These shrewd aspirants for the White House take it for granted that the rebellion will be put down, and they all look beyond it. In 1864, the Southern States will have over half as many votes as the Free States. Such men as Seward, Chase and Cameron do not overlook considerations so important, and they mean to take time by the forelock. They are making to themselves friends of the mammon of unrighteousness, that when their present offices fail, they may be received into the everlasting White House. Hence, they desire a clean Southern record. They are determined to crush the rebellion, and they are determined to leave the rebels in good humor. They mean to prosecute the war vigorously, hut they mean to do it in a most friendly manner. They "banish all feeling of mere passion or resentment, and recollect only their duty to the whole country; that this war was not waged, on our part, in any spirit of oppression, nor for any purpose of conquest or subjugation, or for the purpose of overthrowing or interfering with the rights or established institutions of the States, but to defend and maintain the supremacy of the Constitution, and to preserve the Union, with all the dignity, rights and equality of the several States unimpaired; and as soon as these objects are accomplished, the war ought to cease." They mean to fight the battles and kill the rebels on the most amicable principles. They will save the Union, but they are equally bound to save slavery. If one or the other must perish, Mr. Cameron would willingly toss up a copper, and agree to abide the result. He cares but little whether liberty or slavery prevails, but he cares much about Simon Cameron. Mr. Seward has a decided "antipathy in favor" of liberty; but he has shown, on more occasions than one, that he will not sacrifice Wm. H. Seward to promote the liberation of all the blacks in America. They have his best wishes, and he sees, and feels, and knows, that liberty is better than slavery, and that between them, as antagonistic and opposing forces, there exists an "irrepressible conflict." This conflict he will aid with all his power in latitude 43 deg.; hut he is so overcome with lassitude and languor when he reaches the low latitude of 37, that he is powerless—so weak he can do nothing.

Mr. Chase is, doubtless, the most consistent of these very modest advocates of the "higher law." Theoretically, both Mr. Chase and Mr. Seward believe in the higher law. Practically, they believe no such thing. Both have been tried, and both have been found wanting. The rulings of that judicial tyrant, Judge Wilson, in the Oberlin rescue cases, inaugurated a state of affairs that fully tested Gov. Chase's faith in the higher law of God; and proved that, in his opinion, God's laws are void when repealed by act of Congress. The position Mr. Chase assumed was, doubtless, his final one, and was taken with deliberation, in view of ulterior results. That he is at heart an anti-slavery man cannot be denied; but it is equally true that he aspires to the Presidency. It seems to an outside spectator so plain, that no member of the present cabinet can ever be President, that "the way-faring man, though a fool, need not err therein." The public exigencies demand of them great sagacity, energy, shrewdness, industry and efficiency. If they fail in either, they will be condemned; and if they do not, they will offend myriads of cormorants and place-men, who will become their implacable enemies. So, whether they do their duty, or neglect to do their duty, their hopes for further advancement will be annihilated. It is greatly to be regretted that they cannot see how nor where they stand.

The most honest man in the cabinet is Edward Bates. But he is a Southern man. He has no sympathy with any of the "isms" of the day. Such is his boast. Yet he has emancipated all his slaves. Still, all his sympathies are with his Southern slaveholding brethren. The same may be said of the Postmaster General. The anti-slavery of the whole Blair family is political. They care nothing about the slave question, except as it affects the white man. All their good wishes are with the slaveholders.

It was most unfortunate that the President was born among them. While he is resolved to put down the rebels, he seems equally resolved to save and protect slavery. He does not love slavery; on the contrary, he is evidently a just man. Like Mr. Bates, he loves justice, but his friends and kindred are slaveholders, and he has no heart to see them ruined. He knows that our Union cannot exist, part slave and part free States; that they must become all one or the other; and yet, such is his weakness, so great is his desire to harmonize what even the Almighty God cannot harmonize, that he dictated to Fremont such an alteration in his proclamation as would totally annul its efficacy; and a measure that would make all the States free, and crush the rebellion, and secure the blessings of peace and liberty to these United States forever, he has directed to be so emasculated as to be worthless, being only a repetition of the law of Congress, which is no more a law because issued as a military proclamation. Thus far, Fremont has not modified his proclamation. If he does not do it, will the administration dare suspend him? Where would it leave them,—the President and his cabinet? How will it affect the legislation of Congress, at its coming session, and how the army? Where will they find new recruits? Will they not be compelled to reënact the very policy they have repudiated, and, having proclaimed liberty to the slaves, recruit their decimated ranks from the enfranchised bondmen? And, then, what of the secession? Where will our ambitious Secretaries he found? Where will Fremont stand? He has now gone out to battle, sustained by despair. If he is defeated, he will be sacrificed at once. If successful, where will his enemies be?

There is an important settlement to be made between Fremont and somebody. Why was Lyon sacrificed? Was the neglect to reënforce him the fault of Fremont, or of the authorities at Washington, or was it the lack of men and means with which to do it? Why was not Mulligan reënforced? Was the fault Fremont's, or was it at Washington? Why were 6000 men ordered from his department, when it had been known for days, all over the country, that Price was advancing, with a strong force, on Lexington, Boonville, or Jefferson City? Was Washington in danger? If so, why not get the required force to defend it nearer home? Why send, at that hour of peril, an order which, if obeyed, was sure to defeat Mulligan, give Price the victory, and place Fremont where he could do nothing? Could it have originated in Cameron's fear of Fremont's popularity? The matter is full of mystery. One thing, however, is certain:—our public men are demoralized, and Slavery's minions rule our government, notwithstanding the rebellion. But, when the rebels are conquered, will liberty and justice be in the ascendant? or will the Northern States, like the Southern, settle down under a military despotism? Who can tell?

Ohio. G.

HON. CHARLES SUMNER AT MILFORD.

DEAR GARRISON,—Last Saturday evening, our people had the pleasure of listening to the noble-hearted Senator of Massachusetts. His theme was—"The Rebellion; its Origin and Mainspring." Notwithstanding the night was dark and stormy, the Town Hall was filled. At 7½ o'clock, Mr. Sumner took the platform, being introduced by Hon. AARON C. MAYHEW. The eloquent Champion of Freedom occupied two hours in unfolding the cause and remedy of the Rebellion, not sparing, for a moment, that horrible system of iniquity, American Slavery, as the prime and ever swelling cause of all our woes—the monstrous atrocity which must be removed, before peace can be restored to our suffering country. The word slavery, to Mr. Sumner, is the culmination of all crime, and he speaks it with an emphasis and will, that reveal his large heart and intellect to be on the side of humanity.

The perfect chain of logic, backed by facts and concurrent history, with the clear philosophy of Justice and Right, carries conviction to every heart, that is not encased in prejudice, and a determination not to believe. He does not allow the least concession to the sin of oppression to be called small. Nay, nothing can be small that wrongs the weakest child of God, or does violence to the least citizen of a Commonwealth. In a clear, transparent atmosphere, he transfigures his audience, and with himself standing on the Mount, all feel that "it is good to be there." No distrust or desire to "look back" is so painful as that which takes us again to the cold meshes and miserable expediency of lowering, one iota, the standard of eternal justice.

But to those who have toiled, lo! these thirty years, in the cause of Anti-Slavery, no part of this peerless service of Mr. Sumner is more grateful than his just, but, nevertheless, most noble testimony in behalf of the Abolitionists. "I hear a voice," said the orator, "saying it is not Slavery, but Anti-Slavery, that has caused this Rebellion." In reply to this unfounded and malignant charge, Mr. Sumner soars in power and conviction which is irresistible. By a quotation from Tacitus, one of the greatest historians of his generation, if not all other generations, he shows the same charge was preferred against the early followers of Christ, by those who called them "vulgar" devotees of one "Christ of Tiberias." "The Abolitionists," said Mr. Sumner, "need no defence from me. To their praise be it said, they warned you faithfully, long ago, of all this calamity we are now suffering. As well charge the faithful passenger, who warns the helsman of the fatal shoals, of the destruction of the vessel. As well blame the astronomer, who has calculated the eclipse, for the darkness which has gathered." Cheer upon cheer, with which the flowing and graceful sentences were greeted, evinced that justice does not slumber always in the human soul.

Now comes the remedy for this hour of conflict. "It may be," said Mr. Sumner, "through the words and way of Gen. Butler, or it may he by the way of the gallant Fremont, or the more sublime plan of John Quincy Adams, but it must be through *Emancipation.*" (Long and continued applause.) At this point, Mr. Sumner took from his pocket the late order of Secretary Cameron to the Naval Expedition, and read it, declaring that it covered all, and even more than the ground he had taken. "We can have," he remarked, "no other interpretation"; and although it has been published more than a week, it has had no comments from the Boston press, doubtless because it condemns their former position.

"I expected," said Mr. Sumner, "this order when I made my Worcester speech at the late Convention." It was, therefore, hailed with pleasure as the most important progressive step since the inauguration of the war. Only one thing was feared by the orator, that, by some fatality, concessions might be made, which would be far more fatal than flying armies or captured hosts. In closing words, which are not soon to be forgotten, we were exhorted to do justice to our brother man the wide world over, "though the heavens fall." "But," said Mr. Sumner, "the heavens will not fall—God and Justice will triumph—the Rebellion must and will be crushed—victory and peace will be ours." God bless our noble Senator! for when we hear his voice again in the Capital, it will be for universal freedom.

G. W. S.

Milford, (Mass.)

SLAVERY BEFORE THE UNION!

WEST WINFIELD, (N. Y.) Nov. 3, 1861.

DEAR GARRISON,—The conflict deepens. The people are becoming enlightened. Their eyes are being opened to see that their leaders in the Cabinet and the camp are far more tenderly concerned about the lives and property of the rebels, than of the loyal citizens of the North. The official report touching Fremont, by Cameron, Hunter & Co., is thought to demonstrate that Fremont has made less blunders than any other Federal General, and that his department has been administered with more economy than any other.

Ex-Governor Seymour, who has been the Democratic leader of Central New York, living in Utica, said in a speech in Utica, last week, that if the time should arrive when SLAVERY or the UNION must die, the Union should be dissolved, and slavery he allowed to live!! He also openly justified the rebellion. Few are so lost as to side with him. Here, in Utica, lives a Democratic Governor of New York who would destroy the Union to preserve slavery!! Dissolution or Abolition is the great issue before the nation and the world, so far as this war is concerned. Gov. Seymour says, "Give us slavery, and let the Union go." Slave labor is better than free labor—slave society better than free society—slave institutions better than free institutions! SLAVERY MUST AND SHALL BE PRESERVED! So says the entire South; in the Union, if we can—out of it, if we must; peaceably, if we can—forcibly, if we must.

Such is the issue presented by Gov. Seymour; hut most all the people scorn his proposition and his treachery.

There is a proposition from a high source to call a Mass State Convention in New York State, to endorse Fremont's Proclamation, and to call on the President to make it national. Sincerely do I hope it will be done.

In this place, with little exertion, about one hundred and fifty names are appended to the memorial to Congress. Few refuse to sign it, to whom it is presented. None like to give a reason for refusing.

Why not call a Convention in the old Bay State, to endorse the position of Fremont in declaring freedom to all slaves of all rebels, and calling on Congress to make a like declaration to all slaves? This would end the war by the 1st of January, 1862. Let every thing be done to concentrate public attention on the one great issue—SLAVERY OR THE NATION MUST DIE—THE UNION MUST BE DISSOLVED, OR SLAVERY ABOLISHED. The entire South presents this issue. For myself, I say—ABOLITION. Let the Union stand, if thereby slavery can he annihilated in the nation, on the continent, and throughout the world. Sure I am, a Union of 20,000,000 of men and women, based and administered on the self-evident truth that "all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with an inalienable right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," would, in due time, free every slave, and sweep slavery from the South. This one great idea, skilfully and perseveringly wielded against slavery, would surely kill the monster, and relieve the whole earth of his loathsome presence. Nothing else can.

Yours, for Abolition *versus* Dissolution,

HENRY C. WRIGHT.

REMOVAL OF GENERAL FREMONT.

Great Indignation and Excitement—Resignation of Officers, and Refusal of Soldiers to Fight—Remonstrance of Gen. Fremont—His Parting Address to the Soldiers—Gen. Pope to Command until Gen. Hunter's Arrival.

SPRINGFIELD, Mo., Nov. 3.

Yesterday small bodies of the enemy came within twelve miles of us, and news was received of the approach of their advance 2,800 strong. Preparations were being made to go out and attack them, when Gen. Fremont received an unconditional order from Washington relieving him at once from his command. Simultaneously came the newspapers announcing the fact. The intelligence spread like wildfire through the camp, and created indescribable indignation and excitement.

Great numbers of the officers signified their intention of resigning at once, and many companies laid down their arms, declaring that they would fight under no one but Gen. Fremont. Gen. Fremont spent much of the time expostulating with the officers and men, urging them by their patriotism and by their personal regard for him not to abandon their posts. He also addressed the following farewell order to the troops:—

HEADQUARTERS WESTERN DEPARTMENT,
Springfield, Mo., Nov. 2d.

Soldiers of the Mississippi Army: Agreeably to orders received this day, I take leave of you. Although our army has been of sudden growth, we have grown up together, and I have become familiar with the brave and generous spirits which you bring to the defence of your country, and which make me anticipate for you a brilliant career. Continue as you have begun, and give to my successor the same cordial and enthusiastic support with which you have encouraged me. Emulate the splendid example which you have already before you, and let me remain as I am, proud of the noble army I have thus far labored to bring together. Soldiers, I regret to leave you, most sincerely. I thank you for the regard and confidence you have invariably shown me. I deeply regret that I shall not have the honor to lead you to the victory which you are just about to win, but I shall claim the right to share with you in the joy of every triumph, and trust always to be personally remembered by my companions in arms. (Signed) JOHN C. FREMONT, *Major General.*

The feeling ran intensely high during the whole of last evening, and there were meetings almost everywhere. The various bands serenaded the General, and whenever he appeared he was greeted with cheers. Although after notifying General Hunter, as his order directed, he had no longer command over the troops, he spent several hours in making a personal examination of the ground about the city to be prepared for a battle, and in accordance with a written request from all the Brigadier Generals here, he remained through the night, to lead the army in case of an attack. All of the troops slept on their arms, and many officers remained up all night. An attack was hourly expected, but nothing more occurred than the firing on our pickets in two different roads. The enemy are now encamped on the old Wilson Creek battle-ground.

Gen. Fremont is prepared to leave for St Louis, and will go as soon as Gen Pope arrives, who has been sent forward and will take command until Gen. Hunter gets here. Universal gloom prevails throughout the camps. A battle will undoubtedly occur ere long. Our troops will meet the enemy firmly, but they are disheartened and have lost their enthusiasm. The body guard, who would not be induced to remain, will now disband, as the terms of their enlistment permit, and will accompany Gen. Fremont, and also his entire Staff, including Gen. Asboth, commander of the first division. Gen. Fremont will permit no demonstration from the troops on his departure.

FREMONT'S BLANKET PURCHASE—EXPLANATION. E. M. Davis, Assistant Quartermaster under Fremont, publishes a letter in the Philadelphia *Bulletin*, to Adjutant-General Thomas, correcting several errors relative to himself in his (Thomas's) letter to Secretary Cameron. He entirely exculpates Fremont from any connection with his purchase of blankets, and says that when the report of the Board reached Fremont, he expressed great displeasure, and ordered the blankets to be returned.

They were not returned as rotten and worthless, and the only fault that could be found with the purchase was the economy practised in making it, the average price of blankets being $1.40. They were part cotton. Mr. Davis says he made the purchase in his official capacity.

It was no crime, even if the act had heen deliberately committed, to have bought at a $1.40 each, blankets of inferior quality in St. Louis, where better were not procurable, if it be a virtue in the War Department to buy blankets equally worthless in England, where good ones are plenty, paying for them a $1.60 each, to which a long list of commissions, freight, insurance, &c., must be added as further enhancing the price. Nothing, we submit, can be clearer than this verdict of even-handed justice.

GEN. FREMONT'S HOUSE IN ST. LOUIS. The Cincinnati *Commercial* thus puts a quietus on one of the main charges against Gen. Fremont:—

"Thurlow Weed, in rehearsing the grievous sins committed by Gen. Fremont, reasserts the exploded theory that on assuming command at St. Louis, he took a house for his headquarters for which the Government is paying $6000. We have repeatedly stated that the house does not cost the Government a cent; that its use was tendered freely by a relative of Gen. F., and that it is nobody's business, under the circumstances, whether it was a brown-stone front or a log-cabin. Most of the accusations rehearsed by the venerable Thurlow are of the same ancient character, and have been refuted time and again."

HEADQUARTERS, CAMP LYON, SPRINGFIELD, Mo., October 31. The following is a special dispatch to the St. Louis *Republican*:—"A good deal of excitement has prevailed in camp for some days past, respecting the report of Gen. Fremont's removal; but Washington advices at headquarters mention nothing of the kind. Gen. Fremont's removal would cause intense excitement and no little trouble in camp. A number of officers declare that they will resign in that event, or insist upon creating him Dictator of the Southwest, independent of the Administration, which is bitterly denounced in camp for its vacillating and injudicious policy respecting this Department.

The list of the rebels killed in the battle of last Friday now numbers 127."

☞ A contraband describing the stampede of the Secesh from Warsaw, Mo., when Fremont's advance was about entering the place, said: "Why, massa, an hour after they heard you gemmen was comin', all the bills round here was *rattlin.*"

☞ The St. Louis *Democrat* of Oct. 31st, states that there is a good deal of sickness in Gen. Fremont's army, principally typhoid and intermittent fevers. About three hundred of the 26th Indiana regiment are suffering from an attack of the measles.

EXODUS OF SLAVERY. Slavery is vanishing from Missouri more rapidly even than its enemies predicted. Secession has made the State too hot for the institution, and Secessionists are daily leaving the State for the South, with their slaves, to escape the very dangers they themselves madly invited and provoked. We argued, six months ago, that secession, or attempted secession in Missouri, would overthrow slavery in the State, and hurry the institution to its doom But the Secessionists would not listen to us. They are now verifying our predictions by fleeing with their slaves from the consequences of their own folly.—*St. Louis News.*

"THIS IS NOT A WAR AGAINST SLAVERY."

Well, so be it; but it is also not a war against the horses, the cotton, the money, the ships, the guns of the slaveholders. Yet, where you can, you take their horses, cotton, money, ships, guns, &c. Why? Because this is necessary to the conduct of the war. Well, the same is the case with slavery. If its destruction may not be the object of the war, why do you not allow that it is the means of the war? Since in relation to slavery you exhibit a respect which does not restrain you from any other "property" or "right" of the slaveholders, it follows that slavery is especially sacred in your eyes, that you wish it about yourselves, and spare it from your own predilection, and that therefore you are waging war *for* slavery. "War for the Union" does not answer for your motto; UNION AND SLAVERY—for that are 500,000 men and 500,000,000 dollars demanded.—*Pionier, Oct. 24.*

LETTER FROM GARIBALDI.

Washington, Oct. 28. The following letter from Garibaldi has been received by the U. S. Consul at Antwerp:—

[TRANSLATION.]

"CAPRERA, 10th September, 1861.

My Dear Sir,—I saw Mr. Sanford, and regret to he obliged to announce to you that I shall not be able to go to the United States at present.

I do not doubt of the triumph of the cause of the Union, and that shortly; but if this war should unfortunately continue in your beautiful country, I shall overcome all obstacles which detain me, to hasten to the defence of a people who are so dear to me.

Yours, (Signed,) G. GARIBALDI.

To Mr. QUIGGLE, U. S. Consul at Antwerp."

☞ Rev. Gilbert Haven, of Boston, has been appointed to the charge of the Clinton Street M. E. Church, in this city. He is a well-known member of the New England Conference, and was with the Eighth Massachusetts Regiment as Chaplain in the three months' service.—*Newark, (N. J.) Daily Advertiser.*

THE LOSS AT BALL'S BLUFF. A comparison of the various lists of the killed, wounded and missing at the battle of Ball's Bluff leads to the belief that the following figures will not vary much from the official reports:—

	No. Engaged.	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.
California,	570	18	42	227
Tammany,	360	10	20	120
Massach'tts 15th,	653	14	63	245
Do. 20th,	318	8	41	110
Total,	1901	50	166	702

The Rebels report having taken but 529 prisoners, and as that is 173 short of our number reported missing, it is fair to presume that nearly all of the balance were killed in the battle. Of the prisoners, probably one hundred, at least, are wounded. With these additions, the list of casualties will stand as follows:—

Killed,	223
Wounded,	166
Wounded among prisoners,	100
Prisoners not wounded,	429
Total,	918

To the above must be added the killed and wounded of the Third Rhode Island battery, the First U. S. artillery, and the U. S. cavalry, which will probably swell the number to 930, or nearly fifty per cent. of the whole force engaged.

THE BARBARITIES OF THE CONFEDERATES.—Criminals cannot be otherwise than cruel; and the traitors waging the present war against the General Government appear to be as merciless as savages. The recent engagement at Ball's Bluff has added many illustrations of this fiendish disposition. In referring to the matter, the Washington correspondent of the Philadelphia *Press* says:—

"The Nineteenth Massachusetts Regiment, although not in active battle, detailed Captain W. H. Wilson, with Company —, to take possession of Harrison's Island, who did duty there more noble and humane than often falls to the lot of men. They held the island, and not only saw to the transport of the troops to Virginia, but to the return of the survivors and of the dead and wounded. The deeds of barbarity related by an eye-witness, who is a distinguished member of the medical faculty of Philadelphia, perpetrated by these rebel fiends, are almost beyond the bounds of credibility; but when wounded men were driven deliberately, naked, into the river, and then shot, it will tell of some of the least barbarous acts of this thieving and assassin chivalry."

NEW YORK, Oct. 30. The *Herald's* Washington despatch says that the 15th Massachusetts Regiment held their first parade Thursday evening since the battle. After the parade, the regiment was formed in a square, and the noble and gallant Col. Devens made them an address. No description could portray the tender, subdued fervor with which the Colonel first spoke, the electric sympathy by which his men were affected, or the earnest determination with which the question was asked and answered:—

"Soldiers of Massachusetts, men of Worcester County, with these fearful gaps in your lines, with the recollection of the terrible struggle of Monday fresh upon your thoughts, with the knowledge of the bereaved and soul-stricken ones at home, weeping for those whom they will see no more on earth,—with that hospital before your eyes filled with wounded and maimed comrades,—I ask you now whether you are ready again to meet the traitorous foe who are endeavoring to subvert our government, and who are crushing under the iron heel of despotism the liberties of a part of our country? would you go next week? would you go to-morrow? would you go this moment? One hearty 'Yes!' burst from every lip."

THE REBELS AT BALL'S BLUFF. The Richmond *Examiner* of the 24th of October, says—"Several gentlemen who were engaged in, and witnesses of the battle near Leesburg, on Monday last, say the rout was complete—that the panic exceeded that of Manassas plains. When they took to the river, their heads appeared almost as thick as blackbirds. It is impossible to describe the scene or estimate the number drowned. Hundreds were shot while swimming and struggling in the water."

The rebels engaged were Mississippi and Virginia troops, and the *Examiner* adds that when the contest grew close, the Mississippi troops threw away their rifles, and used bowie knives. The attack upon the rebels was twice made by our troops, and twice repulsed. Rebel reinforcements were sent for, but were not used.

The *Tribune's* Washington despatches state that the rebel pickets at Edward's Ferry acknowledged to our pickets that their killed and wounded amounted to 350, and stated that our wounded captured were placed in the hospital with their own wounded.

DARNESTOWN, Oct. 29. A scow was found last Sunday floating down the Potomac, containing thirty-one guns with fixed bayonets, twelve haversacks and three knapsacks.

From certain indications, it is believed that it was the principal boat used in transporting Baker's command to the Virginia shore, and which went down with the dead and wounded. The inference is that the bodies of the soldiers rose to the surface and relieved the boat, which floated down with the current.

WASHINGTON, Nov. 4. Owing to the rise of water in the Potomac, a number of the bodies of the soldiers drowned at Ball's Bluff have floated hitherward.

In addition to the five mentioned yesterday as having been recovered at the Chain Bridge, thirteen have been drawn from the river in the vicinity of Washington and Georgetown, and one near Fort Washington, twelve miles from this city. The recovered bodies have been buried.

The *World's* despatch says one of the bodies found at Chain Bridge has been recognized as private Bufford, Company F, Massachusetts 15th.

COL. RAYMOND LEE. The family of Col. Lee, of the Massachusetts 20th, have received information that he is a prisoner, hut safe and well.

JOHN BROWN, JR.'S COMPANY. John Brown, Jr., son of the well-known "Ossawatomie Brown," as he was styled, has been, for some time past, engaged in forming a company of sharpshooters for the present war. His recruits have been chosen principally from Ohio, New York and Pennsylvania, with a view of getting together many of the best shots in those States. On Monday night, the company, which is not yet full, arrived in this city by the Michigan Southern railroad from Cleveland, and went into quarters at 229 Lake street.

Upon their arrival, their whole number of men and officers was 66, but, up to last night, several more recruits had been added to the company. Captains Mills and Carter, of the Kansas brigade, together with several private citizens of Chicago, have extended to them much hospitality, looking after their rations, and making them comfortable.

The company is officered as follows:—

Captain—John Brown, Jr.
First Lieutenant—B. H. Bostwick.
Second Lieutenant—George H. Hoyt.
Orderly Sergeant—L. F. Cotton.

Lieut. Bostwick and Sergeant Cotton were formerly attached to the Nineteenth Ohio Regiment, and have seen service in the "tented field." Lieut. Hoyt is the young Boston lawyer who volunteered his legal services to save the life of the elder Brown in the Virginia court.

The company will remain in Chicago for several days, in order, if possible, to obtain their arms and equipments, for which they have solicited an order from Secretary Cameron. They intend to have the Enfield rifle with sabre bayonets, and, as soon as they can, proceed to join Montgomery's Third Regiment of the Kansas Brigade.

A RUINED TOWN. An officer of Gen. Sturgis's command in Missouri, writes to his friends in Cincinnati:—"The ruins of Osceola present a sad picture of war. Osceola was the county seat of St. Clair county, had a population of two or three thousand, and did a very large business. It was a great rendezvous of the secessionists, and here the confederate army under Gen. Price was supplied with cartridges, and a number of other necessities of war. Gen. Jim Lane had occasion to come to the little city about four weeks ago. He was fired upon while marching through. Immediately the town was set on fire by his men, and those citizens who fired upon him were shot dead. Not half a dozen houses are left, and I have failed to find more than three families now living there. I never thought a city sacked and burned would be a cheering sight, but it was to-day. Jim Lane understands the crisis. If you would kill the viper, cut off its head, not stick it with a pin. That only pains and infuriates. The loss of Osceola to the secession cause will be more severely felt than the lives of five thousand men in battle."

☞ The State Election took place in Massachusetts on Tuesday last—resulting in the election of Gov. Andrew, a Republican Council, and a large majority of Republican members in both houses of the Legislature. The vote was very light.

☞ Governor Andrew has selected Thursday, November 21st, (the anniversary of the compact framed in the Mayflower in 1620,) to be observed as a day of Thanksgiving in Massachusetts.

☞ Rev. Henry Fowler, pastor of the Second Presbyterian Church at Auburn, N. Y., has been dismissed from his pastorate for delivering an anti-slavery discourse!

RETIREMENT OF GEN. SCOTT. Lieut. Gen. Scott has withdrawn from active service, and, upon his own application, been placed on the retired list of the army of the United States. The incident is one of universal interest, and was very properly made the occasion of a simple but impressive ceremony. Upon receiving the General's application for leave to retire, the President, attended by the Cabinet, waited upon him at his residence, and with every demonstration of respect and honor, informed him that his request was granted. The General replied in some unpremeditated remarks, full of grateful emotion, expressing his ardent love of the Union, and his prayers for its preservation, and his cordial confidence in the patriotism and wisdom of the Administration.

It is understood that Gen. Scott will return at once to New York. In obedience to an order of the War Department, Gen. McClellan has assumed command of the armies of the United States.

NEW YORK, Nov. 4. The *Herald's* Washington despatch says the parting scene between Gen. Scott and Gen. McClellan was a most impressive and affecting affair. Gen. McClellan and staff proceeded to the depot, in the storm and darkness of the night, to bid farewell to the veteran soldier, who has just withdrawn from active service; and, as Gen. Scott pressed the hand of his young successor, he besought him not to be controlled by the advice of any parties who might counsel him to act contrary to his own judgment, if he would succeed in vindicating the honor of his country, which he was called upon to serve in so high and responsible a capacity.

Gen. McClellan's reply was: "I thank you, General, and will not forget your counsel. May you be restored to health, and live to see your prophecy fulfilled. God be with you. Farewell."

☞ Shortly before his retirement, Gen. Scott obtained positive information that his entire estate, all of which is situated in Virginia, has been seized and sequestered for the benefit of the so-called Confederate Government.

☞ The Boston *Transcript* states that a gentleman in a position to be well informed of the plans and intentions of the Government, says that the necessary documents were taken out in the Naval Expedition to form, in the places occupied by the Federal troops, Territorial Governments, to be in force until the authority of the United States is restored over an entire State, when the old State form will be reëstablished.

Among the material of the expedition is a quantity of bright cloth, which it is intended to make up into uniforms for colored men, thus pointing to the intention of forming black battalions from slaves, and you cannot make soldiers of slaves without freeing them. This is a settled point with military authorities. If the war is to last for any length of time, we ought to have many colored soldiers and sailors in our service, and so make them useful to the country, paying them well for their work. The red cloth taken by the expedition would convert persons who might become *Rouges* in a servile war, into "Black Republicans" in regular warfare.—*Traveller.*

FIGHT IN KENTUCKY. Letters in the Cincinnati *Gazette* describe an affair at West Liberty, on October 23, between the 2d Ohio regiment, and 500 rebels under one John Ficklin. By a skillful manœuvre, the latter were drawn into an ambuscade, from which they effected their escape only after a loss of thirty killed and thirteen wounded. The national forces had only one man wounded. On Oct. 24, Major Buckner, at Winchester, learned that forty or fifty mounted rebels were on their way to the rebel camp at Prestonburgh. Hastily collecting twenty-four men only, he succeeded in capturing the squad of rebels, and at once dispatched them to snug quarters at Camp Chase, Columbus, Ohio. There was a skirmish near Warsaw on Saturday, between twenty Unionists, and double that number of rebels under one Luther Green. The former were victorious, killing two of their opponents and recapturing some prisoners whom they had taken.

THE KANSAS BRIGADE. Lane's Kansas Brigade, which has been stigmatized as composed of bandits and thieves, was early last week at Clinton, in Henry county, on its way to join Sigel's advance guard at White's Ferry, over Grand River. On the authority of Mr. P. Butler, the Leavenworth *Times* relates certain incidents of Lane's progress, well illustrating the spirit that animates him and his men. At Pleasant Hill they confiscated two rebel stores, sixteen kegs and two half barrels of powder, finding the powder secreted in the bushes. The goods from the stores *were distributed among the Union families in the vicinity*, who had been left destitute by the rebel forces.—*St. Louis Democrat.*

☞ Gen. Lane of Kansas, with a portion of his brigade, is at Osceola. On Saturday, he captured Lt. Vaughn and Capt. Whitney of the rebel army, with all their men, baggage, horses and stores. Lane, like Sigel, is a live man, and also, like Sigel, has a marvellous faculty of getting his men along rapidly, and turning up in all sorts of unexpected places, to the great annoyance and discomfiture of the enemy.

UNION VICTORY AT PLATTSBURG, MO. We have received accounts, says the Leavenworth (Ka.) *Conservative*, of an engagement at Plattsburg, about fifteen miles south of the Hannibal road, which we deem trustworthy. On Sunday night, about seven hundred Union forces captured a rebel camp at Plattsburg, killed eight traitors, took twelve prisoners, one cannon, (all the artillery they had,) a large amount of small arms, and twenty horses. The camp was completely routed. The prisoners have been sent to St. Louis.

☞ The loss of the rebels, in the retreat to Barboursville, Ky., must have been fully one thousand men. Two pieces of artillery and all their camp furniture, extra clothing, many weapons, knapsacks, &c., were left behind in the precipitate flight, while the road by which they retreated is strewn with the same articles and their dead. The immediate field of the battle was literally strewn with their dead, whom they did not attempt to carry off, and did not remain to bury. The total loss of the rebels in the battle and retreat will reach 1200 or 1500 men.

☞ The New York *Commercial Advertiser* compiles a list of all the losses on both sides since the outbreak of the rebellion, commencing with the attack on the Massachusetts troops in Baltimore, and embracing the numerous fights and skirmishes that have since occurred, and the result is as follows: Federals, killed, 969; wounded, 2041; prisoners, 2374. Rebels, killed, 4049; wounded, 1604; prisoners, 2088. These figures, however, do not include the killed and wounded of scouting parties, of which there is no official record.

☞ The papers mention the death of Mr. Darby Vassall, in this city, at the age of 92. He was a colored man, and must have remembered the Vassall family when they were yet in their glory. They were a leading race in the old colonial times, but the Revolution was too much for them, they being loyalists, and now not one of them here exists. Mr. D. Vassall was born in the Vassall House, at Cambridge, now the residence of Mr. Longfellow, and the first head-quarters of Washington after he took command of the American army. He was an estimable man, and a noted member of one of our most distinguished churches, that of Brattle street; and by his death the present generation has lost one of the few links that connected it with a past that to the mind's eye seems to be almost as remote as the antediluvian days, and which is our antediluvian time, for it is separated from us by the flood of the Revolution.—*Traveller.*

DEATH OF GEN SAM HOUSTON. The announcement of the death of General Houston comes through two different channels—Nashville and Charleston—both concurring as to the day on which the event took place, and there is consequently reason to believe that it may be true. Gen. Houston was born near Lexington, Rockbridge County, Virginia, March 2d, 1793, thus making him over 68 years of age at the time of his reported death.

☞ Nearly a thousand Secessionists have been sent to Fort Warren, Boston, being the prisoners lately in the New York forts. They are of all grades, from Faulkner and Barron, and Maryland Legislators, to the soldiers who were taken at Hatteras Inlet.

☞ General Dix has issued a proclamation requiring the arrest of all inhabitants of Maryland who have been bearing arms against the Government in Virginia, and who may present themselves at the polls for voting at the ensuing election.

SAD MORTALITY. The family of Isaac G. and Susan A. Williamson, of Wiscasset, Me., lost in the short space of six days, their entire family of five children. At one time, says the Bath *Times*, four of the five lay dead in the house awaiting burial. The eldest was nine years and nine months old, and the youngest about seven months.

☞ Charles Anderson, brother of Gen. Anderson, was arrested in Texas lately, while attempting to emigrate with his family to Kentucky. His family were allowed to proceed.

SPRINGFIELD, Mo., Nov. 2. Gen. Fremont has been up nearly the whole of the past five nights, making the most perfect arrangements for a battle, and the confidence of the army in him was never so great as at present.

Nov. 3. Gen. Fremont and staff left for St. Louis this morning. He is accompanied by his body guard, and will reach St. Louis on Wednesday.

☞ Gen. Heintzleman has declined hunting for negroes.

MARYLAND AID FOR THE REBELS. A Maryland rebel recently asserted that no less than eleven thousand soldiers had been recruited from that State for the rebel army, besides furnishing immense amounts of supplies.

OBITUARY.

Died, at his residence in Sunbury, Delaware Co., Ohio, July 19th, 1861, Rev. ASHER A. DAVIS, aged 51 years. The deceased was born at Killingly, Conn., Oct. 7th, 1810. In 1828, he moved to Ohio, and in the following year, when but nineteen years old, began to preach the doctrines of Universal Salvation. He is remembered by the earlier residents of the State as the pioneer of Universalism, heralding its catholic belief where two or three could be gathered together in the primitive temples of the border settlements—earnest, zealous, thoughtless of self, undaunted by difficulty, embittered opposition, or popular indifference. For ten years his labors were unremitting, and to him was due, in a great measure, the organization of the churches now prospering in Ohio and Kentucky. In this laborious field were sown the seeds of that fearful disease, which, until the day of his death, filled him with pain. In 1840, he removed to Massachusetts, and became pastor of the church in Danvers. His health here became so much impaired as to render active duty impossible, and, leaving his family with his parishioners, he visited Jamaica, whence he returned in the following year, much improved, and more than ever anxious to further the cause of Universalism. In the fall of 1843, again too feeble to perform his burdensome and incessant duties, he resigned his position, and conducted the *Gospel Messenger*, in Providence, R. I. In the following year, he again removed to Glens Falls, N. Y., where he devoted six years in building up a flourishing church, and officiating as its pastor. Not long content to reap the well-earned reward of his labors as the beloved and venerated shepherd of a parish that owed its existence and prosperity to his exertions, he went, in 1848, to Iowa City. His health was now much broken, with little hope of ultimate recovery. In 1849, he returned to Ohio, and was installed pastor of the church in Zanesville; but after a last earnest and manly struggle against the inroads of disease upon a frame weakened by his long and faithful life-labor, he was compelled to resign all hope of active ministerial duty, and retired to Sunbury, where the remainder of his life was spent—his health hopelessly ruined, every breath a painful spasm, every movement full of misery. It ever seemed wonderful to his friends that he endured so much, and yet lived; not more wonderful than the perfect resignation with which he bore his numberless afflictions. Content was he to wait even unto the end, sustained by an unfaltering trust "in Him who doeth all things well." Not a word of impatience, not a whisper of complaint, not a murmur of ingratitude or disbelief, was extorted by his sufferings. Helpless in the prime of life, cut down in a field of usefulness he was so well fitted to adorn and render fruitful, compelled to linger in painful inactivity year after year, he was ever patient and kind and long-suffering, never permitting the paroxysms of a diseased frame to disturb the serenity of a disciplined and *Christianized* mind. He is gone now—gone to reap the rewards of a life which had taught his weary heart "to labor and to wait"—to work earnestly in God's field while He willed it—to submit without a murmur to His chastisements.

With but a partial early education, he made himself thoroughly and critically acquainted with the literature of our own and several other modern languages, and was, until the day of his death, a close and indefatigable student, not only of theology, but of every department of general knowledge. He was especially conversant with the literature of Germany, and drank at the poisoned fountains of modern German philosophy without imbibing any of its infidelity.

He has left a record of his life-labor in the hearts of Universalists East and West; in the memory of the friends of healthful Reform everywhere, and in every good work; above all, among those who were nearest and dearest—who ministered to him during his last, long, lingering years of suffering, of resignation, and hopeful, willing obedience.

☞ FRATERNITY LECTURES. ☜

FOURTH SERIES.

The public of Boston and vicinity are respectfully informed that the FOURTH SERIES of FRATERNITY LECTURES continue weekly at TREMONT TEMPLE.

The lecture on Tuesday Evening, Nov. 12, will be by

RALPH WALDO EMERSON.

To be followed on successive TUESDAY EVENINGS by Lectures from the following gentlemen:—

November 19—WILLIAM R. ALGER.
" 26—HENRY WARD BEECHER.
December 3—FREDERICK DOUGLASS.
" 10—DANIEL S. DICKINSON.
" 17—EDWIN H. CHAPIN.
" 24—EZRA H. HEYWOOD.
" 31—WILLIAM S. STUDLEY.
January 7—WENDELL PHILLIPS.

Organist - - HOWARD M. DOW, Esq.

Doors to be opened at 6 1-2 o'clock. Lectures to commence at 7 1-2 o'clock, precisely.

A limited number of tickets (admitting the bearer and a lady,) are offered for sale at $2 each; to be obtained at Oliver Ditson & Co.'s, No. 277 Washington street, John C. Hayes & Co.'s, 33 Court street, D. O. Goodrich's, 302 Washington street, of the several members of the Fraternity hitherto having the disposal of tickets, and at the Tremont Temple. Oct. 11

☞ WM. LLOYD GARRISON will speak at Music Hall, on Sunday forenoon next, before the Twenty-Eighth Congregational Society. Subject—*The State of the Country.*

☞ A. T. FOSS will speak in Portsmouth, N. H., Sunday evening, Nov. 20.

The Life and Letters of

CAPTAIN JOHN BROWN,

WHO was Executed at Charlestown, Virginia, December 2, 1859, for an Armed Attack upon American Slavery: with Notices of some of his Confederates. Edited by RICHARD D. WEBB.—This very valuable and interesting work, which has met with a most favorable reception and ready sale in England, has been carefully prepared by one of the most intelligent and experienced friends of America in the old world. For sale at the Anti-Slavery Office in Boston, 221 Washington street, Room No. 6. Also in New York, at No. 5 Beekman street; and in Philadelphia, at No. 106 North Tenth street. Price, One Dollar.
Nov. 8. tf

The Anti-Slavery History

OF THE

JOHN-BROWN YEAR;

BEING the Twenty-Seventh Annual Report of the American Anti-Slavery Society,—is published and for sale at the Anti-Slavery Office, 221 Washington street, A. WILLIAMS & Co., CROSBY & NICHOLS, and REDDING & Co. Price 50 cents. tf Nov. 8.

TERMS REDUCED,

AT the Round Hill Water-Cure in Northampton, Mass., to $7 and $10 per week. Open Summer and Winter. DR. HALSTED'S success in the treatment of Woman's diseases is well known. The cure is speedy and reliable. Those brought on beds, even, are soon enabled to walk. Over four hundred cases of spinal diseases, paralysis and loss of the use of limbs have been restored; and numerous cures have been made of various stubborn difficulties which had lingered without help for years. For the success in treating more ordinary complaints, and the great favor given the Turkish Chemical and other Baths, see circular sent gratis.

Needing a little change, and desirous to confer as well as to receive benefit, Dr. H. will make a few professional visits, travelling expenses being paid, without charge.
Northampton, Oct. 30.

Woman's Rights under the Law.

THREE Lectures delivered in Boston, January, 1861, by Mrs. C. H. Dall.
I. The Oriental Estimate and the French Law.
II. The English Common Law.
III. The United States Law, and some Thoughts on Human Rights.
16mo., cloth, 63 cts.
Published by WALKER, WISE & CO., 245 Washington street, Boston.

Uniform with
Woman's Right to Labor, 63 cts.
Practical Illustrations of the same, 63 cts.
Historical Pictures Retouched, $1.00.
All of which are sent *free* by mail on receipt of the price.
Oct. 25—3tis

THE most able and brilliant book, called forth by the present struggle, is

THE REJECTED STONE:

Or, Insurrection vs. Resurrection in America.

By a Native of Virginia. 12mo., flexible covers—50 cts. Published, and sent free by mail, on receipt of the price, by WALKER, WISE & CO.,
Oct. 25—3tis 245 Washington street, Boston.

Poetry.

For the Liberator.

OUR COUNTRY AND THE WAR.

Clouds gather o'er the fated land,
And tempests fill the sky;
Yet round her steadfast children stand,
Prepared to do or die.
She has not lost her ancient strength,
Her patience and her power;
The battle must be hers at length,
Howe'er misfortunes lower.
She has a bitter work to do,
A mighty heart to bear;
Let but that heart be firm and true—
She need not yet despair!

The trumpet's war-note, long and clear,
Echoes on land and sea;
Cannon and bayonet, sword and spear,
Flash back the sunbeams free;
And hosts are gathering, far and wide,
Before the tempest's breath,
To walk, in martial pomp and pride,
The road that leads to death!
Men's hearts are troubled; 'tis an hour
Of strange, remorseful pain;
Let us but hope its withering power
May not be felt in vain!

We have been faithless. While we won
Peace, safety, freedom, name,
When our proud race was but begun,
We stained its might with shame!
We saw our brother—lost, forlorn,
Bound, hunted, bleeding, lie;
We crushed him deeper in our scorn,
And left him there to die!
We deemed our power all might should win,
All glory round us cast;
And, lo—the end! Our giant sin
Has found us out at last!

So be it. When this night of woe,
These wasting pangs are o'er,
When all the tortured land shall know
A living hope once more;
When from our suffering we shall rise,
Made human, generous, true,
And stand before th' eternal skies,
Beginning life anew,
We may be thankful for our pain,
And find, in hope and trust,
God's angel was not sent in vain,
To lift us from the dust!

Montreal, October, 1861. M. M.

From the Atlantic Monthly for November.

THE FLOWER OF LIBERTY.

BY O. W. HOLMES.

What flower is this that greets the morn,
Its hues from heaven so freshly born?
With burning star and flaming band
It kindles all the sunset land;—
O, tell us what its name may be!
Is this the Flower of Liberty?
It is the banner of the free,
The starry Flower of Liberty!

In savage Nature's far abode
Its tender seed our fathers sowed;
The storm-winds rocked its swelling bud,
Its opening leaves were streaked with blood,
Till, lo! earth's tyrants shook to see
The full-blown Flower of Liberty!
Then hail the banner of the free,
The starry Flower of Liberty!

Behold its streaming rays unite,
One mingling flood of braided light,—
The red that fires the Southern rose,
The spotless white from Northern snows,
And, spangled o'er its azure, see
The sister Stars of Liberty!
Then hail the banner of the free,
The starry Flower of Liberty!

The blades of heroes fence it round;
Where'er it springs is holy ground;
From tower and dome its glories spread;
It waves where lonely sentries tread;
It makes the land as ocean free,
And plants an empire on the sea!
Then hail the banner of the free,
The starry Flower of Liberty!

Thy sacred leaves, fair Freedom's flower,
Shall ever float on dome and tower,
To all their heavenly colors true,
In blackening frost or crimson dew,—
And God love us as we love thee,
Thrice holy Flower of Liberty!
Then hail the banner of the free,
The starry FLOWER OF LIBERTY!

From the New York Independent.

WAITING.

We watch, we wait! October's sun
Has draped the woods with yellow leaves;—
They told us victory should be won
Ere Autumn bound her harvest sheaves.

Our struggling nation groans and strives!
Brave hearts, who never knew retreat,
Upon her altars lay their lives—
And still our record stands, Defeat!

We give our treasures, silver, gold,
And wealth is poured, a shining flood,
Nor brothers, lovers, sons withhold
From battle's red baptism of blood.

Yet trail disgraced our Stripes and Stars!
In vain our heroes strive and die;
Exultant wave the odious bars,
And traitors shout the victor-cry.

We give our gold! we keep our sin!
We turn the hunted bondman back!
We fast and pray that freedom win,
Only for white men—not for black!

God calleth such a fast "accursed!"
Help us, O God, our path to see!
Strike the bold stroke of duty first,
And, trusting, leave results with Thee!

Brookline, Mass. H. W.

THE CORN SONG.

Heap high the farmer's wintry hoard!
Heap high the golden corn!
Nor richer gift has Autumn poured
From out her lavish horn!

Let other lands, exulting, glean
The apple from the pine,
The orange from its glossy green,
The cluster from the vine;

We better love the hardy gift
Our rugged vales bestow,
To cheer us when the storm shall drift
Our harvest-fields with snow.

Through vales of grass and meads of flowers,
Our ploughs their furrows made,
While on the hills the sun and showers
Of changeful April played.

We dropped the seed o'er hill and plain,
Beneath the sun of May,
And frightened from our sprouting grain
The robber crows away.

All through the long, bright days of June,
Its leaves grew green and fair,
And waved in hot midsummer's noon
Its soft and yellow hair.

And now, with Autumn's moon-lit eves,
Its harvest time has come,
We pluck away the frosted leaves,
And bear the treasure home.

There, richer than the fabled gift
Apollo showered of old,
Fair hands the broken grain shall sift,
And knead its meal of gold. WHITTIER.

The Liberator.

OUR COUNTRY TO BE FREE AND UNITED.

Thirty years of effort at the North to portray the horrors and crimes of slavery would seem to be enough to complete the dark and revolting picture. Politicians of every dye, and citizens irrespective of their birth-place, must have suffered enough by this time to wish to see American liberty resting on a broader and nobler basis.

This terrible civil contest is a phenomenon we all can see. But in the tumult and commotion, its cause, objects and uses are not always visible. At this day the compromises in the Constitution with slavery, and their connection with our present disasters, are plainly seen, if we will only look. This poison, injected into the body of our organic law, was *the fatal mistake*. Its sad effects are all around us now. In the brief period of our past national life, could the competitions of our Industries have thus severed us? Need the manufactories of the East, the granaries of the great West, the marts of commerce or the cotton of the South have quarrelled? Could anything of American growth or manufacture, *except a despotism wholly indigenous*, warring with the nobler instincts of freemen, and seeking to assert its oppressive sway over the unsuspecting, have been cause sufficient to plunge 33,000,000 of people into so terrible a death-struggle?

The English colonist under the auspices of his sovereign, the framers of the Constitution, Northern and Southern partizans united for the division of the spoils of office, and elevated, by the suffrages of a duped but honest constituency, to heights for which God and nature never intended them, under the specious show of democracy, foreign slave-traders in Northern ships, slave-breeders on the worn-out lands of Virginia and elsewhere, slave-driving and working over Southern plantations, have generated, as naturally as night succeeds the day, a brood of the rankest tyrants and conspirators that ever disgraced this or any age or nation. This monstrous abortion, this bogus aristocracy, this hell-born hag, now clutches with its skinny fingers at the throat of the nation.

Throughout this vast and beautiful region, cursed as it is by slavery, and made thereby the *seat of American despotism*, there should have been to-day 20,000,000 of freemen not opposed, but at peace, and united with us. Instead of this, from the first day of its settlement to the present hour, as marked castes of humanity, and as wide in their extremes as can be found in India, are now the occupants and possessors of all the Southern soil. What a mockery to call such a spectacle the outgrowth of a free Constitution! Can any be so stupid as to require the changes still to be rung over this revolting fact? Can any mind, dwelling in a body this side of Mason and Dixon's line, be so obtuse in the hour of this terrible conflict as to need further proof of the cause and substance of this mighty conspiracy?

Party lines are vanishing. Men are planting themselves on the solid ground of American citizenship, and with the determination to wrest the country, cost what it may, from the foul clutch of the conspirator. There is also a desire to behold in its naked deformity the "head and front" of the offence, that, through the dread exigency of war, or by some other means, this beautiful land shall not only in *name*, but in deed and in truth, be hereafter made an asylum of the oppressed and a home of the free. None can pretend to know what events are in store for us. But we *do* know that we live under a Constitution which guarantees to the "citizens of one State the privileges and immunities of the citizens of the several States"—the chief meaning of which is, that all travellers, sojourners and dwellers in *all sections of the country* shall have a right to claim protection at the hands of the government under this Constitution—of life, of property, of speech, and of every thing else that goes to make up the sum of American citizenship and rational growth and manhood. If the rebellion be not crushed in a manner to insure hereafter and forever this much-desired object, so that the citizen of these United States, for all time to come, shall breathe as freely the air of Alabama or Virginia as that of Massachusetts or Michigan, then the problem of American liberty is not solved, and our Constitution is in this respect a mockery. That this point must be reached before peace can return to us is plain to all reflecting minds; but by what methods, God only knows.

SLAVERY *must answer for all our troubles*. To get rid of *this* is *really the great question*. Whether it will be removed by the Commander-in-chief, through the exercise of the war power backed by bayonets, or by the slaveholders themselves, or whether (as some seem to hope) by the destruction of the cotton monopoly, or in other ways, or by all combined, we cannot foresee. That this object is destined to be accomplished *somehow*, and in good time, faith in both God and man binds us to believe. Each day brings its duties to us, alike in this emergency as in all things else. In the *faithful* performance of these duties, we are so far right. The result we may safely trust to Him who alone is both merciful and just. The genius of the people and the march of events proclaim to us the certainty that we shall yet be a *free and united people*, throughout the extent of our broad domain. "*United*, we stand; *divided*, we fall." W.

RELATION OF THE POPULAR THEOLOGY TO SLAVERY.

SIXTH AND ARCH ST., PHILADELPHIA, Oct. 30, 1861.

EDITOR OF THE LIBERATOR:

DEAR SIR—In your remarks before the Penn. A. S. Society at West Chester, last week, you referred to the *Abolition press* as being among the few which gives perfect freedom of opinion in their columns, &c., on all subjects. I am going to avail myself of the privilege to criticise your remarks in another place, in response to some statements made by myself. You said, at the Progressive Friends' meeting held on Sunday, at Longwood, that "the word Compromise was written on the hearts of the American people," that this was brought about by temporizing with great wrongs, that "the inevitable consequences of such a course were disaster and ruin, that we were paying to-day the certain price of oppression and robbery in the past," &c., with a great many other statements of a like character, with which I cordially agreed. At the close of your remarks, I said it was no wonder the word Compromise was written on the hearts of the people when we consider that the Orthodox religion of the land teaches that a Jesus who died eighteen hundred years ago paid for the sins of men to-day; that it was no wonder men believed they might compromise with wrong to each other, so long as they believed God was willing to compromise with them for their sins; and that it was natural enough to suppose, that if Christ's death atoned for individual sins, it might answer also for national sins. I said also, that "so long as this great system of Orthodox religion taught such errors, and the people believed them, there was little hope of their doing otherwise." To those remarks you replied by saying, "A man's theological notions of the atonement, &c., had but little to do with his conduct to his neighbor—that Catholics, Presbyterians, Baptists, Methodists, Universalists, Infidels, &c. might be found in the armies of both North and South, and that it was of little importance what men thought of religious dogmas, provided their lives were honest, truthful and just." I did not reply to you at the time, because the usual order of Progressive Friends' meetings invite all to speak, and I was unwilling to take up the time of others; but now I would like to say a word or two, admitting fully that the life is more important than the creed.

Is it not true that a great obstacle in the way of emancipation in this country has proceeded from those in power in the Orthodox Church, and that theological dogma has been the principal means used to defend their position? Is not Nehemiah Adams the key to Presbyterian dogmatism, both North and South? Is not the conduct of Tract, Bible and other Societies connected with the Orthodox bodies, influenced by their religious opinions, and their persistence in shutting out the question of liberty the result of such opinions? If men believe that religion (their religion) is the source of morals, must not that religion guide and direct their conduct towards each other? It appears to me those points are very clearly answered in the affirmative, and the statement you made that men are "*good in spite of their religion*" would not alter the case. Your own argument, (that because God made all brethren, therefore we should all treat each other as such,) is in fact an answer to the difficulty. I assert, that Orthodoxy is an obstacle to this great truth of brotherhood, and more or less all Orthodox sects are cultivating this pernicious error, and that it results logically from the very dogmas which you believe are unimportant in their influence on life and conduct. If you could point out to me Conventions of liberal Christians or Infidels who take the ground of Evangelical sects, and shut out the negro from manhood as they do, I grant your arguments would be good; but at present, I rejoice to believe that heresy in religion, like heresy in politics, is on the side of man, and that there is good cause for the Orthodox suspicion so generally entertained, that Abolitionists and Infidels are more nearly allied than many of the former are willing to admit.

Trusting to your forbearance for the length of this,

I am, dear Sir, respectfully,

THOMAS CURTIS.

P. S. I believe that it is not good policy to injure a cause by placing too much of what is unpopular upon its shoulders.

In the absence of Mr. Garrison, I volunteer a word of reply to the foregoing. I do not know the number of the people who call themselves "Infidels." But I have seen no evidence at all that they, either in combination, or as separate bodies, have been active and zealous laborers for the abolition of slavery. Individuals among them have undoubtedly been such, and I am glad to believe the writer of the above letter a genuine abolitionist; but *many* individuals, in the various departments of the faith which he criticises, have been such in the highest degree and to the fullest extent. As to the people who call themselves "Liberal Christians," if they had been worthy of the praise above bestowed upon them—if they, for the last thirty years, (with or without the help of the professed "Infidels,") had labored as much, and as earnestly, in behalf of the slave, as in advocacy of their own sectarian peculiarities—in my judgment we should long since have seen the churches of the popular religion shamed out of their pro-slavery position, and forced, in self-defence, to place themselves in active opposition to the practice of slaveholding—and, the religion of the country having thus ceased to be its bulwark, slavery, I think, must already have been abolished.—C. K. W.

HENRY C. WRIGHT'S LABORS.

DETROIT, (Mich.) Oct. 26, 1861.

MR. GARRISON:

DEAR FRIEND—You long ago had some experience of the welcome which Detroit gives to the Abolitionist. When you were here, and refused any house but the African church, the city was Democratic. It has since become Republican. But though that is a great improvement on the old regime, the Abolitionist has hitherto found no more favor, and indeed has perhaps been hated all the more heartily for his cousinship. The fact that the politic Republican feels himself in some degree open to the charge of Abolitionism makes him all the more careful to preserve his garments from contamination. The sickening old cry, "I'm no Abolitionist!" so often heard in Congress and on the stump, never needed to be uttered by the Democrat. *His works spoke for him.* The time of this darkness is passing away, and a better day dawning throughout the land.

Last Sunday, Oct. 20th, we had three lectures in Merrill Hall—thorough-going anti-slavery lectures—*anti-slavery in more than one sense*. A brief notice of them may not be uninteresting. Our friend Henry C. Wright was advertised to lecture on the Cause and Cure of the War. In the morning, the address was preliminary to the main subject, and admirably calculated to bring the audience into sympathy with the speaker, and prepare it for the further reception of truth. At the close, it was specially requested that there should be three lectures instead of two, and that the war question should be deferred for consideration to the evening. This was assented to by Mr. Wright, and the afternoon was occupied with the subject of Immortality, including the pre-natal existence of man. Not being present myself, I can only say it was spoken of in high commendation by those who heard it. In the evening, an audience, double the number of the morning, came together, and we had a grand lecture on the Cause and Cure of the War. On rising, Mr. Wright frankly stated his position—said he did not wish to come before his audience *a masked battery*—that he was an Abolitionist, and, what was worse, an out and out Garrisonian Abolitionist—that he had fought slavery with *his* weapons for thirty years, and had earnestly hoped that no war but a war of ideas would be necessary for its overthrow—that he made it a rule never to say anything for the purpose of shocking his hearers, and never to refrain from saying anything for fear it would shock them. The first would be unjust to them, the second to himself. The war of bullets was upon us, and he was there to consider its cause and cure. First. When did the war begin? Second. Who commenced it? Third. What was the cause? and Fourth, What is the cure? It was a masterly discussion of the subject, interspersed with extracts from the speeches and writings of the rebel leaders, and editorials from the various public journals of the day, showing that the rebels had been deliberately planning and preparing for this war for thirty years—that it was the South, not Abraham Lincoln and the Republican party, which inaugurated it—that Slavery alone was the cause, and Emancipation the sole cure. Long before the lecturer closed, he had the audience completely with him. It was interesting to watch the various countenances as he proceeded. One face in especial was worthy of notice. Its features were like a wall of flint, with the evident determination to let no shot take effect—a sullen and fierce denial sat there for a long time; but, after a while, its gates were left unguarded, and a final entrance given to the forces of the friendly besieger. Would that the whole city had been there! Many such regrets were felt and warmly expressed; and, after returning home from the lecture, Mr. Wright was called upon and earnestly requested to remain over until Tuesday evening, and repeat his lecture for the benefit of those who had not been present. Owing to other engagements, he declined the invitation; but good was done that day in conservative old Detroit. Mr. Wright will be wanted here again, and welcomed with such a welcome as would not have been given to him or any other Abolitionist previous to that day. C. E. C.

☞ The Washington correspondent of the Philadelphia *Press* says:—

"The friends of General Fremont here say, in unmistakable language, that he has been unfairly dealt with; that he has been villanously persecuted because some members of the Cabinet are jealous of his popularity; and that, when an investigation takes place, he will make these things manifest, and show a cleaner record than any other officer of his rank in the service."

☞ A special dispatch from St. Louis, Mo., dated the 24th instant, to the Chicago *Tribune*, says:—

"Gen. Strong has received dispatches from Secretary Seward, stating that Fremont has not been removed. Mrs. Fremont has private dispatches to the same effect. Also, a friend of Fremont's, in close connection with the Cabinet, telegraphs the same to Fremont in response to an inquiry. There is great complaint among Fremont's friends that ammunition ordered for him has been diverted to Kentucky since leaving the East."

WHAT ARE WE FIGHTING FOR?

[The following extracts are from an elaborate Essay, signed "Merchant," in the *Bangor Jeffersonian*. Why should not all merchants, and all Northern men, urge the Government to act in accordance with ideas so just and reasonable?]

* * * Although at the beginning, the North did not seek to wage war upon the institutions of the South, it has now become a necessity so to do,—a necessity to utterly destroy that institution which is the fountain from which all our present troubles have sprung.

Time has shown that the extension of slavery, the building up of an empire whose corner stone should be slavery, causing property in man to be recognized as a fundamental principle of government, is the reason and the motive why, under other guises, the South commenced this war, the sin of whose unholiness rests with them, and not with us. They have made the issue, not we; they have placed their god in the van, daring us to strike it. If we stab it to the heart, are we not justified?

The extinction of slavery was a thought bred by the necessities of the case. We did not at first know the plans of our adversaries. We were weak enough to be deluded by the cry of Fugitive Slave Law, Personal Liberty Bills, and other questions of like ilk, and grave judges were exercised over constitutional precedents, lawyers looked wise and pondered over legal quibbles, ministers, even, cried peccavimus, and advised sackcloth and ashes, and we made ourselves generally ridiculous, while our adversaries laughed in their sleeves at our gullibility and want of manliness, and profited hugely by our dilatoriness.

Stubbornly we have persisted in not believing what our enemies have more recently told us, and will scarcely now believe that they mean what they say, or that they are most terribly in earnest. Even now, we persist in shutting our eyes to facts, and, keeping them shut, refuse to believe that the surest, speediest, easiest way to bring them to terms is to strike boldly at the roots of that tree they have so kindly laid bare to us.

Such being the case, why wrangle among ourselves about words and terms? Why not take the manly course, and avow that this war *is* for the *abolition of slavery*? Why seek to cover up, under pretext of restoring the Union to its integrity, the just ground upon which the question has of necessity placed itself, when its integrity can never be restored without cutting out the sore that for eighty years has been sapping its foundation? As well might you talk of restoring the integrity of heaven by reinstating Satan, as to talk of restoring the integrity of the Union by reinstating slavery. This squeamishness about words is supremely ridiculous.

How stands the case, if we are simply fighting to bring back the rebellious States to their constitutional obligations and privileges? The argument is this: you cannot bring them back to their constitutional obligations without restoring them to their constitutional privileges, part of which are to hold or not to hold slaves, as they may elect.

That is what we are fighting for, is it? Fighting to bring back the curse, instead of destroying it! fighting to place ourselves in the same relation to it we were before! fighting to again establish the supremacy in our government, of slavery! fighting to restore to slavery the throne it has voluntarily abdicated!

My sensitive friends, all this is precisely what they are fighting for—nothing more nor less; and, according to your view of the case, both armies present the spectacle of being ready and willing to cut each other's throats, for no other reason than perfect agreement on all points in the case: not fighting because they cannot agree, but because they cannot disagree. I think if you once give currency to your ideas, three quarters of our troops will return home, and leave Government to dispose of the question as best it may.

Reason, speculate, theorize as much as you please, this war is for the abolition of slavery; for unless it is extinguished, good-bye to a republican form of government. It must be carried on until the cause is removed, if we expect peace or safety for the future.

If, then, with all the facts staring us in the face, the admissions of our enemies, the experience of eighty years, the events of the hour, the derangement of the business of the world, we refuse to make clean work of it, refuse the opportunity so opportunely offered, refuse to put out of the power of our enemies the power to again injure us, we deserve to be whipped, and probably shall be.

We have run through the gamut of civil law—we have played upon a harp of more than a thousand strings, in endeavoring to pacify our enemies—let us see if martial law will not accomplish what the other has failed to do. All this talk, then, about bringing back the States to their constitutional obligations and principles is simply smoke, and very thin smoke at that. We or they are in the wrong. We cannot both be fighting for the same constitutional rights under the same Constitution. We are either for or against some principle which they are either against or for, or else we are making ourselves ridiculous. We are either fighting for an abstraction or a reality, they the same. What is it? We cannot both be fighting for the same thing! I see but one answer to the question, this: they are fighting to perpetuate slavery, we to extinguish it, because that is the principle they have placed antagonistic to us.

A right implies a remedy. If we have a right to bring back those States to their constitutional obligations, we have a right to employ as a remedy any means we may deem fit to accomplish the object: and if the remedy for our troubles *is* the abolition of slavery, we have a constitutional right to employ it. But it does not follow that being brought back entitles them to the privilege of again possessing the same weapons, the use and abuse of which have given them strength to rebel.

* * * * * *

We must no longer hesitate in regard to the manner of conducting the war; we must no longer hesitate about the manner in which this question of slavery shall be dealt with. Its character is such, its ramifications extend so deeply into the social and political life of the rebels, constituting the very foundation of their resources, the very sinews, in more cases than one, of their ability to conduct the war, that no quicker way to conquer them exists than to fearlessly and boldly attack it, and, if possible, utterly destroy it.

The same necessity is now upon us and with us, as with the captain of a ship who throws over his cargo, worth ten times the ship, for the purpose of saving his life and that of his crew; and if we can preserve our country in no other way than by throwing overboard even the Constitution, overboard with it; if the fear of invading its principles has settled down the ship of State to her rail, overboard with it; if the rudder has become so entangled with the spars and rigging thrown overboard, in our endeavors to bring her head to the wind, and there is no other way to save her, cut it adrift, and we will scud under jury masts, and manage the tack and sheets as best we can, trusting in God to bring us safely into a port where we can safely refit, and again pursue our voyage on the ocean of life.

SUPERLATIVE OLD FOGYISM.

The Democracy of the Fifth Congressional District, in this State, have put forward Hon. George B. Upton as a candidate for the House of Representatives. In the "Union speech" of that gentleman before the Democratic Convention, he said that we could never have "peace with Secession, and never peace with Abolitionism." Upon this sapient remark, the *Tribune* comments as follows:—

The human mind shrinks back aghast, and resolutely refuses to believe in folly like this. For our own part, we thought, but thought, it seems, fondly, that it had gone out of date. It is such a ludicrous confounding of cause and effect; it is such a jackdaw repetition of one thin and thread-bare formula, which never had much meaning and has no meaning now; it shows such blindness to fact, and such deafness to warning, and such besotted incapacity to reason, that as we read it, we ask ourselves in wonder, how it is that this man of facts and figures, who, in the purchase of a ship or the terms of a charter-party, could not be swindled by the cunningest competitor to the extent of one quarter of one per cent., cannot talk of public affairs without lamentably exposing his own incompetency, and talking like a simpleton. It is not to be carried, of course, to the discredit of trade, because able merchants, like Mr. Hooper, the other Boston candidate, often have clear public views, and write statesmanlike letters. What can have possessed Mr. Upton, and left him to believe, that if we will only go back to the point at which we commenced the war, we shall be sure of eternal peace? Of what stuff does he think the human mind is composed? How can he, otherwise, we believe, a sensible man, talk of getting rid of what he calls "Abolitionism," and not of getting rid of slavery? As if "Abolitionism" were an accident of an accident; as if it were something which some ill-intentioned fellows had stimulated for their profit or amusement, and which we have only to resolve to be rid of, to be rid of immediately. Will Mr. Upton, in the event of his election, bring in a bill for the repeal of tide-tables, and the reconstruction of the solar system? He thinks in his folly that he can regulate the human mind, put checks and balances upon its complicated operations, make it believe this, make it disbelieve that; he thinks that he can reverse the laws of public economy, that he can legislate outrageously and yet profitably, and that he can buy a peace of the Father of Lies. He is dreadfully mistaken. He does not know what he says when he so flippantly couples Secession and Abolitionism. While slavery lasts in this world, there will always be Abolitionists. No reconstruction of the Union, much as we may pray for it and desire it, would be worth having at the cost of the hopeless and interminable enslavement of the African race in America.

☞ The following seems to be written in reply to certain criticisms in anti-slavery quarters upon Mrs. Stowe's letter to Lord Shaftesbury. Like other recent efforts of Gen. Thompson, it shows his clear insight into the American struggle, and his usual devotion to the anti-slavery cause. His timely essays on American affairs indicate the sagacious reasoner and true patriot, and are gratefully appreciated.

WEAK BRETHREN.

To the Editor of the Bradford Advertiser:

SIR,—The strange struggle maintained in England, for hitting the maximum of check to the progress of slavery abolition in America, will at some time be looked back upon with wonder and with shame. And it is not confined to those who may be excusable as being supposed blinded by strong temporal interests or apprehensions, but extends into the ranks of those who ought to have more of the insight of statesmen and the instincts of cultivated citizens.

There is to be intense sympathy with the theoretical desirableness of personal freedom in America; only when there is chance of a practical point being gained, nothing is to be left undone which can cool friends, heat enemies, suggest difficulties, divide associates, persuade the energetic that people in England think them fools, throw sly ridicule on those who dare be enthusiastic, magnify differences, lead off from the discovery that they are capable of solution, keep down hope, cherish despondency, blow the sparks of mischief, and play the part of malevolent clown in pantomime without his wit.

It is not true that England with her whole heart hates slavery, and desires its extinction. She has not got a whole heart, any more than America. The phenomenon the reasoners of the day will not comprehend is, that in times of change there is no such thing as a whole heart in a nation, but, on the contrary, all manner of conflicting hearts, running against one another, and first one getting uppermost and then the other. A simple-minded man sees an invading army enter a capital, and be received there with great show of congratulation by a noisy public. A few months afterwards comes back the other man, and is received with still more congratulation by a noisier. What a changeable impersonation is the public, says our simple-minded man,—nothing weening, that what he sees is not one public, but two publics, going in and out like the lady and gentleman in a weather-house.

So in England, though there is a great front made about anti-slavery principle, and an eager desire to make capital of it wherever the thing may be feasible, the evidences of capacity for assisting its friends in the actual battle-field have been feeble, and far to seek. Its very official organ, to which it would be difficult for anybody to persuade himself to ascribe an ill intention, exhales itself in attack, with threat of more, on the lady world-renowned, and upon one of the barest quiddits ever nailed against the wall in a boy's book of rhetoric. Slavery was the cause,—the *fons et origo*,—of all the mischief in America;—which "nobody *can* deny." But the abolition of slavery was not, on Michaelmas day last, the declared object of all of government existing in America. And these two things Mrs. Stowe is declared to have confounded, when she sounded the exulting trumpet which rallies the last of sleepers to the rescue, on the ground that the Abolitionists, who lately were a cloud no bigger than a man's hand, were by God's grace, and blessing on concurrent circumstances, rushing into a majority which should carry everything it was desirable to attain. She did not say they *had* attained it; if she had, there might have been a fair issue between her and the doctors among whom she is found sitting.

But even if the mistake had been made in its strongest form, what policy, what sense, what reason, what justice, what due care of serious interests committed, was there in thus pecking at a ministering angel, and giving the adversary all the weight which such opposition could effect? Would not sensible men have said, "We are afraid the thing cannot be called accomplished; but we rejoice heartily in every appearance of its being on full march to be so, and pray all friends to unite in everything which may tend to advance a step or keep down a resistance"?

One inference only is prominent. Bad influences have been at work somewhere. This trifling in moments of crisis ought not to go forth to America as undisputed specimen of English feeling. It would be a fine time for some of the sons of the prophets, a race among whom there has never been an extinction of vigor for a good cause, to rise and vindicate a wiser view and a nobler aim.

Yours sincerely,

T. PERRONET THOMPSON.

Eliot Vale, Blackheath, 24th Oct., 1861.

RATIONALE OF WAR EMANCIPATION.

The New York *Evening Post* inquires—on the supposition that Gen. McClellan, or some other commander, should be sent into the Southern tier of States—What *ought* he to do? What *would* he do?—and answers its own questions thus:—

"If the emergency should prove sufficiently great, he would rightly force every able-bodied man in his reach to bear arms and help in his defence. And as South Carolina has a negro population of 402,541 persons, one-fifth of whom, or over eighty thousand, may fairly be considered able-bodied men, who have the added advantage, for military use, of being thoroughly familiar with the country, he would not fail to call upon these to join him. In fact he would compel them to join him, where he could catch them; and where they were not in his reach, he would offer such inducements as would be most sure to bring them over to his side. In plain words, he would offer them their liberty, as the reward of their aid—and it would be surprising if the insurgents did not hasten to make them the same offer. In this case, however, our General's promise would receive more faith than that of a slaveholding commander; whom the negroes would rightly suspect of promising against his will, what he would hesitate to perform if he were victorious.

Now, in the emergency which we have supposed—and which is one very common in all military operations—if the commanding general had at every step to look at the latest act of Congress, and the moment its provisions did not cover his emergency, if he had to stop there and then, and send messengers to the President for instructions, he might as well, and indeed much better, stay at home. The picture of a commander making an attack according to act of Congress, resisting the enemy within the limits of the President's instructions, seizing no advantage without permission of the Secretary of War, five hundred miles away, is too absurd to be soberly conceived by anybody but a member of the white-feather party. It is not possible to carry on a campaign in this way. While the enemy was acting with vigor in every direction, our poor commander would be looking anxiously for his expresses from Washington. While the insurgents were firing houses, destroying fields, carrying off property and slaves of citizens—as they have done already in Missouri and Kentucky—and thus devastating the country, and leaving our forces daily more helpless and exposed, our General would be inditing dispatches, entreating instructions, advising the safest course for messengers, and meantime warding off, as well as he could with bound hands, the blows his shrewder adversary was raining upon him."

NEW LAW OF RELIGIOUS LIBERTY IN AUSTRIA.

The Commission of the Chamber of Deputies, appointed to draw up the basis of a project of law on religious matters, have agreed to certain resolutions, of which the following is a summary:—

"Liberty of conscience is guaranteed to all. No one is to be compelled to declare his religious convictions. The private exercise of religion is permitted to all without impediment. To each church legally recognized belongs the right of public worship, except in cases where public tranquillity and order might require otherwise. The law gives equal rights and protection to all churches. There is no privileged State religion. The relations between the heads and members of a church or religious society are unfettered. The influence of every church in the primary and middle schools is confined to the religion which it represents. The legislation relative to promises of marriages and to marriages, as regards their validity and civil effects, belongs exclusively to the State, which exercises, through the secular tribunals, jurisdiction in matrimonial affairs. All the heads and members of a church to take an oath of obedience and fidelity to the Emperor. The religious marriage is to take place only after the celebration of the civil marriage. Differences of religion to be no obstacle to marriage, in the eyes of the civil law. The general law on the press only to be applicable to religious publications."

☞ At a grand dinner given in Washington to Prince Napoleon and his suite, an eminent American naval commander, born in a slave State, was seated next a French naval officer who attended the Prince. The conversation between these two gentlemen turned upon the Southern blockade. The French officer said that it would before long be broken. 'By what Power?' asked the American. "By the English, of course," was the answer; "they can't live without cotton." "Very good," replied the American, "but, I tell you what, the consequences of such an interference will make a figure in history. As soon as it happens, a million of men will march South from the loyal States, each carrying two muskets—one for himself, and one for a negro. Whether this proceeding will help the English to cotton, you, Monsieur, can judge as well as I."—*N. Y. Tribune.*

DEATH OF FEDERAL PRISONERS AT RICHMOND. Mr. Richard P. Rowe, a member of the Boston Fusileers, who was wounded and captured at Bull Run, has just returned from Richmond, having been released. He states that during his stay in Richmond, between seventy-five and a hundred of the Union soldiers died of their wounds, and were buried in the slave burying-ground. The bodies were enclosed in substantial coffins.

☞ The great International Exhibition building at London is in a forward state of preparation. The number of applications for space by English exhibitors is over ten thousand. Foreign countries are allowed until the 1st of November to specify their entries, soon after which period the position of the different countries in the building will be fixed. As at present proposed, the machinery of all countries will be exhibited together. So also photography and education will form international exhibitions.

VICTIMS OF THE WAR IN MISSOURI. The St. Louis *Democrat* says, that in and around St. Louis and Rolla are some five hundred citizens who have been driven from their homes in Springfield and its vicinity for the crime of American citizenship. Nearly all have left their property and means of subsistence behind them. Many of them have fled with their wives and children, but the most are separated from their families, who are now exposed to insult and pillage from the remorseless bandits preying upon the substance of peaceful women and children in that section. The absent husbands and fathers suffer the tortures of anxiety for their suffering beloved ones, of protracted separation from them, and of mortifying privations in their own persons. This lamentable picture should nerve the strong arm and the full hand to afford relief.

BRUTALITY OF THE REBELS. The following is an extract of a letter in the Providence *Journal*, descriptive of the late skirmish at Bolivar, near Harper's Ferry:—"Talk about 'Southern chivalry,' the sights of the battle-ground of yesterday were enough to make one's blood boil with anger. Two of our men, who were wounded, were stripped to their shirts, and then deliberately murdered, one by a bayonet through the heart, and the other was sabred. There will be no shots wasted the next time the boys of Battery A bring their guns to bear upon the rebels."

☞ The proportion of the slave population of Virginia to the entire population is seen at a glance on a new and admirable map issued in Washington, bearing the endorsement of the Superintendent of the Census, and sold for the benefit of the sick and wounded of the Federal army. The different counties of the State are shaded in the engraving with different degrees of blackness, according to the per centage of negroes. Thus the blackest counties are Nottoway and Amelia.

WEST INDIA COTTON. We find in the last files of Havana papers that the cultivation of cotton has begun to occupy considerably the attention of land-owners throughout the island. There are already three cotton plantations in the immediate neighborhood of Havana, and the mania for the enterprise appears to be quite considerable in that city.

☞ The following rules are laid down for the direction of ladies wishing to knit socks for the soldiers: Get large needles and a coarse yarn. Cast on seventy-eight stitches, and knit the leg ten inches before setting the heel. The heel should be three and a half inches long, and knit of double yarn, one fine and one coarse, for extra strength. The foot should be eleven or twelve inches long.

THE CENSUS OF CANADA. The revised returns of the census of Canada, for 1861, give the following result:

Canada West,	-	-	1,375,222
Canada East,	-	-	1,103 666
Total,	-	-	2,498,888

The population of the principal cities is as follows: Montreal, 90,498; Quebec, 51,109; Toronto, 44,743; Hamilton, 19,096; Ottawa, 14,669; Kingston, 13,743; London, 11,555.

A REBEL COMMISSIONER IN SOUTH AMERICA. A letter from Rio Janeiro says, it was rumored there that Robert G. Scott had been nominated as the Commissioner of the Southern States to obtain their recognition as an independent power. The Brazilian government positively refused to treat with the agent or agents of the so-styled confederacy. The papers were laid upon the table, and subject dismissed from their councils.

☞ The following is a verbatim copy of the certificate attached to the return of a postmaster in Shawnee county, Missouri. It would hardly be proper to give the name of the office. This may be some disciple of Artemas Ward; if so, the pupil has beaten the master. Artemas might as well shut up shop.—

"I hear By certify that the four going A Count is as near Rite as i no how to make it if there is any mistake it is not Dun a Purpers."

☞ The New York *Journal of Commerce* says—"Rumors of plots to destroy the Croton Aqueduct, and thus inflict a terrible blow upon this loyal city, have been in circulation for some time past. These reports have not, like too much startling street talk, proved altogether unfounded, although the acutest efforts of the police detectives have not been able to collect evidence to show exactly what diabolical thing was contemplated, or who was to do it."

A BIG FISH. A letter from on board the whaling barque General Pike, of New Bedford, reports that they took a right whale in the Kodiak Sea that made *two hundred and seventy-four* barrels of oil.

THE MISSING OF THE MASSACHUSETTS FIFTEENTH. An official despatch from the State House states that fourteen of the Massachusetts Fifteenth were killed in the late battle, 63 wounded, and 233 missing. Most of the missing are prisoners.

☞ Money sent to the prisoners at Richmond is generally retained by the Confederate authorities for their own use; other articles, not useful to the army, sometimes find their way to the prison, from their friends at home, and are always received with intense and overflowing gratitude. Lieut. Glover, of Rockland, Fourth Maine, had $28 sent him in gold. He received $20 in Confederate bonds.

☞ George Promley, of Preston, Ct., while sitting on the railroad track, a few days since, was struck by a passing train, and pitched into the bushes. Upon the train backing up to ascertain his injuries, he came forward and told the conductor that if he had damaged the engine any way, he was ready to settle for it, and left for home. That man is decidedly tough.

☞ The American Shipmasters' Association has published a list of accidents at sea, from which it appears that, during nine months past, 181 seamen have been lost by falling overboard, 374 in missing vessels, 123 in stranded vessels, and 166 by collisions, founderings, &c. Total, 844.

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☞ Advertisements inserted at the rate of five cents per line.

☞ The Agents of the American, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Ohio and Michigan Anti-Slavery Societies are authorised to receive subscriptions for The Liberator.

☞ The following gentlemen constitute the Financial Committee, but are not responsible for any debts of the paper, viz:—Francis Jackson, Edmund Quincy, Edmund Jackson, and Wendell Phillips.

The United States Constitution is "a covenant with death, and an agreement with hell."

☞ "What order of men under the most absolute of monarchies, or the most aristocratic of republics, was ever invested with such an odious and unjust privilege as that of the separate and exclusive representation of less than half a million owners of slaves, in the Hall of this House, in the chair of the Senate, and in the Presidential mansion? This investment of power in the owners of one species of property concentrated in the highest authorities of the nation, and disseminated through thirteen of the twenty-six States of the Union, constitutes a privileged order of men in the community, more adverse to the rights of all, and more pernicious to the interests of the whole, than any order of nobility ever known. To call government thus constituted a Democracy is to insult the understanding of mankind. . . . It is doubly tainted with the infection of riches and of slavery. There is no name in the language of national jurisprudence that can define it—no model in the records of ancient history, or in the political theories of Aristotle, with which it can be likened. It was introduced into the Constitution of the United States by an equivocation—a representation of property under the name of persons. Little did the members of the Convention from the Free States imagine or foresee what a sacrifice to Moloch was hidden under the mask of this concession."—John Quincy Adams.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.

Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind.

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Selections.

A SOUTH-SIDE VIEW OF SECESSION,

BY A NORTHERN, ANTI-SLAVERY MAN!

We take the following extracts from an extraordinary "Discourse on the Wickedness and Folly of the Present War—delivered in the Court House at Ottawa, Illinois, on Sabbath, August 11, 1861, by Geo. W. Bassett, author of 'A Northern Plea for the Right of Secession'":—

I cannot see how any honorable man in the Southern States can *now* be anything but a practical, as well as theoretical Secessionist. No matter what his regrets or misgivings may be—no matter how strenuously he may have resisted the act of secession as impolitic and even hazardous; the very necessities of his contested rights, and the rights of mankind, require that he resist the arrogant and man-degrading doctrine of the divine right of kings, not less when that doctrine is maintained at the cannon's mouth by a once free Republic, than when enforced by the minions of George the Third.

It seems evident to my mind, therefore, that the South, and not the North, are to-day defending this great natural right of popular self-government; and it is more evident still that their antagonists, the U. S. Government, are not contending for the maintenance of this right.

I ask, therefore, further, are we fighting to secure our pecuniary rights? Let us consider this. Not to dwell upon the wicked folly of incurring a most burdensome public debt, by squandering five hundred millions, to enforce an ambiguous claim of fifty millions, nor the immorality of shedding rivers of blood for any pecuniary consideration, I maintain that our antagonists in this war have manifested a disposition, and proposed and instituted measures for an equitable and honorable adjustment of all pecuniary claims that we might have against them. Both South Carolina and the government of the Confederate States have appointed Commissioners who have knocked in vain at our door with proposals of peace and amicable settlement, and these official advances have been met with a most irritating affectation of ignorance of their official existence. * * *

Again I ask—is it to protect our soil from invasion and our homes from violence, that our country is converted from an abode of peace and prosperity to one great military camp, and one wide waste of commercial adversity? Why then is Maryland subjected, and her chief city prostrate beneath the mouths of a frowning battery? and why is Missouri overrun by our armies, and her soil literally drenched in blood? and Virginia invaded, except when we are repelled "*vi et armis*"? But official and responsible documents leave no room for doubt as to the intention of our antagonists on this point. President Davis says in his official message, "We seek no conquest, we ask no concession. All we ask is to be let alone—that those who have never held political power over us, should not now subject us to their arms," and adds that, "as soon as this pretention shall be withdrawn, the sword shall fall from our grasp, and we shall be prepared to enter into treaties of amity and commerce mutually beneficial." The whole construction of Southern society and all combinations of motives would induce the Southern States to limit and avoid as far as possible the horrors of war. Peace they have constantly asked for, and peace is the demand of their political friends at the North. * * *

The same principle that has always made me an uncompromising Abolitionist, now makes me an equally uncompromising Secessionist. *It is the great natural and sacred right of self-government.* * * *

Lying newspapers and story-telling demagogues have ruined the country. The great fault of the times is that public affairs are not managed on the great principles of true political philosphy and wise statesmanship, but to suit the popular prejudice. A civil war, the calamitous results of which God only can estimate, has been precipitated upon the country by what has been called "the uprising of the North." Manufacturers alarmed at the opened ports of the Southern Confederacy, have demanded the suppression of the rebellion, and contributed largely to the war. Rich capitalists, fearing the loss of monopoly, have demanded a strong government. Men of large wealth, with their dependent churches and clergy, have seen their incomes reduced, and their salaries abridged, prospectively, and uttered a unanimous cry against treason and rebellion. Thus pro-slavery divinity, aristocratic wealth, and popular prejudice with abolition credulity, speaking through the popular press, have united their strangely contradictory influence to plunge the nation blindfold into the vortex of civil war and national ruin. * *

What, then, I ask in God's name, is the real object of the war? Why these fields of carnage and woe? Why these mangled bodies, and scattered limbs, and ghastly forms on the battle-ground? and why those heart-rending scenes of domestic grief? "Rachel weeping for her children, and refusing to be comforted, because they are not." Why this derangement of commerce, this paralysis of business, and this tornado of bankruptcy which sweeps the land? and why these portentous clouds of national calamity and woe which still impend over us? In short, why is war, yea, fratricidal war, upon us with all its unutterable horrors? Why is it?

Great God! shall I answer the truth?

For no earthly reason but the unholy and barbarous motive of conquest. It is literally and boldly maintained in the United States Senate, that the subjugation of the seceded States is the special object of the war—the imposition of a hated and rejected authority upon an unwilling and resisting people.

We are fighting, then, in this very Christian age, for the identical object and motive which animated heathen Rome, in all her stupendous and bloody march to universal empire.

What, then, is the moral character of this war, as tested by its object and motive?

I come now to the text, "*Thou shalt not kill.*"

This is a mandate in every respect worthy of the Author of human life. The argument is brief.

War involves the intentional taking of human life. It is of course justifiable homicide, or murder in the first degree.

A war of self-defence is justifiable homicide. But a war of selfish and needless conquest is national murder in the first degree. And such, from the above considerations, I am painfully obliged to pronounce the present war of the United States against the Confederate States of America.

Not self-defence, therefore, nor liberty to the slave, but murder—*wholesale murder*—yea, even *fratricide*, is inscribed upon all your banners of conquest, by the finger of immutable truth and justice! * * * *

It is an unfounded and childish whim, officially contradicted by their President, that the Confederate States wish to invade the North, or even retain their former claims in behalf of slavery upon the North.

National Independence—the identical boon that we asked of England—is all they contend for.

What, then, is to be thought of a war of the United States, in contest of such a demand? Is it a justifiable "*casus belli*"?

Again, have we exhausted all other means of settlement before putting the fatal match to the terrible magazine of civil war? Have we not rejected every proposal of settlement by negotiation? Have we not steadily refused the reception of the accredited commissioners of South Carolina and the Confederate States, both of whom knocked at our doors, holding out the olive branch of peace? Nay, have we not, with indecent conceit, provokingly ignored the existence of a well-organized confederate government of eight millions of free citizens?

And what have we done in the place of it? We have raised an immense army and invaded their territory, laying waste their fields, burning their houses, and slaughtering their people by thousands, demanding unconditional submission to our political authority. We have branded their most distinguished citizens as traitors, and insultingly threatened them with the halter. Thus we are riding down roughshod the very principles of our national liberty, as maintained by the precious blood of our fathers in the Revolutionary war.

As I have abundantly shown, we are fighting, not in *defence* but in *violation* of the great right of independence and self-government. We are contending for the identical object of Lord North in his war on the American colonies.

Their first President is a slaveholder—so was ours, even up to the day of his death.

Slavery is not the question legitimately involved in the war, whatever effect it may have had in alienating the feelings of the two antagonist sections, as appears from the fact that slavery was fully tolerated under the Union, and far safer in than out of it.

I am aware that the South in leaving did not get the consent of the North—neither did we that of Great Britain. The people of the Southern Confederacy think they are entitled to a place among the nations of the earth, "by the laws of nature and of nature's God," and so literally thought our fathers, as expressed in the first passage of the Declaration of Independence. * * * * *

I say, then, we ought immediately to acknowledge the independence of the Confederate States, make peace, and withdraw our armies from their territory.

First, because they are *right* and we are *wrong*, on the great and only real issue, their national independence. To show this, has been one great object of the above discourse.

Second, we should do this as a matter of wise expediency. It is all a mistake that the separation of the Southern from the Northern States is either the destruction of our government, or even the diminution of our national prosperity. * * *

As to the fate of the down-trodden, afflicted and persecuted negro, whose destiny shall never be separated from my own, it *can* be none the worse for secession. While he shall still remain under the yoke, his increase of relative strength, though it may enhance the rigor of legislation, must render an increase of personal kindness a matter of prudence and necessity. Hence it is not the dictate of reason and philosophy that his situation should be for a moment worse after secession than before; and it is most manifest, on a moment's reflection, that the governmental pressure of eight millions of oppressors is less hopeless than that of twenty-six millions.

Another consideration is the stern and inevitable necessity of the case.

Gentlemen, you can never succeed in this unnatural and inconsistent war of conquest.

It is in vain to deny or ignore the well-known fact of a powerful Southern Confederacy with a large and well equipped army, commanded by generals not inferior to the trained veterans of Europe. This Confederacy is to be conquered by men, whose natural tastes and habitual associations all qualify them for, and point them to the pursuits of peace and beneficent industry.

You will also have to repudiate the first principles of your own government, belie your own history, and vilify the glorious memory of your fathers. Nay, further, you must fly in the face of the popular sentiment of Europe, repudiate the free principles of Mazzini and Victor Hugo, and rebuke the heroic struggles of Hungary under Kossuth, and the immortal achievements of Garibaldi in Italy. Finally, you will have to combat the Almighty decree of Heaven. All your desperate struggles to raise and equip armies, and to win battles, will be a vain and useless war with destiny.

With all your hypocritical prayers, and selfish, eager and ambitious chaplains, fighting deacons and exhorting priests, you have no God of heaven in this war! He is against you! He has said expressly, "Thou shalt do no murder." Yet you murder *nations*, and ask Him to bless you.

Ah! the Almighty is against the government in this war. They will meet Him on every battle-field, they will hear him in the cannon's roar, and feel Him in the unseen pestilence.

He will constantly disturb the halls of Congress, and terribly haunt the chamber of the Executive, planting thorns in his midnight pillow, and remorse in his imperishable memory.

You impose an unreasonable burden upon the native valor of Northern soldiers, when you require them thus to fight against the principles of our own glorious Revolution. They lack the essential inspiration of liberty and conscious right.

You expect too much when you look for heroes where the heroic element is wanting.

A brave man cannot be a hero for dollars and cents—a coward will be one for *liberty*.

The noble matrons of Carthage cut off the hair of their heads to form bow-strings for their husbands and brothers who fought against the conquest of their city. And you will have to murder the very women of the South before you can ever subdue them to your dominion.

A SWEDENBORGIAN VIEW OF SLAVERY.

Extract from a Discourse, delivered in the New Jerusalem Church, Boston, Sept. 26, 1861, by Thomas Worcester—published by William Carter & Brother, 7 Water Street:—

Let us now proceed to the subject of slavery. In the 25th chapter of Leviticus we read as follows:—"Both thy bondmen and thy bondmaids, which thou shalt have, shall be of the heathen that are round about you: of them shall ye buy bondmen and bondmaids. Moreover, of the children of the strangers that do sojourn among you, of them shall ye buy, and of their families that are with you, which they begat in your land; and they shall be your possession. And ye shall take them as an inheritance for your children after you, to inherit for a possession: they shall be your bondmen forever; but over your brethren, the children of Israel, ye shall not rule over one another with rigor."

This has the outward appearance of a command; and yet who regards it as a command? Who thinks, or who ever thought it his duty to make bondmen and bondmaids of the heathen round about them? Who ever thought that God would be angry with him, and punish him, if he did not do it? The common sense of men teaches them, that this is to be understood only as a permission,—that it comes from the evil hearts of men, and not from God,—not from Divine Love, Divine Wisdom, and Divine Justice.

But it is said that slavery is not forbidden in the New Testament. It is true that slavery is not expressly forbidden, for it is not expressly spoken of. From this circumstance we can only infer, that it was not then time to speak of that subject; for the Lord says, "I have yet many things to say unto you, but ye cannot hear them now." What He says upon one subject, however, throws light upon other subjects. What He says of one permission gives us an idea of what He would have said of other permissions, if the time had come to speak of them. And if He had seen that it was best to speak about what is said in Leviticus concerning slavery, can we have a doubt that He would have said, "For the hardness of your hearts, Moses gave you this precept; but from the beginning it was not so. For in the beginning God said, Let us make men in our image, after our likeness; and let them have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over the cattle, and over all the earth, and over every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth." Here dominion is given to man over all the earth, and over everything upon it, except man. No dominion is given to one part of mankind over another part. And dominion is given to men over all other things, because they are made in the image of God and after His likeness,—because they are made capable of receiving Love and Wisdom from Him,—because they are made with capacities for becoming free and rational beings. And if He has made us in such a manner that we may become free and rational, shall we not be carrying out His intentions, and be acting from Him, by endeavoring to come into as high a degree of freedom and rationality as possible? Shall we not also be acting from Him, that is, under the influence of His Spirit, if we endeavor to bring other men into as high a degree of freedom and rationality as possible? And shall we not be acting in opposition to Him, if we deprive any of our brethren of freedom, and so prevent their faculties from opening, and expanding, and coming to maturity?

The Lord did not, in a formal manner, forbid slavery; but in giving the new commandment, that men should love one another, He did more than to forbid it; for the prohibition of slavery would only have forbidden our doing that kind of evil to one another; but the command to love one another forbids our doing not only that kind of evil, but all other kinds of evil; and besides, it requires us to do all kinds of good to one another.

Slavery was introduced into our country a long while ago, when there was less knowledge of it than there now is; and the opinions of men were different from what they are now. Perhaps nothing more need to be said on this part of the subject, than that it was introduced by the predecessors, if not by the ancestors, of us at the North, as well as of our brethren at the South; and that we all ought to be willing to hear our part of the labor, the pain, and the expense of removing it.

But there is another subject, that requires more consideration:—What obligations did we come under with respect to slavery, when we adopted our present Constitution?

1. We agreed, that in the apportionment of representatives and of direct taxes, three-fifths of the number of slaves should be added.

2. We agreed that fugitives from slavery, when found in the free States, should be delivered up to the owners.

3. We agreed that it should be the duty of our Government to suppress insurrections, &c.

In these three articles we made concessions to slaveholders. We gave them additional power in our Government, on account of their being slaveholders; and we agreed to aid them in holding their slaves. Had we any right to make such agreements? Are they not unlawful and invalid, inasmuch as they are opposed to the Divine Will? Ought we not to repent of those acts? Did we not forget what was due to the negroes? Did we not forget that they had any rights which we were bound to respect? And ought we not to take the regular means for being released from those obligations?

The case looks dark for us; but there are excuses for our conduct. When we consider the circumstances of the case, the obligations have a different aspect. For at the time when the Constitution was formed, slavery was regarded in the South, as well as in the North, as a great social, moral, and political evil. There were doubtless many who from habit or self-interest were in favor of it; but the men of good sense and good principles were opposed to it. But neither the North nor the South knew how to get rid of it; for they supposed that emancipation would be a great loss to the masters, and ruin to the slaves. They were, however, willing to limit slavery. This is manifest, not only from their words, but from their acts; for, before the Constitution was adopted, they absolutely forbade the introduction of slavery into any of the vacant territory which was in their possession; and, soon after the Constitution was adopted, they abolished the slave trade, and thus refused to admit any more negroes into the country. When, therefore, we adopted the Constitution, we adopted it with this understanding,—that our brethren at the South were also opposed to slavery as we were, but could not fairly get rid of it. And in voting for the compromises of the Constitution, we were not voting for slavery, but for the protection and support of our brethren while they were hearing a heavy burden. Still, there may have been something wrong in our making such an agreement.

At all events, we ought to take measures to be released from it now; for, unhappily, our Southern brethren did not remain in the views which prevailed at that time. They have become more and more attached to slavery; and partly because by means of the *three-fifths rule* it increases their power in the Government. For sixty years they have been endeavoring to gain more territory, for the sake of having more slave States. Sometimes it has been done by purchase—sometimes by colonizing in territory that belonged to another country—then causing the territory to declare its independence—then acknowledging it as an independent nation—then accepting propositions for annexation by treaty; and when they found that they could not annex it in that manner, because they could not command two-thirds of the Senate, they accomplished their purpose by a joint resolution, which could be passed by a majority. And sometimes territory has been assigned to them in treaties as a condition of peace. This aggressive, grasping policy has been pursued up to the present time: nor are our covetous neighbors by any means satisfied, but have been fixing their eyes upon other vast conquests; all of which were to be made by the cunning, power, and wealth of our country.

But at our last presidential election, the people decided that this policy should be pursued no farther; and upon this, the South immediately undertook to separate itself from the Union, and to make of itself an independent nation, with the purpose of carrying on their schemes by their own power. And because our country did not immediately assent to their propositions, and grant their demands, they made war upon us.

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It has been sometimes inconsiderately thought,—and perhaps the thought has occurred to many of us,—that it would be well to let them go. Many plausible reasons gather around the thought: we love peace and ease; we desire all to be in freedom to do as they please; we do not need their aid; they have caused us much trouble; we could get along much more comfortably without them. But on the other hand, there are many grave reasons against letting them go; one of which is sufficient; and that one only will now be mentioned. We have no right to let them go. We have no right to let them loose to prey upon mankind. They are a part of our people. They are under our common Government. The Government is responsible for their good behavior. The whole country is responsible. When, therefore, we see that they wish to separate from us for an evil and mischievous purpose, we have no right to let them go; and we should by no means clear ourselves from responsibility. They are under the Government of our country, and they must be restrained by our Government. There is no way in which we can escape from that duty, but by the utter inability to perform it.

True repentance also involves restitution, reparation, or indemnification. In our present case, indemnification must begin with emancipation; including, of course, the preparation for it. From this, however, we seem to be precluded by the present situation of the country. Our immediate and urgent duty is to defend our country, and preserve our national existence; for, as a country, we are fighting for life. We cannot, therefore, now make any arrangements with the Southern people for liberating the slaves; and as to encouraging insurrection, it is not to be thought of. In the meantime, the war is going on; and what that may do, and what its exigencies may require, we cannot foresee. But when it brings us into a state of peace and friendly relations with our brethren of the South, if emancipation shall not already have been effected, it will be our duty to approach them on the subject,—to confess that we have been involved with them in the evil, and to offer to join with them in making reparation. If they listen to our proposals, it would seem to be proper to give Great Britain an opportunity to join with us in this act of kindness and of justice, inasmuch as they have done quite as much towards introducing slavery as we have.

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But there are many who have no confidence in emancipation,—who do not believe that it would be a benefit to the negroes to be made free. This is some of the Egyptian darkness, which has gathered over us in consequence of our supporting slavery, and listening to the voice of slaveholders so long. But since they have renounced our Constitution, we are beginning to feel more free to think upon the subject than we did before; and, besides, the evil effects of slavery upon the masters is more manifest than heretofore. We are beginning to be willing to consider. And, happily, we do not have to go far, or to try hazardous experiments, to get information: for a magnificent experiment has already been tried; and about thirty years have elapsed for a development of consequences: and now we have abundant evidence that the experiment is a success,—that the eight hundred thousand negroes, who were then made free, are spiritually, morally, and physically in a far better condition than before.

The work before us is a great one. Four millions of our fellow-men are to be liberated from slavery; and four hundred thousand of our fellow-men are to be liberated from the task of keeping them in slavery. But the United States of America and Great Britain—sixty millions of men—are bound to do that work; and the whole Christian world is bound to see that it is done. And as to the time and manner of doing it, we are bound to be careful, kind and just.

WHAT OF THE WAR?

Never was a country, loved as this country has been, by all those who have shared the benefits wherein it has exceeded all others. Whence then the domestic war, sudden, unexpected, which has convulsed it like an earthquake? Why, when the forces of the loyal are so immensely superior to those of the disloyal, does the war continue, and threaten to continue for many years? Is there no way of bringing it to a speedy and desirable end? These are questions that crowd out almost all others in the breasts of all. Are we any more to have the country of which we have been so proud, or has the vision faded and gone with yesternight's dreams?

Though the great rebellion is guided by a few prominent leaders, it by no means grew out of the ambition of those men. That ambition takes advantage of a popular hatred which has grown out of a certain state of facts. It is proverbial that whom one injures he hates. Whether or not the proverb tells the exact truth of human nature, this certainly is true. If any one injures another, he hates all those who sympathize with his victim. It is probably true that a strong man may use a weak one with great injustice, and not be conscious of hating him. On the contrary, he may fondle him as a pet, and think he loves him. But let somebody else call attention to the injustice and take the part of the injured, and then the hatred will blaze out. The strong man will be bitter as death towards the sympathizer with his pet victim, and bitter, just in proportion as he is convinced of his own injustice. This hatred will swallow up all saintship that does not rise to the point of repenting of the injustice. Of all the odiums that ever inflamed and poisoned poor human nature, this is the most virulent.

In the infancy of the world—out of which it has hardly emerged—strong men used weak ones very much as they would other animals. The wealthier made slaves of the poorer, even of the same race. This fault of internal polity, in spite of great advance in arts, carried nations to their tombs. Of more modern civilization, founded on law that does not permit the strong to enslave the weak of the same race, the pest has been that men have still been allowed to use, as domestic animals, men of uncivilized races. Supposing these uncivilized men not to differ materially from animals, either in character or capacity, it would not be easy to show the injustice of treating them as such. But from first to last, however much they may differ from more civilized men, they differ infinitely more from the beasts of the field. Hence slavery is unjust at first, and grows more so as it grows older.

The great quarrel between Great Britain and her American colonies found all of the latter more or less involved with African slavery. Their first act, as the basis of their independence, was a solemn resolution to have done with it, as unjust and inconsistent with the free government which they desired. This popular resolution was as strong in one part of the country as another, or if anything, strongest where the proportion of the slaves was greatest. But where the slaves were fewest, private interest most easily gave way to the public good, and hence the Northern part of the Union grew up free from slavery, while the Southern retained it, in spite of all resolutions, declarations, bills of right, &c., which ought to have made an end of it. Nobody hates the Southern slaveholders, for the mere fact of holding slaves. Few fail to make all due allowances for the circumstances which have led them into such injustice. Many have admired them for that easy generosity of disposition which naturally proceeds from wealth acquired without personal labor. Never in the whole history of the world was anything criminal treated with such forbearance and leniency, as Southern slavery and its adjuncts have been treated by the people of the North,—those most opposed to it having always, with almost no exception, restricted themselves to the mildest of moral suasion, and the very few who have resorted to opprobrious epithets have met with popular rebukes from their neighbors, such as slaveholders have seldom or never suffered. The South has been loved by the North as well as if slavery had not existed there. The North has always conceded to the slaveholders more than their fair share of political power. Yet, ever since the Revolution, every white man at the South, whether slaveholder or non-slaveholder, has been conscious of injustice to the enslaved Africo-American—the black man, with usually more or less *white* blood in his veins. And for seventy-five years, at least, the white Southerner has been growing to hate, more and more, all the rest of mankind who express or imply any sympathy with his slave, or any sense of the injustice he suffers. Here is the broad basis of popular hatred on which the slaveholders' rebellion stands. For fiendish malignity, the annals of even religious wars cannot equal it. The ambitious leaders are borne up by it as neither superstition nor patriotism ever bore up any leaders. Of course, mere independence, or being let alone, was not the object for which the war was commenced. It was revenge, conquest, the reconstruction of the Government in such a way that sympathy with the slave could be punished, and the peculiar hatred gratified. Only those who have made it their special study can have anything approaching a true conception of the depth and extent of the hatred towards the North, which has caused this war. It is not founded on misconception or ignorance, but is most intense in those who best know the North. It could not be diminished, but only be increased, by letting everybody at the South know exactly the truth about the feeling towards them at the North. They hate us the more, the less we hate them. Our crime in their eyes is, that we are sorry for their injustice to the black man. They can never forgive us for showing by our wealth that such injustice is not, on the whole, profitable. They would exterminate from the face of the earth every man who will not either participate in their crime, or cordially approve of it. Such is the hatred which naturally and necessarily grows out of slavery, surrounded by communities where all are free, and the freedom of all is a cherished principle. It is like the electric wrath within a Leyden jar, intensified by the accumulation of the opposite electricity without.

It would be easy to bring almost innumerable proofs of the existence and overwhelming prevalence of the sentiment above described at the South, yet thus far the war has been managed by the Government as if no such sentiment existed as the governing *animus* of the war. Everything seems to have been done on the supposition that the South has been misled by conspirators, has acted on a misconception, and will come back and apologise as soon as it is disabused. The obvious theory at the bottom of the Federal campaign of 1861 is, that if the Government maintains itself, defends its capital, shows Christian magnanimity and forbearance in all its armies, and, above all, takes care that the "institution" of slavery shall receive as little damage as possible from its military operations, the Southern people will discard their rebel leaders, and return to their loyalty, as doubtless they would but for the hatred which fills their hearts.

Misconceiving entirely the cause of the war, and the *animus* of the enemy, we have every reason to be thankful that nothing worse has happened to our cause; but what have we to hope for the future? As long as we do not strike at the cause of the war, nothing. Every dollar we expend on the plan of restoring the *statum quo ante bellum*, is so much given to the rebel cause. As long as slave property is not stricken away from under them, it really makes little difference to the Southerners whether they take Washington or not. If they take it, they thereby perhaps stir up the impassive North to more aggressive hostility. If they do not, they tire us out by our enormous expenses, and we shall the sooner return to our allegiance to King Cotton, and our humiliating subserviency to their unjust treatment of the negro. The sooner shall we consent to those shameful demands against freedom which caused our late strictly constitutional, political, *Northern* rebellion. They will have driven us into obedience at our own expense. If any love of freedom should still remain at the North, any willingness that black or blackish people should participate in it, the old hatred of the North and everything Northern would still grow at the South, and again produce sudden, unexpected, calamitous war. For be it remembered that a slaveholding community in which the master-class is in excess, has always the main preparation for war, *abundance of men spoiling to fight.*

Either what has been said about the spirit and temper of the Southern people is untrue, either their scolding, raving, lynching and rushing *en masse* to arms, before they were wronged in the least, means nothing, or else the war has been managed thus far, on our part, unwisely. Nearly every blow our Government has struck has been where the enemy was strongest. Not one has been struck, with its approbation, where he is weakest. This could be done without supreme folly only on the supposition that the people of the South are not acting from animosity, but from misapprehension—from which they will soon recover, if we accept coolly a few hard knocks, and give none, to do any serious damage.

It is really a case of national life or death, and the people must judge according to their own light and observation whether the terrible fact is as above stated. It is, then, let every man, as he loves home, wife, children, liberty, country, cry aloud and demand of the Government that it lose not one moment in dealing its deadliest blow at slavery, that it strike at the enemy's weakest point, that it sink at once the soil from which grew and grows the hatred that produced this rebellion. The single head and arm of the heroic Tighlman recaptured a ship from the Jeff. Davis pirates. We may have a hundred thousand such heroes with a word. Are we ashamed of that word, liberty?

Do we pretend it would violate the Constitution to utter it now? If we were at war with Brazil, and had one hundred thousand troops drawn up around Rio Janeiro, would the Constitution forbid us to utter the word liberty to the blacks of that empire, if that word would secure victory? Have the rebel States, in their present attitude, any more right to hamper us with "Constitution" than Brazil has? The Constitution was made for a state of peace. We are now at war. The Confederates have declared themselves foreign States; what rights have they under the Constitution? We do not admit their right to make themselves foreign States, and intend to bring them back under the Constitution. But are we going to insist, at the risk of our national life, that they shall come back slave States, and not free States?

Is it objected that uttering the word "Liberty" to the slaves of the rebel States would violate our constitutional obligation to the border slave States still nominally loyal? The slaves, as slaves, are nothing but property—and the Constitution only insists on compensation when the Government takes private property for the public use. Had the Government paid market price for all the slaves in Maryland, Kentucky and Missouri, and set them free, before it fought the battle of Bull Run, the war would probably have been at an end before this, and the public debt could not have been much greater.

No man, not lost in misanthropy, can believe that the great majority of the people of the free States are not in love with free institutions and the honest application of the doctrine of the Declaration of Independence to all men, everywhere. But they never felt any special affection for black people, and were never willing to meddle with the affairs of other States. Therefore, so long as we were at peace with the slaveholding States, they would do and suffer anything to maintain peace. Now, the case is altered. They would sustain the Government in any action towards the slave-cursed States that would make them free. It is too true that there are scattered all over the North many men who, for various reasons, do not prize freedom anywhere below their own level. but sympathize heartily with slaveholders in their contempt for the rights of black people, and their hatred of white ones who sympathize at all with the black. The slaveholders overrated the number and influence of these people very much, but not their motive. Should the war continue on its plan of taking the greatest pains not to injure slavery, as if it were essential to the salvation of the Government, this class will become more and more arrogant, and will give more aid and more comfort and aid to the enemy. And it is not at all unlikely to happen that the war may [illegible] be transferred to the soil of the free States. Then the Revolution of '76 will have to be fought [illegible] again, with even more fearful odds against inalienable rights.

As the slaveholders are actually at war with the whole human race, in favor of injustice to the weak, shall we not take up the guage, and fight for downright justice? The war must end one way or another. Justice must gain or lose by it. If slavery is to survive, justice must lose. If it is not, better have it killed by the shortest cut. Ho! unsophisticated young America, to the rescue! Oceans of twaddle have been ladled over this nation about the danger of letting black people loose! Would to God there were some danger in it! They are entirely too safe for their own interests and ours. It is time to hoot out of this continent the nonsense that it is more dangerous to hire than to drive, to *cash* than to *lash* anybody. There is not one fact in the world's history, so far as the writer knows, (and he once offered a handsome reward for one,) to show that any harm ever came from liberating slaves. They can be kept from stealing as easily when free, as when slaves. If they will not work for wages they starve to death, which, in the circumstances, is of course a blessing. This war, as has been truly said more than ten thousand times already, is not a war for the emancipation of black people, and never can be. It is a question of the life and liberty of a nation, chiefly white. But we all deserve to be black, and chattel slaves to boot, if we do not have the sense to use the emancipation of the black people as the means of saving the nation,—it being a self-evidently infallible means of ending the rebellion in the shortest possible time.

Does anybody ask,—After the slaves are set free and the rebellion crushed, what then? Will slaveholders consent to work a free system? Doubtless not, if left to themselves. The difficulty of emancipation is always the unfitness of the master. But the expenses of the war must be paid, and the lands of the rebels must do it. Our armies will settle them. They are well drilled in the arts of peace, if not of war. They know how to work themselves, and how to make others work justly and happily. Capital will flow where they yoke to the plough and kindle the forge fire. They must and will plant, water and cherish the right sort of civilization on the soil their courage has delivered from the curse. Human nature is eveywhere the same. The cause of hatred being removed, the hatred will cease, and the very men who struck at the beloved flag in behalf of a pitiful tyranny, will bless and venerate the conquerors who struck under it in the name of eternal justice.

SLAVERY AND THE WAR.

In an article on slavery as affected by the present contest, the New York *Post* has the following, which is right to the point. It says:—

"We can see no reason why we take a man's ships and goods from him because of his treason, and yet return him his slaves; we see no reason why a negro standing in the way of our advance should not be blown to pieces with a cannon ball as readily as a white man; we see no reason, in short, why the slave 'institutions' of certain States are more to be respected than the free institutions of other States. If one succumbs to the exigencies of the war, so must the other. If the men of the North are expected to sacrifice their houses and lands, yea, their best blood and the best blood [illegible] their sons, to maintain their country, the m[illegible] South must be expected to sacrifice at [illegible] slaves. Loyal men everywhere are [illegible] fearful losses on account of the war, [illegible] men of the South must take thei[illegible]ever shape it comes.

We can see no reason why slave[illegible] be exempt from the usual liabilitie[illegible] can see a re[illegible] why, if any dis[illegible] be made, that [illegible] should be [illegible] Disguise it as we may, it is still evi[illegible]bellion has grown altogether out of that property. Our society wou[illegible] homogeneous throughout, but for slave[illegible] cause of war has existed, or can exist, [illegible]tinent. Nothing else separates the [illegible] South. It was that which broke up th[illegible] party. To extend its area has been th[illegible] pose of Southern politicians. Because [illegible]

not extend it, they declared war. Wherever slavery exists, there secession is rampant. Where slavery has died out, as in the border States, secession has but a puny vitality. Where there is no slavery, the people to a man are enthusiastically devoted to the Union. Such facts cannot be overlooked."

MEMENTO MORI.

Of all the rumors of incredible atrocities, of foolish outrage, of those worst acts of cowardice that are born of cruelty, and of barbarism that just stops short of cannibalism, to which the expedition of John Brown into Virginia two years ago gave rise, the story that the skin of his son was taken from his body and tanned seemed the most unnatural, and the most improbable, and was, therefore, received with the least attention, notwithstanding its positive assertion. "Are not these the United States, a land of common schools and churches, and is not this the nineteenth century of the Christian era?" was the instinctive response which we all made to a statement so revolting to the spirit and culture of our time, our country, and our race. But read this letter from a General in the United States army, now serving in Virginia, to a friend in this city—a witness on this point as impartial as he is distinguished:—

"CAMP AT ———, VIRGINIA, Oct. 5, 1861.

To show the refinement of Virginia *gentlemen*, I inclose to my friend, the Rev. B. N. Martin, Professor, New York University, a piece of the skin of the thigh (tanned by those gentlemen) of the son of John Brown, who was killed at Harper's Ferry.

This is a fragment of the skin which, thus prepared, was distributed in pieces over the Southern country, and was presented to my present Aid in Richmond last April by a Captain Sommers of the Confederate States army, and a friend of the doctor who has the skeleton, and who flayed and tanned the skin.

My Aid informs me that every preparation was made to treat the remains of John Brown in the same way, by having them thrown from the car before reaching Baltimore, and substituting a false coffin; but that the plan was frustrated by the sickness or flinching of the railroad conductor.

———, *Brigadier General.*"

Professor Martin has shown us this bit of the human remains prepared by some skillful taxidermist in Virginia. It is a minute portion only, for though there are many superficial inches of cuticle on the body of a man of ordinary size, the number of persons in Virginia who coveted a bit of so precious a relic was very many. A ruder barbarism carries the scalp of a slain enemy at the girdle, makes a drinking-cup of his whitened skull, or strings the teeth and finger bones into an engaging necklace; but Jason Brown was not the prize of the bow and the spear of any single warrior; a whole Commonwealth claimed him as its own. Mere savages, if they use the human tissue of the slaughtered foe at all, can only eat it—a wasteful use of such precious material. Science enables them in Virginia to refine upon this barbaric extravagance. Learned professors, skillful in the arts, lend their knowledge to the public service, and feed the patriotism of the State with bits of epidermis, imperishably prepared, of the dead, to be worn as amulets and mementoes to keep ever green the memory of a sweet revenge, and the duty of a citizen to a Christian State. They may laugh in Virginia at the untutored ignorance of the savage who can only rattle the dried scalps and bones of those he has slaughtered, while they point to the curiously tanned skin of their dead enemy as the evidence of the march of civilization and refinement in that ancient and proud Commonwealth.—*Tribune.*

SECESSION BARBARITIES.

The following is an extract from a letter from a gentleman of the highest respectability in Illinois, to his friend in this city, dated Oct. 26:—

"Yes, my dear Sir, we live too near the borders of Missouri not to feel intensely excited by the scenes that are being enacted in that State. Secession and rebellion are rampant on the very borders of Illinois. The newspapers have informed you of the undermining of a railroad bridge by the rebels, by which scores of men, women, and children were suddenly se[illegible] and great numbers who were not [illegible] equally [illegible] human life are every day perpetrated by the [illegible] of Missouri. A more cowardly set [illegible] does not exist.

[illegible] slavery inspires [illegible]. Even woman, when she owns a slave, or one is owned in the family, seems, in many instances, to have cast aside her feminine nature, and to have become savage. A woman of wealth, the owner of quite a number of slaves, when a band of Cherokee Indians, a few months ago, came to the south of Missouri, where she lives, to join the secession army, under McCulloch of Texas, that woman, or rather fiend, publicly offered the Indians a large reward if they would bring her 'Yankee free-soil' scalps enough to make a [illegible] for her bed. There is no mistake [illegible]

[illegible] same ferocity exists wherever slavery is found. Last June, a beautiful and accomplished girl, a native of Western New York, employed as a teacher in New Orleans, was dragged, on Sunday morning, to Jackson Square, and placed in *ad nuditate naturæ* in the presence of many hundreds of spectators, including scores of well-dressed women. To the latter, the poor girl made a heart-rending appeal, that they would save her sex from such an outrage. But they replied only by jeers and insults, telling her it was no more than every Yankee woman deserved. The unfortunate girl was tarred and feathered, and then banished from the State, without receiving the salary due her. You may rely upon the truth of this statement. It comes on the authority of a spectator, upon whose word as implicit reliance can be placed as upon that of any man in the community.

"I hope and trust that God designs to make this wicked rebellion the instrument for ridding our land from the curse of slavery."—*Albany Eve. Journal.*

GERRIT SMITH ON THE WAR.

A very powerful address was delivered to an overflowing audience in Rev. Dr. Cheever's church, New York, Wednesday evening, 30th ult. by Gerrit Smith, on "The State and Needs of the Country." Its strongest passages were the most warmly applauded. In the course of it, Mr. Smith having made a complimentary allusion to General Fremont, three rousing cheers were spontaneously given for "Freedom's Pathfinder." The address concluded as follows:—

I love my country, but I strongly fear that she is lost. Perhaps it was impossible to save a country whose people had been trained to worship a Constitution, and to scoff at the setting up of God's law above it. Moreover, for nothing (and this was the most guilty feature of the idolatry) was that Constitution worshipped so much as for its power, justly or unjustly, accorded to it, to prevent the breaking of the chains of the slave. Perhaps I was foolish in thinking that such a country either would or could be saved. I confess that, when the war began, I thought it would be a short one; for I was so simple as to assume that the Government was already, or quickly would be, aroused, not merely to *fight* the rebels, but to *conquer* them. I took it for granted that the Government would behave rationally; and would no more suffer the Constitution than any other paper to stand in its way—slave property no more than any other property. Very soon, however, I began to learn my great mistake—for very soon the Government, instead of moving its irresistible might against the foe, and doing so with or without Constitution—carrying it by its side or trampling it under foot, as might seem most expe[dient]—[illegible] was found worshipping and inculcating the [illegible] of the Constitution, and tying up with its [illegible] the hands of both Government and people. [illegible]on, too, the Government was infatua[ted] [illegible] decline the help of men because they [illegible] negroes. Very soon, too, our army [illegible] in the suicidal and satanic work of [illegible]t men, calling them slaves, and send[ing] [illegible] slavery. This violation of the Consti[tution] [illegible]ourse, with the consent, if not with [the] [illegible]ection, of the President—of him [illegible] for the Constitution is not at all in [illegible] pro-slavery, but only the anti-slavery [illegible] it. Very soon, too, our army began to [c]omfort" the rebels by promising to pro[tect them] from servile insurrections. These errors [and] crimes were heavy blows at my heart. [But] I was able to cheer it up with the hope [that, tho]ugh so enormous, they, nevertheless, proceeded from the bad habits rather than from the bad intents of the country—from inconsideration of their flagrant character, rather than from pleasure in it—and would therefore soon be corrected. Then, too, my conscience began to revolt at my identifying myself, voice, pen and purse, with such a war. But as yet I was able to pacify it with arguments that the Government would soon cease to repeat its crimes and follies. Nevertheless, as time went on, their crimes and follies multiplied. Moreover, Congress did but little better than the Cabinet. Its Act of Confiscation, as we have already seen, ridiculously and madly saves to the rebels the great amount of their property and means for carrying on the war. I do not say that our Congress was, at its extra session, in the *pay* of the rebels. It was not—for it was, with the exception of the traitors, a body of honorable men. But I do say that by means of its talk about the Constitution, and its much stress upon it, and by means also of its great tenderness for the rights and interests of the rebels, it was in the *service* of the rebels.

The course of things went on unchanged. To talk for the Constitution, and to protect slavery; to insult and outrage the black man; this was still the policy. My courage would sink, though not utterly. I was "faint, yet pursuing." But at last, when the President took the side of the rebels, against Fremont, and commanded him not to go beyond very narrow limits in taking away their slaves—when, I say, that "commandment came—I died." I sank down in despair of the country—perhaps never more to come up out of the despair, until the Government shall come out of its folly and madness. We may, as I have said, win more than half the battles. Complete success may seem just within our grasp. Nevertheless, we shall be defeated in the end, unless the Government shall very speedily resolve to wield every power within its command. This tying up of one of our hands, while our antagonist uses both, is a sort of pugilism in which we shall certainly fail.

I said that we may win more than half the battles, and appear to ourselves to be on the eve of success. But this would only be likely to make our case worse—and especially should it take place soon. For while this would make us more haughty than ever, more contemptuous of the blacks than ever, and more disposed to push them away from us than ever; it would be likely on the other hand, by alarming the South, to drive her to court the blacks, and bring them, by freeing them, into a close and irresistible union with herself. Yes, just now, defeats might be better for us than victories; for they might make us willing to accept the help of black men before it is too late.

I would do no injustice to the President. Although in policy and practice he is in effect with the enemy, he is, I doubt not, in heart and purpose with his country. The errors in which he has involved himself, and by which he is but too probably ruining both himself and his country, have sprung in no small degree from his foolish anxiety to show himself clear of all partiality for the North; but mainly, however, from his excessive desire to conciliate the Border States—especially Kentucky and Missouri—and more especially his native Kentucky. I called this desire excessive. It seems well nigh exclusive, also. His concern to secure the friendship of Kentucky appears greater than to secure that of the whole North. "He holds at the spigot while it runs at the bung." "He is penny wise and pound foolish." The President's bargain with the loyal slaveholders of the Border States (save me, by the way, from the loyalty of a thorough slaveholder, and especially if he be one who makes the saving of slavery the condition of his loyalty!) is, that *they* shall stand up for the Union, and *he* for slavery. Unhappy bargain! No less so for being but understood, instead of expressed. If persisted in, it cannot fail to bring ruin to the parties to it, and to the country also. Three months may not pass away before these loyal slaveholders will see that they have lost all, through their eagerness to save slavery—that their ill-judged stipulation for the safety of slave property has resulted in the loss of all safety, even the safety of their lives. By that time, they may see that the only way to kill the rebellion in their States was not only to acknowledge that the war power has the same absolute right over slave property that it has over every other kind of property, but also to get the right exercised as speedily as possible and as sweepingly as possible. By that time they may learn, in the most appalling lessons, that, in respect to the slaves of the rebels, Fremont was wise, and the President and these loyal slaveholders were foolish. These loyal slaveholders will have but themselves to thank for their too probable ruin. Slavery is the rallying point and the strength of their enemies; and for dear life's sake, then, they should have struck at slavery, and been glad to save themselves, even though at the expense of losing their slaves. Nay, if they could not bring themselves to carry their States clean over to the side of freedom, they would, by carrying them clean over to the side of slavery, have made their condition far more comfortable than it can possibly be in their miserable fluctuations between the two.

I need not extend my argument, and I must not further tax your patience. The one thing which the people of the North need to do (and I would that the people in this crowded house might set the influential example of doing it), is to call on the Government (as it would do by passing the resolution I have read), to give up forthwith its merely fighting policy, and substitute for it the purpose of conquest—a purpose, moreover, so earnest as shall command the employment of whatever muscles or means may be needed to achieve the conquest. If the Government shall come to be animated by such a purpose, it will not more decline the help of a man for his being red or black, than for his being white; and it will then stop at no expense either to slavery or Constitution. No Democrat, however pro-slavery, and whether living or dead, has written or spoken as much for the Constitution, and for the Constitution just as it is, as I have. Nevertheless, I have, since the war began, cared nothing for the Constitution, and I shall never more care for it until it shall be settled that I have a country for a Constitution. I care not for my sick child's dress until I shall know that the child lives to wear it. So, too, the slaveholder, provided he is truly loyal, will have no concern for slavery until his country shall have conquered her enemies. Innumerable things that we cling to in peace, we must sit loose to in war. I am an absolute free-trader. Nevertheless, when, a few months ago, Government proposed a higher tariff, I was in favor of piling up the taxes to any height that would serve the most effectual prosecution of the war. Europe esteems our present tariff to be a commercial blunder. But, whether it is wise or unwise as a war measure is the only legitimate question.

In conclusion, let me entreat that if any impression has been made by any of my remarks on this occasion, no one shall undertake to weaken it by calling me an Abolitionist—for I have not spoken as an Abolitionist. I have spoken only as might an Anti-Abolitionist, who sets his country above the Constitution and slavery, and who would have *her* live, though *these* perish.

It is true that I am an Abolitionist; and as I seem to have been born as well as bred one, it would be quite idle to deny that I am one. But for months the state of the public mind has not been such as would encourage me to speak or write as an Abolitionist. Until my countrymen shall be willing to save themselves, I shall have no hope that they can be moved to save the slaves. Very rare is the man who is willing to put forth efforts to save another, while he is yet so infatuated as to refuse to save himself. Let me see my countrymen cured of this infatuation, and resolved to save their country by whatever means, and I shall not be slow to recommence speaking and writing as an Abolitionist. Then shall I again declare, in the words of the best of all books, that "Salvation is of the Lord;" and that He bestows it upon unrighteous nations no more than upon unrighteous individuals. Then, too, shall I be as ready as other Abolitionists to show that the North and the South, which for forty years have not in spirit been one nation, will, when slavery is abolished, become rapidly a homogeneous, happy, mutually-loving and prosperous people—united to each other by freedom, as emphatically as they are now sundered from each other by slavery. Again, I could not, in the present guilty state of the public mind, speak or write as an Abolitionist, except in bursts of indignation at the hypocrisy of the past lamentations of the North over her alleged inability to abolish slavery. *Surpassing* hypocrisy! Seeing that now, when slavery is threatening the very existence of the nation, and when the monster lies at the mercy of martial law, the North not only does not call out in thunder-tones for the abolition of slavery, but basely acquiesces in the Government policy of protecting it.

Were I, my hearers, to speak to you as an Abolitionist, I would say that penitence alone can save a nation whose people have corrupted and debased themselves by upholding and extending slavery. I would say that her destruction is the unavoidable penalty of her people's crimes against the Great Father and His oppressed children, unless those crimes are repented of. Finally, were I to speak to you as an Abolitionist, I would say: AS GOD LIVES AND REIGNS, EITHER THIS NATION WILL ABOLISH SLAVERY, OR SLAVERY WILL ABOLISH IT!

I have done. I can now say that in this city also I have faithfully protested against this needless impoverishing of the nation, and against this needless bringing of heart-breaking sorrows into tens of thousands of its families. In a word, I can now say that, I have, here as well as elsewhere, lifted up my voice earnestly against this wicked sacrificing of the country by the Government. Her blood be not upon me, but upon those who are guilty of it! For more than twenty years I have been warning my countrymen—may I not say, as said Paul, "night and day, and with tears"?—of the rapid approach of this time of violence and distress. But hitherto they would not hear me; and they probably will not hear me now. Nevertheless, I cannot restrain myself from saying that our beloved country will surely perish, if the present policy of her rulers shall be persisted in.

At the conclusion of his address, (which may be found entire in the *Tribune* of Nov. 9th,) Mr. Smith offered the following resolution, which was adopted by the great assembly, only two or three dissenting:—

Resolved, That, in the judgment of this meeting, our beloved country will surely perish if her rulers shall persist in recognizing the right of the rebels to any of their possessions; or shall persist in scorning and repulsing the help of men on account of their complexion, or political, social, or domestic condition; or shall not be intent to strengthen the country and cripple the enemy in all possible ways, and at whatever expense to usages and systems, statutes and constitutions, and at however frequent substitution of the sure, swift, summary, sweeping processes of martial law, for the tardy, uncertain, and inadequate steps of civil law.

The Liberator.

No Union with Slaveholders!

BOSTON, FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 15, 1861.

MEMORIAL OF THE PEOPLE TO CONGRESS.

"PROCLAIM LIBERTY THROUGHOUT ALL THE LAND, TO ALL THE INHABITANTS THEREOF."

To the Congress of the United States:

The undersigned, citizens of , State of , respectfully submit—

That as the present formidable rebellion against the General Government manifestly finds its root and nourishment in the system of chattel slavery at the South; as the leading conspirators are slaveholders, who constitute an oligarchy avowedly hostile to all free institutions; and as, in the nature of things, no solid peace can be maintained while the cause of this treasonable revolt is permitted to exist; your honorable body is urgently implored to lose no time in enacting, under the war power, the total abolition of slavery throughout the country—liberating unconditionally the slaves of all who are rebels, and, while not recognizing the right of property in man, allowing for the emancipated slaves of such as are loyal to the government a fair pecuniary award, in order to facilitate an amicable adjustment of difficulties; and thus to bring the war to a speedy and beneficent termination, and indissolubly to unite all sections and all interests of the country upon the enduring basis of universal freedom.

☞ Printed copies of the Petition, for gratuitous circulation, may be obtained at the Anti-Slavery Offices in Boston, New York and Philadelphia.

THE WAR POWER.

An earnest Anti-Slavery friend, at the West, thinks the Petition to Congress, asking that body to abolish slavery under the war power, "leaves the Adversary a hole to creep out at, in the fact that Congress has *not* the war power." Coming from such a quarter, the objection is as singular as it is gratuitous. It has not been raised before, even in the most pro-slavery circles. John Quincy Adams (whose authority in such a matter is of immense weight) emphatically declares:—

"*I lay this down as the law of nations. I say that the military authority takes, for the time, the place of all municipal institutions, slavery among the rest. Under that state of things, so far from its being true that the States where slavery exists have the exclusive management of the subject, not only the President of the United States, but the commander of the army, has power to order the universal emancipation of the slaves.*"

But he does not stop here. He as unequivocally declares:—

"*From the instant that your slaveholding States become the theatre of war, civil, servile or foreign, from that instant* THE WAR POWERS OF CONGRESS *extend to interference with the institution of slavery in every way in which it can be interfered with, from a claim of indemnity for slaves taken or destroyed, to the cession of the State burdened with slavery to a foreign power.*"

"In every way in which it can be interfered with"! Ample power enough! Though we would not have President Lincoln or Gen. McClellan lose an hour before decreeing the abolition of slavery throughout the South as a military necessity, yet, "other things being equal," we think such a decree, put forth by Congress, as directly representing THE PEOPLE, would carry with it greater force, and be more vigorously sustained. To doubt the competency of that body to make it, is needlessly to embarrass action, and prevent a decisive expression of public sentiment on the subject. Congress, by the Constitution, has power to declare war; and that power carries with it all the means and measures necessary to give success to the war: the greater includes the less. As well object to the validity of the act of Congress in August last, in confiscating certain kinds of rebel property, as to moot such a question concerning slave property. Some persons may prefer a different form of petition; if so, let them not fail to write and sign it, the object to be effected being the same—namely, the total abolition of slavery. The act will not only be legal, and one of self-preservation on the part of the government, but in the highest degree beneficent and glorious. With a free South and a free North, the Union will be perfect and indestructible.

FIFTH FRATERNITY LECTURE. Ralph Waldo Emerson addressed a large audience at the Tremont Temple, last Tuesday evening, on "American Nationality." His discourse was excellent, and received hearty applause. It recognized the fact of an actual separation of this nation into two nations, and pointed out the real and positive advantages that would accrue to each side from the separation. Henceforth, he said, the advocacy of slavery and the advocacy of freedom would not be absurdly united in the same people. The foolish compromise which our fathers made had been dissolved by the spontaneous action of the other party; and the North would never again put her head into that yoke.

Next week's lecture, by Rev. William R. Alger, is to be on "Judas Iscariot and his Family."

☞ THE CHRISTIAN EXAMINER, for November, 1861, contains the following interesting and able papers.—I. The Relation of War to Human Nature. II. Daniel De Foe. III. Tholuck on Prophecy. IV. Buckle's History of Civilization. V. Western Monasticism. VI. Joseph Wolff. VII. Review of Current Literature. The reviewer of Buckle's History, while highly appreciating Mr. B's vigorous and independent thinking, faithful study of details, and strong believing purpose, says:—"The doctrines of which he is the ardent advocate seem to us, the more thoroughly we consider them, to be essentially theoretical, superficial and narrow. They are destitute of any broad basis of reality. In their application by Mr. Buckle, they utterly fail to solve the historic problems upon which he tries their power. With a show of science, they are very unscientific, being a mere collection of unverified hypotheses."

THE TRAITORS MOST TO BE ABHORRED.

The traitors most to be abhorred do not reside south of Mason and Dixon's line; for all in that section of the country have long since torn off the mask, discarded the Constitution, dissolved the Union, put themselves in open and deadly array for the overthrow of the Government, and organized themselves into an independent slaveholding Confederacy. They avow their hostility, not merely to the Abolitionists as a class, but to the people of the North generally: they cherish and avow the most intense sectional feelings: they can find no language to express their contempt of all "Yankeedom," and declare that under no circumstances will they ever again recognize the same flag, or consent to be in the same republic. They deal in no cant; they disdain to play the part of dissemblers; they mean all that they say, and they say all that those who are habitually inspired by a demoniacal spirit are capable of expressing with unbounded copiousness of devilish speech. They tar and feather, stab, shoot, or hang those caught on their soil, avowing loyalty to the "stars and stripes," and unwavering devotion to the Union, as readily as they do the most "ultra Abolition fanatics." They have drawn the sword, and thrown away the scabbard; they have crossed the bridge, and burnt it; and they are prepared to meet, without whining or protest, all the penalties that may follow such desperate deeds. The most decent epithet they can apply to President Lincoln is, to call him "a Kangaroo," "the Illinois Ape"; and they describe the intelligent, brave and patriotic men who have responded to the call of the Government to rally on the battle-field for its support, as "a cowardly, motley crew of starving foreigners and operatives, who never did fight, except for pay, for pillage and plunder; and once satisfied that no money is to be made, no plunder to be gotten by invading the South, no power on earth can lash and kick them south of Mason and Dixon's line." We quote from the Richmond *Examiner*. The New Orleans *Bulletin* styles them "the greasy operatives of Lowell and the smutty shoemakers of Lynn." The Norfolk *Day Book* describes them as "mercenary hirelings," "Arnolds," "Judases," "thieves, cutthroats and assassins, who sell themselves to the Typhon at Babylonish Washington for gold, for booty, and for beauty."

The worst traitors are those who are still found every where at the North, secretly sympathizing with the Southern conspirators, and aiding them by word and deed as far as they dare; canting about the horrors of war, and hinting at the desirableness of peace on any terms; fiercely denouncing all who abhor slavery, and artfully trying to subject to brutal personal assaults the most conspicuous among this number, and once more to rouse up the wildest elements of a pro-slavery mobocracy, but carefully abstaining from all severity of language towards the rebels, and allowing their hideous and numberless atrocities to pass without comment; hypocritically pretending to be the special friends of the Government, in order that they may paralyze its arm, by their menaces and outcries, from striking an effective blow at the cause of the rebellion, and also gain a political ascendency in Congress and the several State Legislatures, with a view to the reconstruction of the Government on a basis satisfactory to Jefferson Davis and his man-stealing compeers. Their democracy is ancient toryism run to seed; their humanity, a stony petrefaction; their religion, that of the sons of Belial. They froth at the mouth, grow red in the face, and exhaust the language of Billingsgate, whenever any proposition is made for the abolition of slavery, even though it be solely to save their boasted Union, and not with reference to the intrinsic iniquity of the slave system. They are incomparably more concerned for the security of slave property than the Southern rebels themselves—and are a thousand times more deserving of execration. No music is so delightful to their ears as the clank of the slave-chain, the crack of the slave-whip, the bay of the pursuing bloodhound, or the screams of the lacerated, panting victim. "Niggers," in their opinion, were made to be worked without wages, subjected to irresponsible despotism, scourged with impunity, branded with red hot irons, denied all intellectual and moral growth, given over to unrestrained lust, and ranked with the beasts of the field; and, in their opinion, those who solemnly protest against such robbery and violence, such profligacy and heathenism, and endeavor to put an end to such enormities, deserve nothing but ridicule, contempt, and brutal resistance, as a fanatical and dangerous class. The humane, just, patriotic, and generous speech of Charles Sumner, and the noble and soul-inspiring proclamation of General Fremont, alike throw them into furious paroxysms, and intensify the flames of the hell that is raging within them.

The organs of these traitors are such papers as the Boston *Post*, the Boston *Courier*, the New York *Journal of Commerce*, Bennett's *Herald*, New York *Express*, *et id omne genus*. Up to the hour of the capture of Fort Sumter,—even after the "Star of the West" had been ignominiously driven away from the harbor of Charleston, and the American flag fired at by rebel cannon,—they were in open, hearty, rampant sympathy with the spirit of secession, and did every thing in their power to stimulate it, if not to the utter subversion, at least to the cowardly subjugation of the Government, so that its infernal purpose might be gratified. But the capture of Fort Sumter presented to the country a treasonable issue in a tangible form, and in a manner admitting no longer of forbearance; popular indignation swept through all the Free States like a prairie conflagration; domestic traitors became suddenly transformed into boisterous patriots, lest they should find the atmosphere too hot for comfortable endurance; and the traitorous sheets we have named were forcibly compelled to hoist the "star and stripes," though they secretly went, as they still do in spirit, for the rebel flag. Selfish, cowardly, unprincipled, they are again revealing their old *animus* in proportion as the wholesome fear of a popular visitation lessens in their minds. That visitation they need to have repeated to keep them within the bounds of decency and toleration. Wherein the Government indicates weakness, timidity, inefficiency, as against rebeldom, they chuckle and applaud, and pronounce it eminently prudent and sagacious! But any proposition that looks to making "short work in righteousness" with the rebels, by terminating the hateful slave system out of which their rebellion has sprung, and for which alone they have withdrawn from the Union, is by these journals hooted at and anathematized as fraught with inconceivable horrors; and the Government is menaced, in case of proclaiming emancipation,—no matter how closely driven to the wall, or that necessity and self-preservation demand it,—with bloody home dissensions, and an immediate disbanding of the army! What villany is comparable to this on the side of the open Secessionists of the South? And it manifestly exerts a paralyzing influence at Washington,—thus needlessly prolonging a bloody, fratricidal war, sacrificing fathers, husbands and sons to no purpose, and increasing to frightful dimensions a public debt which will rest like an incubus upon Northern labor and capital for many a generation! No more effective aid can possibly be rendered the plotting Confederates.

These journals impudently pretend that slavery has nothing to do with the war, and the war should have nothing to do with slavery! They give the lie to all the facts of history, and to the declarations of the Southern traitors themselves. What! the Union dashed asunder precisely where the line runs between free territory and slavedom, and slavery nothing to do with it! Is it freedom, then, that is to be held responsible for the deed? Are they not Southern slaveholders, but Northern freemen, who have perjuriously violated their oath to maintain the Constitution, substituted for the national banner a rebel flag, confiscated hundreds of millions of dollars' worth of property, stolen all the arsenals, fortifications, mints and custom-houses within their grasp, and set up independently for themselves? Are not Jefferson Davis, and Alexander H. Stephens, and General Beauregard, and General Johnston, all the members of the Confederate Cabinet, and all in the Confederate army acting as leaders, SLAVEHOLDERS? Do they not pronounce free institutions a failure, and have they not made negro slavery the corner-stone of their despotic confederacy? If the Southern States had long since imitated the good example of the Northern States, in abolishing slavery within their borders, would there now be witnessed the spectacle that shocks the civilized world? SLAVERY and REBELLION are convertible terms—mean, in the mouths of the rebels, the same thing—and must be slain by the same blow. It is a SLAVEHOLDERS' REBELLION. Whoever, now, is for protecting slavery, gives encouragement to treason, and his proper place is under the Confederate flag, on Southern soil. The Northern traitor is he, who, now that the Slave States have put the Constitution beneath their feet, claims for their slave property the old constitutional guaranties. No such claim have they the audacity to pretend as any longer in existence. They are under a Constitution of their own fashioning, and in boastful and defiant rebellion to uphold it. Is he not, then, doubly to be detested, who, while professing to be loyal, here at the North, insists upon giving them all those advantages which they enjoyed while "keeping step to the music of the Union"?

We repeat—the traitors most to be feared and most abhorred reside, not in the Confederate States, but here at the North; and we have endeavored to indicate who they are, and the journals which utter their sentiments.

MUSIC HALL JUBILANT.

Garrison has spoken at Music Hall. It was on the Sabbath, the New England Sabbath which has been so much honored by our New England ancestors, and is now so much dishonored by their descendants. The Abolitionists were congratulated upon the present fruition of their labors, the South was denounced for her barbarism, Fremont was exalted for his proclamation, and the people were told that what he had done, the President could not undo, and that the speaker would not believe any of the charges against him until they were proven before a competent tribunal. Mr. Sumner was also congratulated upon the patriotism, the moral character and political virtue of his position; and Edward Everett was alluded to with tearful regret, because he could speak one hour from the same desk, and not once allude to the crime of American slavery. The Administration was condemned for its imbecility in not striking at the root of this evil, and declaring that the war was for the abolition of slavery; and those men were called traitors who said this war was for the maintenance of the Constitution and the Union, and not for emancipation. He said that Abolitionists were the true Democrats, who went for the equality of all men, and that the Democracy of the Boston *Post* was a sham Democracy; and that he who said he believed in the Bill of Rights, and the Declaration of Independence, but was not an Abolitionist, was either a fool or a hypocrite. He said he was told that if he and the Abolitionists had not talked and agitated so much, this war would not have been; as for him, he should denounce tyranny, he should denounce slavery, he should talk as he pleased upon this matter.

This was the style and the spirit of the speaker. Age has not mitigated the asperity of his feelings, experience has not yet taught him the ruinous consequences of his principles. He can denounce without reasoning, make statements underlaid with sophistry, declare principles with the appearance of right which would be the most disastrous in application, exalt liberty while he is undermining its foundation, quote scripture and poetry to the satisfaction of the sentimentalist and to the contempt of the statesman, indulge in satire to the extreme gratification of a malignant philanthropy, and do all these things in a manner entirely worthy of a leader of such a party. His house was full, Music Hall was jubilant. The most treasonable passages were clapped the loudest, and the well known beauty of those who gather there was radiant with delight. It was a scene worthy of the place. Secession, as organized in Boston thirty years ago, treason, as spoken in Boston now, and that with impunity, poured out their vials of wrath upon that covenant with Death and compact with Hell, the Constitution of the United States. *Et tu Brute!* exclaimed Cæsar, and thou, too, Massachusetts! may we exclaim, when she turns her dagger upon that government which has fostered and sustained her, and helped her to a glorious position in the Commonwealth of States. We have no malignity for these men at Music Hall, though we know, had they the power, sooner from them than from any other class among us, the Star Chamber, the High Commission, the Guillotine and a Jeffries would spring into being and activity against those who saw no wider than they. We only pity where we cannot enlighten, and hold in check that which is bereft of the natural instinct of self-preservation.—*Boston Post, 12th inst.*

REMARKS. It is in vain that the Editor of the *Post* attempts to stultify himself or his readers in this manner. What we uttered at Music Hall were irrefutable, self-evident truths, and the response given to them indicated an enlightened and freedom-loving audience. But "it was on the Sabbath"! Here we have a blending of political demagoguism with the ancient Jewish phariseeism!—"And the scribes and Pharisees watched him, whether he would heal on the sabbath-day; *that they might find accusation against him.* Then said Jesus unto them, I will ask you one thing: Is it lawful on the sabbath-days to do good, or to do evil? to save life, or to destroy it? . . . And they were *filled with madness*, and communed one with another what they might do to Jesus." The Editor of the *Post* shows himself to be their lineal descendant.

"He said that Abolitionists were the true Democrats, who went for the equality of all men." Certainly we did, and that is the truth. We also said that "the Democracy of the Boston *Post* was a sham Democracy"—and that is the truth. It is a negro-driving, cradle-plundering, and slave-trading Democracy, to be spurned by every manly bosom. It misleads the ignorant, dupes the credulous, gratifies the malignant, suits the tyrannical, and plunders the poor. Its impudence and shamelessness are unbounded.

It is not true that we condemned the administration "for not declaring that the war was for the abolition of slavery." We said exactly the reverse of this. We admitted that the abolition of slavery was not the object of the war, but the defence of the government; but we argued that, as the entire slave population, passive in the hands of the conspirators, constituted a thunderbolt to be actively hurled at the government for its destruction, it became both a necessity and a duty to lose no time in transforming four millions of enemies into four millions of friends. Was not that true patriotism? And for our authority, we quoted the Montgomery (Alabama) *Advertiser*, as follows:—

"*The institution of slavery in the South alone enables her to place in the field a force much larger in proportion to her white population than the North*, or indeed any country which is dependent entirely on free labor. The institution is a tower of strength to the South, *particularly at the present crisis*, and our enemies will be likely to find that the 'moral cancer,' about which their orators are so fond of prating, is really *one of the most effective weapons employed* AGAINST THE UNION *by the South.*"

Also, the following, from the Memphis *Avalanche*:—

"A procession of several hundred stout negro men, members of the 'domestic institution,' marched through our streets yesterday, in military order, under the command of Confederate officers. They were well armed and equipped with shovels, axes, blankets, &c. . . . It may be that the shovels are to be used in digging ditches, throwing up breastworks, or the construction of masked batteries, those abominations to every abolition Paul Pry who is so unlucky as to stumble upon them."

The Editor of the *Post* is opposed to disabling the rebels, by striking down this arm of their strength, and thus indicates where his sympathies tend in this struggle. His "patriotic," like his "democratic" garb, is a sham, a snare, and a cheat.

He speaks of the "ruinous consequences" of our principles. Our principles are those enunciated in the Sermon on the Mount and in the Declaration of Independence; and they are "ruinous" only to the hopes of political tricksters, "patriotic" mercenaries, and profligate demagogues, and of all other corrupt classes. They strike at the root of all usurpation of man over his fellow-man, destroy tyranny, and render liberty sweet and sacred for the whole human race.

"The most treasonable passages were clapped the loudest." For treasonable, read reasonable, and truly patriotic and Christian.

"It was a scene worthy of the place." Standing as we did at the desk and in the hall consecrated by the spirit and services of THEODORE PARKER, we desire no higher eulogy.

The Editor of the *Post* may brand uncompromising opposition to slavery as "secession thirty years ago, and treason now," but he only thereby shows his recreancy to the cause of impartial liberty.

"We have no malignity," he says, "for those men at Music Hall." The disclaimer looks a little suspicious! But, innocent and lamb-like as he affects to be, he not only believes, but "knows," that, had they the power, they would resort to the Guillotine, the Star-Chamber, the High Commission, &c. &c.!! Here is an abundance of charity, without a particle of "malignity"! As to "the men at Music Hall," they have yet harmed nobody, so that "the past, at least, is secure." What they will do when they "have the power," we cannot say; but we are quite sure they will not imitate the villanous example of the *Post* in stirring up mobocratic violence against those who abhor slavery, and desire the freedom of all men.

TREASON IN HIGH PLACES.

It is said that many clerks in the departments of public service in Washington are still allied in feeling and interest with the secessionists. It is *known*, to our cost, that information of the intended movements of the United States army and navy is regularly sent to the chiefs of the rebel army, enabling them to meet and counteract those movements. And, though several of the severest defeats of the North have been clearly tracable to this source, no effort commensurate with the greatness of the evil seems to be put forth against it, and no remedy has been applied, in the *known* cases of this sort, more stringent than a requisition to take the oath of allegiance! about as effectual as swearing a rattlesnake not to bite! about as judicious as leaving a notorious liar and thief to be the watchman of a bank, after *extorting* from him a promise that he would not steal! By what great public functionary have these things been allowed? By the neglect of preventive measures on the part of what great public functionary are these things permitted still to continue?

How was it that President Buchanan went out of office with the reputation of a traitor? Was it not that, during the latter part of his term of office, he openly so adjusted his policy as to favor the rebels in their movement to overthrow that Constitution and Government which he had sworn faithfully to guard? Was it not that evidence appeared, clearly showing him to have acted in the interest of that conspiracy from the very beginning of his administration of the Presidency? While trusted as the guardian of the Republic, and obeyed as one necessarily earnest for its prosperity, this traitorous wretch was constantly playing into the hands of its worst enemies; doing the things that would favor their hostile purposes; *not* doing the things that were indispensable to counteract those purposes; and when—near the end of a four years' stealthy pursuance of this infamous treachery—it became necessary for him to assist *openly* either his country or her enemies, *helping the latter by the policy of inaction*. Yes, when the rebellion which he had helped to conceal at last broke out, this betrayer of his country symmetrically closed his career of shame by calling upon all loyal citizens to "fast and pray," when his oath as President and Commander-in-Chief required him to lead them in the most active operations of resistance to the traitors.

In the matters wherein James Buchanan was treacherous, has his successor been faithful?

It must be remembered that fidelity requires something more than not to be actively treacherous—something more than not to pursue that other fatal policy of *in*action. Fidelity requires the prompt, active and zealous use of the appropriate means for success. Abraham Lincoln has been chosen to defend and save the country; means suited to and adequate for that purpose have been promptly and lavishly supplied to him; it depends upon his individual decision whether they shall be used in such time and manner as to accomplish the object. If he determines and persists *not* so to use them, is not *he* also a traitor? This is the question which lovers of their country have now to consider and act upon!

Slavery is the source of the rebellion under which we now suffer. This is not only clear as the sun to the honest inquirer, but everybody now admits it.

The custom of our Government has been to favor slavery, first, by not interfering with it, and next, by resisting all opposition to it. And it has been maintained that in time of peace, and while the Government and the people were pursuing their ordinary methods of operation, this policy was imperatively required of the Government by the Constitution.

Whether this last hypothesis be true or not, it is certain that this attitude of our Government, during the peace which the nation has now enjoyed for forty years, has enabled the slaveholders to keep their slaves, when without this aid they would have lost them.

Times are changed. War is upon us. Amidst arms laws are silent, says the proverb. And, as if to exemplify the truth of the proverb, President Lincoln has repeatedly done, in this crisis, that which the Constitution, in ordinary times, forbids; moreover, both Congress and the people have plainly testified their approval of this overriding of the Constitution when the nation's welfare is to be served by it.

Not only is war upon us, but war by the act, and for the purposes, of slaveholders. The great body of slaveholders have set themselves in violent opposition to the great body of the nation, and that not only in open violation of the Constitution and defiance of the Government, but with extensive robberies, both of the Government and the people, and with many other acts of unspeakable insolence and outrage.

Among these acts of insolence and outrage, they have assembled an immense army, and maintained it for months in the vicinity of the National Capital, with the declared intention of seizing that Capital, and overthrowing the United States Government. And they openly boast that it is their system of slavery which enables them to do this, and to use, in the war, a greater proportion of their able-bodied men than the North can use, because the productive industry of the North is diminished in proportion as its army is increased, while *their* productive industry goes on, irrespective of the presence or absence of the fighting men.

Whether this statement be true, or only one of those impudent and preposterous lies which slaveholders are accustomed to use in advocacy of their cause—it is certain that an active interference with slavery by the Government, (whether a Proclamation of freedom to the slaves of rebels only, or an Act of universal emancipation under the war-power,) would immediately scatter one-half or more of the army now lying around Washington, and send them, in double-quick time, to repel a possible attack upon that very institution, in their several border homes, *for the sake of which they made the war.* It is certain that the people who are fighting for slavery will bend their utmost efforts towards the defence of slavery, especially when this defence is inextricably bound up with the defence of their stolen forts, arsenals and custom-houses, and of their cotton and sugar fields, and of their houses and homes. To defend these, they *must* go to the point where these are attacked. And if President Lincoln, by his Official Proclamation, attacks slavery simultaneously at every point of their Northern, Eastern, Southern and Western border, nothing is more certain than that they *must* divide themselves to provide for the defence of that border. This would be the first, and the inevitable, result of such a Proclamation. And this alone would be worth making it for.

Though this state of things has existed ever since Abraham Lincoln has been President and Commander-in-Chief, he has issued no such proclamation.

Though it is obvious that the recent sending out of the great naval expedition would have had ten times its present effect upon the rebels had it been preceded, or even accompanied, by a formal Proclamation of freedom to all their slaves—though it is certain that their present system of operations must have been entirely disconcerted, and that an intense alarm, most favorable to the movements of the Government, and most damaging to the rebel cause, must have been

excited by such a step in all the seceded States—the Proclamation has not been issued.

Worse yet. Even inaction upon this momentous subject, criminal as that is, has not been the only fault of the President. He sets himself in active opposition to movements against slavery made by his subordinate officers. General Butler took a step in this direction which acted most beneficially for the Government and against the enemy, and then, expressing his earnest wish to go further on the same road, he demanded "instructions" from the Government. The Government threw cold water upon him. General Fremont acted with yet more vigor in the same direction. The Government removed him! In what possible way, except by disbanding the whole army, could the Government have given so much "aid and comfort" to the enemy?

Again. A popular Administration would naturally be well inclined to movements actively favored by the people. Now, nothing is more certain than that a shout of enthusiasm, all over the North, followed first the movement of General Butler, and next that of General Fremont. Such a spirit, both in the army and in the people, is one of the most indispensable requisites to success in war. An echoing of these voices of freedom, a turning of other divisions of the army into the same line of action, and an open declaration that that was henceforth to be the policy of the Administration, would not only have confused, disconcerted and dismayed the enemy more than any other act whatever, but it would have brought this immense enthusiasm of the loyal North in support of the Government, and would unspeakably have quickened and strengthened the men and women of the free States for the further labors and sacrifices required of them. What can have influenced the President to refuse doing something which would bear with immense force, at once against the enemy, in favor of the loyal army and people, and in favor of an ultimate settlement of our difficulties upon the right basis? What private and personal considerations have sufficed to make the new President of the Republican party take, in the very most important function of his office, a position so nearly akin to that taken by the late traitorous President of the sham democracy?

Whatever these malign influences may be—and several unworthy and discreditable ones have been openly mentioned as those actually controlling President Lincoln—it is certain that he has committed himself to a policy which, favoring slavery by letting it alone, is most injurious to our present struggle, and most disastrous to the ultimate settlement of our difficulties. What is to be done?

The next thing in order, to be done, is to try the influence of the people's expressed voice upon this unfaithful public servant. Let all who can speak urge in the primary meetings of the people the vast importance of selecting candidates, and adopting measures, in favor of universal freedom, and in active and direct opposition to slavery. Let all who can write express these ideas in those organs of the periodical press to which they have access. And let the whole people, men and women, interest themselves in signing, circulating, advocating and forwarding the petitions to Congress now passing through the community upon this subject. Never was activity in faithful labor more needed than at this moment.—C. K. W.

SOLD! SOLD!! SOLD!!!

FOREST LAKE, (Penn.,) Nov. 6, 1861.

DEAR GARRISON,—My heart sickens and my spirit faints, as I view what seems to me a deep-laid scheme, on the part of some in power, to sell out the North to the South—the cause of freedom and free institutions to slavery and slave institutions. The policy of the Federal Government, the past six months, indicates a fixed purpose to yield to all the demands of the slaveholders, and reconstruct the Union, if the people allow it, on a more inhuman and God-defying foundation than ever before.

Why have the Administration and the Federal Generals uniformly shown so much more regard to the lives and property of the rebels than of the loyal people of the North? Why have so many rebels been retained in Federal offices in Washington? Why have so many slaveholders and sons of slaveholders been placed in command over Federal troops and ships? Over one-half of the vessels and gunboats, designed to act against the rebels, are controlled by men whose sympathies are with the rebels! Why was Fremont's Proclamation so readily annulled? Why was Gen. Thomas's loose, mere hearsay, and evidently *malignant* report, allowed to be published at this time? Why has Fremont's removal so quickly, and without a hearing on his part, followed the annulling of his Proclamation? Why has the Administration interfered to protect the property of rebels in the North, and looked on with indifference, while hundreds of millions of property of loyal citizens are confiscated in the South? Why has the blockade of Southern ports been so inefficient? Why has the effort to capture and punish the Southern privateers and pirates been so utterly ineffectual? Why was nothing done to follow up the victory at Hatteras, by an onset upon North Carolina? Why the mission of Thurlow Weed and Bishop Hughes to Europe, in company with Gen. Scott—all at the same time with Mason and Slidell from the slave confederacy? Why such leniency to Gen. Patterson and Gen. Stone, and such severity to Fremont? Can it be, that all these things are but the antecedents of another and a more infernal and degrading submission to the Slave Power? We shall know by the 1st of January, 1862. If I mistake not, Congress and the Cabinet, within six weeks, will have an explosion; for, surely, Congress, direct from the people, will not dare to attempt another compromise with slaveholders.

The worst is to be feared. I would the Government could be saved to freedom; but it must and ought to sink into a grave of contempt and infamy, if it shall attempt again to bring the people of the North into a degrading and loathsome complicity with slave-breeding and slave-hunting, from which slaveholding rebellion had released them. Will the people submit to the OLD "COVENANT WITH DEATH AND AGREEMENT WITH HELL," from which they have been fully released by the rebellion?

But, *I see the abolition of slavery in it all.* I would the Government might stand as the bulwarks of liberty to all; but whether it does or not, SLAVERY MUST DIE.

HENRY C. WRIGHT.

DISSOLUTION OR ABOLITION,

THE ONLY ISSUE PRESENTED BY THE TRAITORS.

FOREST LAKE, (Penn.) Nov. 5, 1861.

DEAR GARRISON: I came here last evening, among the mountains of Pennsylvania. I came through several important inland towns of New York. Day before yesterday was the State election in New York State. In the valleys of the Chenango and the Susquehannah, the majority for Union and against the Slave Power was very large and emphatic. Daniel S. Dickinson, in the place of his residence, (Binghampton,) had over 1100 votes out of 1300, and that after all his strong and stirring utterances. His nomination was for State Attorney.

It is marvellous, the change that is going on among the people respecting Abolition. Scarcely one is found to entertain the idea of Dissolution, in preference to Abolition. The one idea of Abolitionists has been, for nearly thirty years, Dissolution before the propagation and perpetuity of slavery. But the South has presented to the North another and a far different issue.

Dissolution or *Abolition!* With one voice the South say, We dissolve the Union to sustain slavery. With equal unanimity the North says, or is fast coming to say—Abolish slavery to save the Union. This has been the one unanimous call of Abolitionists for thirty years—"Abolish slavery to preserve and perpetuate the Union." This conviction we, as Abolitionists, have aimed to instil into the minds of all—the government, the nation, the Union must perish, or slavery be abolished. The two cannot exist together. Slavery or the Union must die. Let this conviction settle upon the mind of the North. This is the testimony of the States now in rebellion. They seek to destroy the nation, because they deem its existence is opposed to slavery. This is the opinion of Abraham Lincoln, Wm. H. Seward and Salmon P. Chase. It is coming to be the earnest and unalterable conviction of the masses everywhere. The government, the Union, the Republic must be blotted from the map of the world, or slavery must be wiped out. Oh for a thousand lecturers of iron nerves, and stern granite hearts, and untiring zeal, to go all over the North, to deepen, mature, and make available this one grand issue forced upon the North by the South: *Dissolution* or *Abolition!*

A few say, (Ex-Governor Seymour of New York being one,) Dissolve the Union rather than touch or abolish slavery; but nine out of ten say—Let slavery perish, but save the Union. The South hates the Union, because, as they think, its tendency is to destroy slavery. God grant the human flesh-mongers may never think otherwise, till the entire North is compelled to accept the issue! for the moment they do accept that issue, and act accordingly, that moment victory will perch upon their banner, and *not before.*

Governments are established to protect liberty, not slavery; and the moment they cease to protect liberty, and sustain slavery, "it is the right and the duty of the people to alter or abolish them." While the Union meant slavery, God and the Constitution required us to seek to alter or abolish it. Now that it means freedom, (as the slave-seceding tyrants assert,) it is our sacred right and duty to sustain it, so far as the question of liberty or slavery is concerned. No matter what the North says in the premises; the slaveholders declare that the Federal Government is the deadly enemy of slavery, and that slavery can be sustained only on its ruins. Hence, in their view, every man who sustains slavery is an Abolitionist. No disavowal of Republicans or Democrats can ever alter that conviction. The South has treated and will treat every man who says one word or fires a gun in support of the Union and the Constitution, as an Abolitionist, and hang him as such. God grant them grace to stick to this conviction, and to treat every Northern man and woman as a deadly enemy to slavery, until in deed and in truth they do all become Abolitionists! Every man who opposes the rebels, and seeks to crush rebellion and save the government, must fight against Slavery — must fight for Abolition — whether he will or no.

THE CONSTITUTION AND ABOLITION—ONE AND INSEPARABLE! This is the assured and settled conviction of the rebel States and individuals. This is the only construction of the Constitution now admissable at the South. God help them to persevere in that belief, and be true to it! The rebels seek its destruction because it means Abolition. Is the North seeking to crush the rebels because they say it means Abolition? The rebels, one and all, seek to dissolve the Union, because, as they say, it is opposed to slavery. Does the North seek to crush rebellion because the rebels say the government is opposed to slavery?

The South will fight and will prevail until the North accepts the issue presented by them, and supports the Union because it opposes slavery, and as a means of Abolition. The moment the North is prepared to lay her all on the altar of the Union and Constitution because they mean Abolition, that moment, and never before, will victory crown her efforts. So long as the North is so mean, so craven, so dastardly, and so cowed as to be afraid to accept the issue which the South presents, and fight for the government as meaning Abolition—liberty to blacks as well as whites—as meaning that God made all men equally free—her Bull Runs, Edwards Ferries and Lexingtons will be multiplied. She will not deserve victory, and cannot have it. Let the North accept heartily the *only* issue presented by the South—Dissolution or Abolition—and sustain the government and Union because they mean Abolition, as the rebels say they do, and in three months the war would end. Four millions of slaves would spring to the aid of the North, and the sympathy of the civilized world would cheer them on to triumph.

Yours, HENRY C. WRIGHT.

EXTRACTS FROM A PRIVATE LETTER.

November 3d, 1861.

MY DEAR MR. ——:

"Chill November's surly blasts" are at last upon us, making "fields and forests bare," and Tuesday comes *Election.* S. sent me the newspaper with a notice of your nomination for Assembly man, which I most sincerely wish will result in your triumphant election the 5th. I wish this because, *now,* of all times, we should have men of conscience, men of honorable souls, men who love *justice* and *right* more than party compromise and expediency, in the seats of legislation; and I believe you will frankly and fearlessly use *your* influence and power to advance these great ends of human welfare, rather than become the mere tool of selfish, ambitious seekers after office and gain, such as it is the melancholy fact too many of our legislators have allowed themselves to be degraded into.

I should rejoice to have our Legislature filled with men of hands too clean to touch bribes, and hearts too high to listen to any claims but such as are really just, and with principles so inflexible that nothing could bend them from maintaining, at every hazard, and at all costs, the equal and unalienable right of every human being to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," as that noble old document reads. Then this next would be the last election in the Empire State when colored men should be prohibited from voting—a violation of natural and civil right so gross and shameful, that every honest man should hang his head at the thought of it. No election comes round that I do not feel indignant that such injustice should be suffered to continue to mar our constitutional law. How can $250 make a black man worthy of the franchise? Out upon such a paltry reason for any one to use this precious right of citizenship! Or make it *equal*—if a black man must have a property qualification, then a white man must; though this would be to turn back the civilization of the world. No, this odious distinction of color must come to an end; and the principles of equality for which your ever honored and "thrice sainted father" so nobly contended in 1820 will ere long prevail. I shall be grievously disappointed if this is not one of the beneficent changes that you will be called upon to uphold in our Assembly the coming winter.

Closely allied to this question is that, whether colored men shall not be enrolled among the militia for the common defence of the State. Why should Irishmen, Frenchmen, Scotchmen, Italians, Austrians, Germans and Spaniards all have welcome, and admission into the army, when these native-born, loyal colored Americans should alone be excluded? It seems outrageous in the Government, either State or National, to refuse the arms and aid of these forty thousand free colored men in the North who offer them, so eagerly entreating to be allowed to assist in this mighty struggle against rebellion and despotism now going on in the land, to say nothing of the faithful allies that might be secured in the more than half million *slaves* capable of bearing arms. It is pitiful to see such proffered means to carry on the war repulsed, while the flower of our young men are falling into soldiers' graves—such as the manly, enthusiastic Ellsworth, the brave and accomplished Winthrop, the young Lieut. Putnam, of such fine promise, the heroic Lyon, and so many others whom the country mourns.

It is disgraceful to *Massachusetts* to keep back colored troops, who have disciplined *themselves,* while her educated young men, fresh from the culture of Harvard College, are shot down or wounded so terribly, as in this late murderous battle at Edward's Ferry. Among these, as you see by the papers, was Lieut. Oliver Wendell Holmes (Jr.), son of O. W. Holmes, two wounds in his body. He was a friend and classmate of our young friend Wendell Phillips Garrison, with whom we used to see him at meetings and lectures in Boston.

Into what gigantic proportions the war has grown since we were with you last April and May! And how worse than useless will be all this costly sacrifice of blood and treasure, if Freedom does not come out of the conflict *safe,* and more secure than ever before!

I hope you have read Mr. Sumner's speech at the Republican State Convention at Worcester, the 1st of October. He says, so boldly, speaking from his highest impulses as a *man,* and without taking the timid counsel of politicians—"It is often said that the war will make an end of slavery. This is probable. But it is surer still, that the *overthrow of slavery will at once make an end of the war.*" And a fortnight later he said in Boston, "Let every mother whose son has watered with his generous life-blood the battle-field, remember it was *slavery* that has taken at once his life and her peace."

These are the sentiments and convictions that must work in the public mind till State Legislatures and Cabinet and President shall unite in advising and decreeing the righteous end of Universal Emancipation, which is the only solution of our troubles that can bring us the favor of Heaven.

All this good work, I cannot doubt, it will be your joy and happiness to promote, whether you serve the State at Albany this winter, which I earnestly hope and trust you will, or labor as a citizen in word and deed any where else.

Pardon so long and imperfect a letter; but I could not think of this election coming on without expressing my interest that a faithful, frank and high-souled representative like yourself should be secured to the important legislation demanded by the great interests of Liberty and Justice in this hour of their peril, and also of their hope.

Very sincerely, ——.

SPEECH OF MR. SUMNER.

HAVERHILL, (Mass.) Nov. 5, 1861.

EDITOR LIBERATOR:

I feel very much obliged for the "first-rate notice" you give me in relation to the printing of my "Extra," containing the speech of Hon. Charles Sumner. I have already published two editions of a thousand, and scattered them broadcast, at home and abroad—to a considerable extent in the army, as I have had opportunity. I never engaged in a work more heartily, and the "material aid and comfort" I have received from two of the leading and generous-hearted Abolitionists of this State (of either sex) has induced me to issue a third edition, enlarged and improved. My intention is to give a correct abstract of the speech or address of Mr. Sumner, which he delivered in this town last Friday evening, to a brilliant and enthusiastic audience of ladies and gentlemen, who were perfectly entranced by his masterly eloquence; and in addition, I design to give apt and timely quotations from George Washington, Henry Clay, Daniel Webster, Wendell Phillips, W. L. Garrison, Dr. Channing, Dr. Cheever, the poet Whittier, and others; my object being to fortify Mr. Sumner in the godlike position he has taken, and to deepen the "sacred animosity" of all good men, women and youth against the "sum of all villanies," so that, as far as I can, I may create a feeling which shall aid in rendering it impossible ever to reinstate the Union, or make it of any "binding force," except in the utter extermination of the Satanic institution of slavery. The recent utterances of Mr. Sumner, as also yours and Mr. Phillips's, have aroused in me an unconquerable spirit and an indefatigable energy, which have never possessed me before with such intensity, and I shall obtain all the means I honestly can, and pursue the work in hand with all the vigor and ability the good Lord, good angels, good spirits, and good men and women will let me. If I had a fortune, however large, I would exhaust the last cent in the way I have chosen, and in getting up petitions from the free States, especially from Massachusetts, which should meet Congress at the very threshold of the session nearly upon us, and which should inspire Senator Sumner to submit his Plan of Emancipation to that body at once, and give foundation and impulse for an immediate and triumphant vote in his favor.

With a thorough circulation of the Emancipation Petitions, it seems to me we might obtain an overwhelming majority of the people of this State to endorse it; and with such endorsement, and the presentation it would get from the hands of Mr. Sumner, what Northern man would dare doom himself for ever to infamy by opposing it? And if passed, would the President dare refuse it his signature? I can hardly think it.

My dear Mr. Garrison, you have done nobly in this crisis. Some of your articles have stirred me up like a trumpet. May the God of heaven inspire your voice and pen to "eternal vigilance," and let us all pray and work unceasingly, until liberty is proclaimed to *all* men!

Respectfully, your friend,
GEORGE K. RADCLIFFE.

N. B. Any person disposed to contribute to my third edition, to any extent whatever, may address me at Haverhill, Mass. We will supply orders for the new edition at the rate of three cents a-piece; ten copies for twenty-five cents, and the same, in proportion, for any larger number. Donations, however large or small, will be acceptable, and faithfully appropriated in circulating "the truth forcibly spoken."

COMPLETE SUCCESS OF THE NAVAL EXPEDITION—CAPTURE OF BEAUFORT!

Three Steamers lost in the Gale—The Rebels flee, leaving everything behind—Captured Cannon, Flags, &c.

FORTRESS MONROE, Nov. 12. The steamer Bienville has just arrived at Old Point from the great expedition. She left Port Royal on Sunday morning, and brings cheering intelligence.

The gale encountered by the fleet was very severe. The Union and Osceola went ashore and were lost, as previously reported. The Governor foundered at sea, but the Isaac T. Smith succeeded in saving all her crew, with the exception of a few marines.

The fleet arrived at Port Royal on Monday, the 4th instant.

NEW YORK, Nov. 13. The *Tribune* has a special dispatch from Fortress Monroe, which says, that on Thursday morning, the entire fleet formed in two grand lines for the fight. The Wabash led, the Bienville flanking the movement, which was in the form of a circle, first delivering broadsides into Fort Beauregard on the northwest, and, as the fleet came around, raking Fort Walker on the southwest.

Both forts responded vigorously. The Pawnee and Mohican for the time being, having got aground, were considerably damaged.

The bombardment lasted between four and five hours, when the rebel flag on Fort Walker came down.

The rebel loss is supposed to be 200. Gen. Dayton commanded at Fort Walker, and Col. Elliot at Fort Beauregard.

The rebels retired across Skull Creek to a village, 25 miles in the interior, where it is supposed they intend to make a stand. The negroes had already begun to pillage and destroy Beaufort. The white population had fled to Charleston by small steamers by an inside route. Gen. Sherman has hundreds, perhaps thousands, of negro laborers.

There was a panic at Savannah, and it is believed its capture would be easy. It is understood that Gen. Sherman will improve the defences of his position before making any forward movement.

In the forts there was a large supply of ammunition and stores of the best description.

Commander Dupont will immediately survey the harbor and place buoys and erect lights, and the position will be made a permanent base of operation.

Every one entered into the fight with the determination that the forts should be silenced, though it cost our entire fleet. The fleet stood within between 800 and 1000 feet of the forts, used five-second fuses, and poured shells into them at the rate of 2000 per hour. Not a single shell sent by the rebels burst in a ship. The Wabash was struck several times, as was most of the fleet, but every ship was in fighting condition when the rebels took to their heels.

The surgeon of Fort Walker was killed.

At Charleston, the next day, thirteen minute guns were fired, indicative of the burial of a Brigadier General.

BALTIMORE, Nov. 13. From an Officer arrived from Old Point, we gather the following particulars:—

None of our vessels were sunk. The Pawnee lost six killed, and two wounded. She suffered more injury than any of the fleet, but she is not disabled. A round shot went through the ward room, and damaged the second Lieutenant's room.

The Wabash had mainmast badly injured by a round shot.

The Pocahontas had one man injured. The chief Engineer of the Mochican was killed, and an assistant badly wounded. Names not learned.

When our troops took possession of the forts, they found a flag of truce flying on Hilton Head. The rebels had mined the works, and then fixed the halyards of the flag so that when it should be drawn down, the mine could be sprung. But in this they were disappointed. The halyards sprung a mine in the house used by the officers, but did very little damage, and hurt no one. The magazine did not explode. A large quantity of powder was found in the forts, with a large amount of English ammunition and projectiles.

The Susquehanna had three wounded. Only a small portion of our wounded are considered seriously or dangerously hurt. All the wounded are doing well, and the greater part will be sent home in a few days.

The day after the fight, the Seneca and two other gunboats under the command of Lieut. Ammen, proceeded up to Beaufort, and found but one white man in the town, and he was drunk.

The final retreat of the rebels was a perfect route. They left everthing — arms and equipments of all kinds, even to the officers' swords and commissions.

All the plantations up the river seemed to be deserted except by the negroes, who were seen in great numbers, and who, as the boats passed, came down to the shore with bundles in their hands, as if expecting to be taken off.

The following is an extract from a private letter from one of the officers engaged in the bombardment:

"I am sure our success will rejoice your hearts. It has been complete, and terror was over the whole country. The negroes are wild, and plundering their masters' houses. The whites have been driving the negroes away by force and shooting them down, but they still come to the gunboats.

The moment Gen. Drayton took to his horse, in the panic of the 7th, his 200 servants went directly to the Wabash. This is worthy of notice, as putting down the nonsense that the slaves were ready to fight for their masters. They surrounded Captain Ammen in crowds at Beaufort, one of them calling out in the joy of his heart, "I didn't think you could do it, massa."

FROM CAMP LYON.

A correspondent of the New York *Tribune,* writing from Camp Lyon, Springfield, (Mo.) Oct. 31, says.—

A slave named Peter—an active, intelligent man, though black as Erebus—arrived here yesterday from the rebel army, after a somewhat peculiar experience. Peter is the joint property of Capt. Vaughan, a rebel in Price's army, and Capt. Bigby, a stanch Union citizen of this town. When Vaughan was leaving for the South, two weeks ago, he insisted upon taking *his half* of the chattel Peter along with him for a body servant. Capt. Bigby, of course, objected; but Vaughan had the power on his side, and carried away the negro. Peter, however, being, like all the slaves, on the Union side, found means to send to Capt. Bigby that he would embrace the first opportunity to run away, and return to him; and surely enough, at noon yesterday he was back again, with a horse, which he had ridden, without saddle, bridle, blanket, or spur—guiding him by a rope halter—all the way from Price's camp at Neosho, *more than eighty miles distant,* since dusk on the previous evening! It would be difficult to find a match for this in all the instances of hard riding under adverse circumstances.

Peter reports that Price's army, about 20,000 strong, was very unexpectedly attacked in the rear on Monday evening, by a force supposed to be that of Lane, and that in the confusion which followed, he seized the first horse he could find, and without waiting to seek either saddle or bridle, made the best of his way out of camp, while the fight was progressing. The story is hardly credible, for in order to be at Neosho, Lane must have marched eighty miles in two days, though he is just the man, with his little force, to turn up where he is both unexpected and unwelcome, to fall upon the rear of a great army, and after harassing it a while, make good his escape. Still, the truth probably is that Lane was not near Price's army, but that the affair was merely a causeless panic.

If half the reports which we receive from Lane's command are true, it will require several more modifications of Gen. Fremont's proclamation to make the Kansas boys respect the inalienable right of Secessionists to hold the negro in bondage. A friend who has just returned from Lane's brigade informs me that there were 150 negroes with it, and was told there that 100 had been sent to Kansas a few days before. As for this command, it is remarkable that negro servants are a good deal more numerous than they were when we left St. Louis; and I have not heard, as yet, of General Fremont's engaging in the business of slave-catching. Yesterday morning a Secessionist came into our camp, and claimed a negro who is acting as body servant to Col. Owen Lovejoy of the staff—which was about as near the climax of absurdity as it is possible to arrive. Col. Lovejoy quietly advised him to leave the camp by the shortest possible road—and the gentleman left! "I would return a slave—certainly"—remarked the Colonel afterward—"if I found any man who *owned* him."

* * * * *

Our latest reports from the enemy seem to indicate that it is his intention to give us battle. If we do not meet him before the various divisions of our army unite (and they are all rapidly coming up), there is no reasonable ground of fear for the result. The slow movement of our rear divisions is owing altogether to their difficulty in obtaining transportation, and that difficulty is solely attributable to the policy which has been pursued toward Gen. Fremont. As long as he was merely neglected, he procured whatever was needed for the vigorous prosecution of the war wherever he could find it; but since for that inattention has been substituted the injustice of impugning his integrity, destroying his credit, and tying his hands, he is restricted in obtaining the most of his supplies to the long and devious ways of red tape. Still, in spite of all the difficulties and embarrassments thrown in his way, and the outrageous imputations which have been cast upon him, he goes straight forward in the work to which his country called him, turning neither to the right hand nor to the left.

Already he has driven the rebels down into one corner of the State, routed them where they have met his forces since he took the field; and his column is now *further South than any other* along our whole line between the loyal and rebel States. In view of the resources at his command, he is accomplishing wonders in collecting and bringing forward his army, and whenever it all arrives here, it will be in a condition to march anywhere. He is likely soon to encounter the main body of the enemy. The rank and file of his army love and believe in Fremont with an enthusiasm which few at a distance can appreciate, and, in spite of all his difficulties, I believe he will drive the foe far down into the enemy's country, or scatter it hopelessly to the four winds. Let no one suppose because he does not now turn aside to notice the attacks which have been made upon him, that they will always remain unanswered. Now, while he is in the field, within two days' march of the enemy, the country demands his entire efforts and attention; but I have the most abiding faith that time will develop the utter injustice of the petty warfare waged upon him, disgraceful to those who are engaged in it, and treasonable to our common cause.

OVATION TO GEN. FREMONT AT ST. LOUIS.

☞ The removal of General Fremont has excited wide-spread indignation. He arrived in St. Louis on Friday from Springfield. Immense crowds turned out to meet him, and his reception was a perfect ovation. An address of welcome was tendered to him, to which he made a brief but felicitous reply as follows:

"Gentlemen: I wish to say to you that your kind and affectionate—I may even say affectionate—reception of me moves my heart. It cheers me and strengthens my confidence—my confidence, already somewhat wavering—in our republican institutions. I felt all day, as we passed through the country—I feel emphatically to-night—that the faithful servant of the people, honestly laboring in the public cause, will not be allowed to suffer undeserved, and I feel stronger.

Since I left you a few weeks ago, many accusations have been rained upon my defenceless head—*defenceless; because my head was turned to the public enemy.* What I see and hear to-night, the address you have just read to me, and the approving multitude below, show me that I was not wrong in leaving my defence with you. In regard to the baser charges made against me, I will say nothing now. You do not require it; and to speak of them would jar upon the generous feelings with which you come here to-night.

Others have been already answered by my brave soldiers at Springfield; and others, of gross incompetency and a week and aimless administration,—to all of these I will adopt your address, and the shouts of the grand multitude assembled below, as my answer. And for all this, gentlemen, to you and to them, I renew my thanks with all my heart, which, to-night, is roused to full sensibility by the hearty and unqualified expression of your confidence and approbation, so valuable and grateful to me in my actual position.

I shall soon have occasion, for I shall make occasion, to answer all the charges against me more definitely. Until then, I will rely upon this evening for my defence."

☞ The Potomac is blockaded, and all communication by water with the Capital of the Nation is cut off! *This* right under the eyes of the Grand Army! Meantime we are directed to look away to Missouri for "incompetence"!

SENATOR BAKER. Daniel S. Dickinson, in speaking to 10,000 in Brooklyn, last week, thus alluded to brave Col. Baker:—

"Alas, poor Baker! He was swifter than an eagle! He was stronger than a lion! and the very soul of bravery and manly daring. He spoke by my side at the Union-square meeting in April, and his words of fiery and patriotic eloquence yet ring upon my ear. And has that noble heart ceased to throb—that pulse to play? Has that beaming eye been closed in death? Has that tongue of eloquence been silenced forever? Yes, but he has died in the cause of humanity:

'Whether on the scaffold high,
Or in the army's van,
The fittest place for man to die,
Is, where he dies for man.'

Of foreign birth, he laid down his life for the land of his adoption. Let native-born traitors contemplate the picture with what composure they can."

"DESTROYED BY FIRE."—"*Great Falls, N. H., November 2d.* The Blanket Mill, &c., of William Hill, at North Berwick, Maine, was destroyed by fire this morning. The loss is $30,000—insured. The mill was engaged in making blankets for the army."

So reads a telegram in the daily papers of yesterday. Every day or two announcements of a similar character are made, and in every instance it is stated that the mill was engaged in making work or goods for the Government. Craig's Mill, in Philadelphia, burned less than a week ago, was so engaged, and Solm's Mill, in Manayunk, partly destroyed two weeks ago, was similarly occupied. And so all over the country, wherever a Mill or Works of any kind are destroyed by fire, they are engaged in "work for the Government." Can this be accident—fatality—or is it a purpose to cripple the arm of the Government by those who are worse than the traitors who employ them? Let the parties interested look to their Mills, and know who they have about them.—*Norristown Free Press.*

☞ The New York *Evening Post* chronicles the following clear case of fraud:—

"It is related by one of the dispatches from the battle-field at Edwards's Ferry, that when our brave boys were trying to make their way from the trap into which they had been foolishly led, back across the Potomac, a poor negro with a small skiff employed himself the whole night in ferrying over the fugitives. He succeeded, in this way, in saving the lives, or securing the escape at least, of no less than one hundred persons. His master was, all the while, probably, on the Virginia shore trying to send a Minnie ball into the hearts of our men.

Now, as the 'service' of this fellow did not belong to himself, but his master, what right had he to lend his labor to our suffering soldiers? Was he not defrauding his owner? Will not some of our Generals insist upon 'delivering him up,' to be properly punished for so audacious a use of his muscles? Of course, no one will be so insane as to propose that he should be emancipated for this timely rescue of so many loyal troops. That would be abolitionism; that would be confessing that negroes are men, and entitled to decent respect."

☞ The Columbus (Ohio) *Fact,* a leading Breckinridge journal, thus boldly declares its opinion touching slavery and the war:—

"This Government cannot conquer the rebels with the same army with which it protects slavery, and none but boobies think it can—none but traitors think it ought. The best intention of our Generals toward the rebel States and their 'cherished institution' will fail them, when they find themselves harassed in front and rear by the Slave Power, and then will come the 'military necessity' for acting in the premises, as General Fremont would have acted in Missouri, if left to exercise his own sagacious judgment. For everything there is a time and a season, and the rebels have anticipated, by their treason, an event that might otherwise have been postponed a hundred years. They have raised an issue that will result in one of two ways: either slavery or the Union must go to the wall."

☞ The Leavenworth (Kansas) *Conservative* says: "Slaves began coming into camp as soon as Lane left Westport. Not a day passes without a practical exemplification of the lie 'that the slaves are contented.' A black brigade, consisting of over 150 recent chattels, came out of Missouri on Friday last. They are well mounted, and have a good supply train. Their untimely departure has created no little excitement in the districts they are engaged in bleaching out. Lane continues to give 'vouchers' to such owners as are proved to be Union men, stating that such a slave, valued at so much, was 'lost by the march of my brigade.' A few days ago, the General called claimant and claimed before him, and asked the latter, 'George, do you want to go back with your master?' 'No, Gen'l, I never goes back;' and darkey was sent back to camp, while disgusted 'secesh' went to his farm a madder and cheaper (by $1000) man."

THE DAMNING DEED IS DONE! Fremont is removed,—deprived of his command just upon the eve of a battle. His utmost efforts were exerted to prevent his officers from resigning, and the soldiers from laying down their arms and leaving the field. Thus the only energetic and efficient general we have had, (judging from their acts,) is sacrificed for his love of freedom, and opposition to human bondage. If the people endure this, they are only fit for slaves themselves.—*Syracuse State League.*

ESCAPE OF SLAVES TO PHILADELPHIA. Thirty-seven contraband negroes came to Philadelphia during Tuesday night last, having walked northward from Accomac county, on the peninsula, Virginia. They were supplied with money by the Wisconsin troops. Numbers of these people are constantly arriving, which has stimulated a public meeting, to be held in the city next week, to assist them.

☞ After the battle of Fredericktown, Mo., in which Jeff. Thompson was so completely routed by the Illinois boys, a number of the slain secesh found on the field were recognized as men who had been released on parole not long before. Several dead and wounded rebels were also recognized by different persons as men who had heretofore pretended to be strong for the Union. They met the fate their treachery and treason richly merited.—*Chicago Tribune.*

☞ The Secretary of the War Department has received an official telegram concerning the battle at Belmont, Mo., which generally confirms the newspaper statements. It says that Col. Biellskie, of Gen. McClernand's Staff, was killed, and among other particulars, that the Federal forces fought all the way into the camp of the enemy, immediately under the guns of Columbus, spiked two of the guns and brought away two, together with two hundred prisoners. The Federal loss is stated at three hundred, and that of the enemy much heavier.

PARIS, Ky., Nov. 12. The courier messenger with dispatches to Gen. Thomas, reports two days fighting, with a rebel loss of 400 killed, and 2000 prisoners. The Union loss is small. Generals Williams and Howe were captured in the battle by General Nelson. This is trustworthy.

☞ The St. Louis *Republican* of the 6th inst. says:

"Major Josephs, with one hundred and sixty mounted men of Gamble's militia, left St. Joseph on Thursday, the 31st ult., for Platte County, having learned that there was a body of 400 rebels encamped in that county. He had five skirmishes and one battle at Bear Creek, on the 2d, that lasted one hour and a half, in which he killed 50 or 60 rebels, and took 15 prisoners, many horses, camp equipage, &c. Major Josephs had only six men wounded, all slightly.

"It is stated that the rebels fought very bravely and desperately, and though vigorously pursued, continued to turn and fire. The command returned to St. Joseph's on Saturday in high spirits."

☞ The editor of the Wheeling *News,* writing from Charlestown, Va., Oct. 15th, says:—

"The prisoners recently released by the Confederates at Roanoke, and now here, narrate most disgusting details of the manner in which they were brutally treated by those who arrested and guarded them. They averaged two meals of rice, coffee, half-cooked corn, and cold cabbage and water in six hours, and then fasting for the remaining eighteen hours out of the twenty-four. And in several cases old and inoffensive men were knocked down and jumped upon. Almost everywhere they were advertised as d—d blue bellied Abolitionists and Yankee sons of ——, and the people invited out of their houses to look at them as beasts of show."

DISASTROUS GALE. Hardly so violent a gale has been known, with one or two exceptions, for the last forty years, as took place on Saturday and Sunday, 2d and 3d inst. It swept the seaboard with great power from Cape Hatteras to Eastport, doing an immense amount of damage, and attended with many serious disasters.

The most melancholy marine disaster was the wreck of the ship Maritana, of Providence, R. I., Captain G. W. Williams, which struck on Egg Rock, about one-eighth of a mile from Boston Light, (off Hull, not the one near Nahant.) At about six o'clock, a boat, with five seamen, endeavored to get a line to the shore to save the lives of those on board, but being unsuccessful, they were called back. The ship held together until seven o'clock, when she parted amid-ships, and the Captain fell into the open chasm, and was instantly killed by a falling beam. His body was got up on deck, when the vessel began to go to pieces fast, and in a very short time, her fragments were floating towards the shore. Thirteen persons, who were on the after part of the vessel, succeeded in getting ashore, some on the poop deck, and some by swimming, but those forward, numbering twenty-four persons, were all lost. Nearly all the bodies have been recovered.

THE TWENTY EIGHTH

NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY SUBSCRIPTION ANNIVERSARY.

The time for the ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION ANNIVERSARY again draws nigh, and we look forward to it with pleasure, as the means of meeting familiar, friendly faces, and listening to earnest words of counsel and encouragement. Some say that other agencies are now in such active operation, that "the old Abolitionists," as they are called, can well afford to rest upon their oars, while others carry forward their work to its completion. We cannot view the subject in this light. Our mission is the same now that it was thirty years ago. Through many and strange changes, we have slowly but steadily advanced toward its fulfilment; but there are many indications that our work is not yet in a state to be safely left to other hands. We have been, and we must still be, a fire to warm the atmosphere of public opinion. More than a quarter of a century ago, the fire was kindled with generous zeal, and year after year it has been fed with untiring industry and patience. Not all the cold water that politicians, merchants, and ecclesiastical bodies could throw upon it has sufficed to extinguish the flame, or even to prevent it from spreading. The moral thermometer can never again fall to the old freezing point. In view of this, we thank God, and take courage. But who that observes passing events, and reflects upon their indications, can arrive at the conclusion that the fire is no longer needed?

It is true that blood and treasure are lavishly expended to put down a most wicked and sanguinary rebellion, the proclaimed purpose of which is to extend and perpetuate SLAVERY. But the government of the United States manifests, in every possible way, a vigilant carefulness to protect the claims of Slavery, and politicians are continually announcing that the war has nothing to do with the cause of the war. There are now very few slaveholders who condescend to profess allegiance to the government; yet, small as is the remnant of that powerful and unprincipled oligarchy, they still appear to govern the counsels of the nation. The honest expression of THE PEOPLE'S wishes is required to be suppressed, lest the utterance should prove offensive to this arrogant minority, so long accustomed to rule the majority. The people are full of generous enthusiasm for their country. If the polar star of a great idea were presented to them, they would follow it with eager courage through suffering and death. But it seems to be the aim of politicians to create a fog so dense that neither star nor sunlight shall glimmer through it to guide the millions, who are longing to be led in the right direction.

Is *this* a time to let the sacred fire smoulder on the altar of freedom? On the contrary, there has never been a time when it was more necessary to watch it with vigilance, and feed it with untiring activity.

We, Abolitionists, still have unwavering faith that "a straight line is always the shortest, in morals as well as in mathematics." Politicians are always in need of being convinced of this obvious truth; and they are peculiarly in need of it now. Let us, then, continue to work for the good old cause in every way that is consistent with our own conscientious convictions. Let us meet together, that our hearts may be cheered and our hands strengthened for whatsoever work the God of the oppressed may call upon us to do.

All those who have faith in the principles of freedom, all who believe that the effect of righteousness would be peace and security for our unhappy country, are cordially and earnestly invited to meet us at the usual time and place in Boston, in January next. [Particulars hereafter.]

Contributions, and expressions of sympathy, from friends at home or abroad, in person or by letter, will be most thankfully received; for we have great need of both at this most momentous and trying crisis.

L. Maria Child,	*Mary Willey,*
Mary May,	*Ann Rebecca Bramhall,*
Louisa Loring,	*Sarah P. Remond,*
Henrietta Sargent,	*Mary E. Stearns,*
Sarah Russell May,	*Sarah J. Nowell,*
Helen Eliza Garrison,	*Elizabeth Von Arnim,*
Anna Shaw Greene,	*Anne Langdon Alger,*
Sarah Blake Shaw,	*Eliza Apthorp,*
Caroline Thayer,	*Sarah Cowing,*
Abby Kelley Foster,	*Sarah H. Southwick,*
Lydia D. Parker,	*Mary Elizabeth Sargent,*
Augusta G. King,	*Sarah C. Atkinson,*
Mattie Griffith,	*Abby Francis,*
Mary Jackson,	*Mary Jane Parkman,*
Evelina A. Smith,	*Georgina Otis,*
Caroline M. Severance,	*Abby [illegible] Stephenson,*
Elizabeth Gay.	

☞ FRATERNITY LECTURES. ☜

FOURTH SERIES.

The public of Boston and vicinity are respectfully informed that the FOURTH SERIES of FRATERNITY LECTURES continue weekly at TREMONT TEMPLE.

The lecture on Tuesday Evening, Nov. 19, will be by

WILLIAM R. ALGER.

To be followed on successive TUESDAY EVENINGS by Lectures from the following gentlemen:—

November 26—HENRY WARD BEECHER.
December 3—FREDERICK DOUGLASS.
" 10—DANIEL S. DICKINSON.
" 17—EDWIN H. CHAPIN.
" 24—EZRA H. HEYWOOD.
" 31—WILLIAM S. STUDLEY.
January 7—WENDELL PHILLIPS.

Doors to be opened at 6 1-2 o'clock. Lectures to commence at 7 1-2 o'clock, precisely.

☞ A. T. FOSS will speak in

Portsmouth, N. H.,	Sunday, Nov. 17.
New Market, "	Monday, " 18.
Buxton, Me.,	Thursday, " 21.
Portland, "	Sunday, " 24.

TERMS REDUCED,

AT the Round Hill Water-Cure in Northampton, Mass., to $7 and $10 per week. Open Summer and Winter. DR. HALSTED'S success in the treatment of Woman's diseases is well known. The cure is speedy and reliable. Those brought on beds, even, are soon enabled to walk. Over four hundred cases of spinal diseases, paralysis and loss of the use of limbs have been restored; and numerous cures have been made of various stubborn difficulties which had lingered without help for years. For the success in treating more ordinary complaints, and the great favor given the Turkish Chemical and other Baths, see circular sent gratis.

Needing a little change, and desirous to confer as well as to receive benefit, Dr. H. will make a few professional visits, travelling expenses being paid, without charge.

Northampton, Oct. 30.

Woman's Rights under the Law.

THREE Lectures delivered in Boston, January, 1861, by Mrs. C. H. Dall.
I. The Oriental Estimate and the French Law.
II. The English Common Law.
III. The United States Law, and some Thoughts on Human Rights.
16mo., cloth, 63 cts.
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Uniform with
Woman's Right to Labor, 63 cts.
Practical Illustrations of the same, 63 cts.
Historical Pictures Retouched, $1.00.
All of which are sent *free* by mail on receipt of the price.
Oct. 25—3tis.

Diseases of Women and Children.

WM. SYMINGTON BROWN, M. D., and
MRS. MARGARET B. BROWN, *Accoucheuse,*

HAVE opened an office at 274 Washington Street, Boston, and will devote special attention to the treatment of the above diseases.
Office Hours, from 10, A. M., to 4, P. M.
Boston, Oct. 4, 1861. 3m

THE most able and brilliant book, called forth by the present struggle, is

THE REJECTED STONE:

Or, Insurrection vs. Resurrection in America.

By a Native of Virginia. 12mo., flexible covers—50 cts.
Published, and sent free by mail, on receipt of the price, by WALKER, WISE & CO.,
Oct. 25—3tis 245 Washington street, Boston.

Poetry.

For the Liberator.

IS THERE HOPE?

When I ponder in secret communion,
With my conscience, that pleads for the right,
I ask me, is there hopeful or fair,
That hath triumphed on earth in its might!

Ah, no! let the Union perish,
It is never but to drive the chain;
If we hope that Humanity shrinks
Most from disappointment again!

After all What's unfeigned and fervent,
Or, Oh! must the slave suffer long?
Shall the Truth never triumph over Error?
Shall the Right never triumph o'er Wrong?

Is there hope for a brother, not pleading
The wrock of his manhood's wave?
Is there hope for the scourged and the bleeding?
Is there hope for the down-trodden slave?

RICHARD HINCHCLIFFE.

Andover, Mass., Nov. 6.

LINES ON A PICTURE.

Yes, there is hope—just where the glorious boy
Touches the lap of manhood's earliest prime,
Yet we see more than youth's exuberant joy;
Hark! the awakening spirit of the time.
Not sneaky-sly, but stately—to be
The birthright of a higher divinity
Than those first days when Freedom's clarion hold
Aroused the Western world, and shook the Old.

Look at the picture, in these proud features,
Of thoughtful daring, and of high empire!
Hope grand! As if it were some prophet's scroll,
Had first caught the wisdom of the soul.
But what is best—the future here we read
By the strong light of artist's sudden deed.
That eye hath seen the battle's fearful strife—
The fiery baptism of the warrior's life—
The crimson thrill of glory's spring,
Hot heroic strife, the maddening victory;
The bloody earth, for hoyal rights begun,
Beneath the sweetness of a Sabbath sun.
Ah! who the surging of the soul can tell,
When into war and wonder rushed those fell!
Then who didst follow with a heart so brave,
My only thought was victory or a grave,
Oh, reverence the Hand that turned away
The messenger of death from thee that day!
Give him the imperilled heart that would have died,
Had He not borne thee o'er the battle's tide.

Our cause asks purest light from Christian sons,
To prove the sordid night-road thence forsaken
The very thinking of whose record should be
The deeper thirst for Liberty!
And do its trying fires the battle's thunder
Give freedom from dead slavery should sunder
Or could mere blood—merely bold,
Mighty through God to take the giant's hold.

Oh! when the dawning and blessed day
Shall the dawn, where yonder boy here I see,
Dipped in fern and soul to manly grace,
Redeem the early promise of that face,
Worthy in life's best conflict to engage,
And lead Liberty's advancing spirit of the age!

Newport, R. I. S. L. L.

From Chamber's Journal.

COMING HOME.

O, brothers and sisters, growing old,
Do you ever remember yet
That home, in the shade of the rustling trees,
Where once in our household met?

Do you know how we used to come from school,
Through the summer's pleasant heat,
With the yellow cowslp's golden dust
On our little feet?

And how [illegible] to cool,
[illegible] to wade to gather flowers,
[illegible] the fields to pluck—
Till entered by the deepening shadows' fall,
That told of the coming night,
We climbed to the top of the hot, long hill,
And saw our home in sight?

And, brothers and sisters, older now
Than she [illegible] of life,
Do you [illegible] loving face,
[illegible] of time,
[illegible] the years
[illegible] how
[illegible] long ago?

Ah! do you come to life's hot hill,
From which our weary eyes
Can almost look on that home that shines
Eternal in the skies.

So, brothers and sisters, as we go,
Still let us move as one,
Always together keeping step,
Till the march of life is done!

For that mother, who waited for us here,
Wearing a smile so sweet,
Now waits on the hills of paradise
For her children's coming feet!

PHEBE CARY.

THE HEART'S GUESTS.

When age has cast its shadow
On life's declining way,
And the evening twilight gathers
Round our departing day—
Then we shall sit and ponder
On the dim and shadowy past;
Within that heart's still chamber
The guests will gather fast.

The friends in youth we cherished
Shall come in a mute array,
Again to hold communion
As in the days of yore.
They may be stern and sombre,
They may be young and fair,
But the hours will have its chamber,
The guests shall gather there.

How shall it be, my sisters?
Who, think, shall be our guests?
How shall it be, my brothers,
When life's shadow on us rests?
Shall we not, unless the silence,
In accents soft and low,
Then hear familiar voices,
And words of long ago?

Shall we not see dear faces
Smile beaming on us still,
Till the mists of that still chamber
Are sweet clouds of gold,—
When age has cast its shadow
Our life's declining way,
And the evening twilight gathers
Round our departing day?

THE FUGITIVE-SLAVE LAW.

BY WILLIAM R. POWLER.

Restore the Fugitive! Ay, when
The Son of God descends again,
And bids our slave come to the
As I would bid he does unto.

Restore the Fugitive! I will
When God's own law is made to still,
And wrong is right by God's decree,
And light and sin no longer free.

Restore the Fugitive! Yes, when
While I've a home, a shelter, where
The persecuted can may hide,
Curbs, or gyves, and day of wide.

Restore the Fugitive! The law
Is like the serpic that Samson wore,
And nature, sense each thread a chain,
Would snap a thousand such in twain.

The Liberator.

WHO ARE THE INFIDELS? No. I.

By the late Rev. J. P. Ferneden, of S. Bridgeton, Me.

It seems to me that no word, as applied to men in these latter days, is more grossly perverted than is the word "infidel." It is generally considered a term of reproach, and is therefore frequently used for the purpose of injuring or destroying the character and influence of the persons to whom it is applied. Every one is the proper accused of infidelity, and the public do not stop to inquire what is meant by the accusation, or what is the motive of the accuser, or what motives, or with what designs, those who make it are actuated. Without hesitation they take it for granted that the accused is a scoffer at all religion, a person of bad principles and bad morals, and should be shunned as an enemy of the man and a dangerous member of society. They consider it wicked to give him even a hearing in explanation of his sentiments, or of the reasons which lead him to adopt the opinions for which he is prejudged and condemned upon a mere rumor, and often a calumnious one. If the public are thus informed in regard to the moral and language manner in which the charge of infidelity is often brought against some of the most self-denying philanthropists and reformers, and most estimable men and women in the country, it would cease to be, in their estimation, a term of reproach. It would be considered quite as greatly to their credit that they are infidel to some of the unscriptural opinions and practices which are so much in favor and held in wide-spread currency in the church and the nation.

Let us, then, for a moment, how the word infidel is extensively used and applied, and what, in reality, is meant by it, as thus used and applied. Mahomet, Joss call Christians infidels, because they do not believe in the Mahometan religion; in Mahomet as the prophet of God; in the Koran as inspired Scripture, or in the rites of Mahomedanism; as in accordance with the divine will. Christians call Mahomedans infidels, because they do not believe in Christ as the only Savior, in our Bible as a revelation from Heaven, and in the moral and religious rule of life and conduct in our churches and churches of the Christian church. The term infidel is applied by Catholics to Protestants, because they do not believe in the Pope as the infallible present upon earth; in the Catholic church as the true and only church of Christ, without the pale of which, obeyance to the Pope and to Rome, is not acceptable; apply it to the Catholics, because they exalt the Pope into the place of the Savior, prayed to the Virgin, and are guilty of the most gross superstitions and idolatries. And various Protestant sects accuse each other of infidelity, because they differ from them in its views of the character of God and the Savior, and of the Bible and its teachings. The Episcopalians and Universalists and Unitarians call infidels, because the former believe that the Scriptures teach the doctrine of the divine right of kings, and the latter deny that they teach the doctrine of total depravity, the trinity, the supreme divinity and vicarious atonement of our Savior, and the supreme and divinity of the Holy Spirit. And there is doubtless among the Universalists and Unitarians many who their views concerning the inspiration of the Scriptures, the Christian Sabbath, and the church and ministry as at variance with those of the Orthodox and many other doctrines and duties of Christianity. Some believe in what is called the plenary inspiration of the Bible; that every word, every syllable and letter, from the beginning of Genesis to the end of Revelation, is inspired by the Holy Spirit, and is to be so believed. Some hold that the Christian takes the place of the Jewish Sabbath by *Divine appointment*. Others deduce from the Scriptures, the doctrine that the evangelical ministry, and church in its various branches, are the ordinances of God, and, as such, to be respected and reverenced. Others do not so regard them. And if these evangelical Christians were as liberal in applying the term infidel as some do, on account of difference of opinion in respect to the subject of religion, as they are in applying it to those who dissent from their creed, infidels to their creed would be very many more to be found in their own ranks. Infidel, it is used as a term of reproach, is thus variously applied, I see not how any mortal in all Christendom can plead not guilty to the charge of being an infidel; for it is very doubtful whether, on examination, there can be found any two persons whose views exactly coincide in every particular in regard to God and the Savior, the inspiration of the Bible, the Sabbath, or, in fact, any of the doctrines and precepts of revelation. If two such persons are found, it will be found, then each one must be, in respect to some points of religious faith, an unbeliever, in regard to which he is an infidel, and must on the ground, of one, in reference to the other, an infidel. As the word infidel is now commonly used, all must be, in regard to it, *in truth*, in that, the person to whom it is applied is an unbeliever in respect to some of the dogmas which are generally held by those who are denominated evangelical Christians. He does not believe as they profess to believe, it may be, in reference to the plenary inspiration of the Bible, the Christian Sabbath, some of the doctrines and duties of revelation, and the divine mission of the ministry and church, as they now exist in the world. They will not pretend that the accused person is a "pagan" and a "*heathen*," (two of the words used by Dr. Johnson in his definition of an infidel,) although, for the purpose of blasting his character and influence, they would, if they can, be glad to have the public, who do not know him, believe him to be both. They will not say that he is "one who rejects all revelation," (one who rejects Christianity,) for such an accusation could be easily shown to be false. All, therefore, that can, in truth, be meant by the accusation, is, that the accused person does not subscribe to all the articles of the creeds of Christian Christendom. As a question of fact, he does not believe in

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☞ Advertisements inserted at the rate of five cents per line.

☞ The Agents of the American, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Ohio and Michigan Anti-Slavery Societies are authorised to receive subscriptions for The Liberator.

☞ The following gentlemen constitute the Financial Committee, but are not responsible for any debts of the paper, viz:—Francis Jackson, Edmund Quincy, Edmund Jackson, and Wendell Phillips.

The United States Constitution is "a covenant with death, and an agreement with hell."

☞ "What order of men under the most absolute of monarchies, or the most aristocratic of republics, was ever invested with such an odious and unjust privilege as that of the separate and exclusive representation of less than half a million owners of slaves, in the Hall of this House, in the chair of the Senate, and in the Presidential mansion? This investment of power in the owners of one species of property concentrated in the highest authorities of the nation, and disseminated through thirteen of the twenty-six States of the Union, constitutes a privileged order of men in the community, more adverse to the rights of all, and more pernicious to the interests of the whole, than any order of nobility ever known. To call government thus constituted a Democracy is to insult the understanding of mankind. . . . It is doubly tainted with the infection of riches and of slavery. There is no name in the language of national jurisprudence that can define it—no model in the records of ancient history, or in the political theories of Aristotle, with which it can be likened. It was introduced into the Constitution of the United States by an equivocation—a representation of property under the name of persons. Little did the members of the Convention from the Free States imagine or foresee what a sacrifice to Moloch was hidden under the mask of this concession."—John Quincy Adams.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.

Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind.

J. B. YERRINGTON & SON, Printers.

VOL. XXXI. NO. 47. BOSTON, FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 22, 1861. WHOLE NO. 1613.

Refuge of Oppression.

THE EMANCIPATION SCHEME.

There are presses and individuals at present seriously engaged in discussing the plan of emancipating the slaves of the South by Presidential proclamation. This discussion means nothing, but as it is the preparatory sounding-note for the full cry from the pack of fanatic leaders; and we may as well make up our minds now that it is the aim of the conspirers to plunge the country in a sea of bloody woes that would cause even the horrors of the French Revolution to pale in contrast. While we are all insisting that this war is only to restore the supremacy of the Constitution over the whole land, they are scanting or skulking about, before the eyes of the public, and in the lurking-places of social life, doing all they can to poison the sentiment and fever the blood of the unsuspecting people, and treacherously bent on diverting the energies of armed patriotism to the wickedest and most merciless scheme that was ever proposed for signalizing an era of general anarchy and suffering.

Sumner boldly struck the key-note of open rebellion against the principles of our Constitution, in his outrageous speech and over-strained scholasticisms before the Worcester Convention. Others have been repeating his effort since. The New York *Tribune*, finding its generalship in the Bull Run advance so faulty in military eyes, has thought proper to assume the John Brown *role*, and now incites the pike style of fighting, by arguing that the negroes shall cease to be regarded as property by the National Government, but be permitted to take a part of their own in this great controversy at arms. The New York *Independent* labors as efficiently in *its* way. Fremont thought to head off the President himself,—Gen. Scott being left entirely out of account,—but received a merited check at the President's own hands, and is likely to lose his own military head besides. There are smaller instruments engaged in the same work,—smaller, but not less influential within their own spheres of operation.

It may very likely come to that, and not long hence, either, that we shall be obliged to assert at the North the organized indignation of the people at the very thought of such a project as this of Emancipation by our Government and army. That the hundreds of thousands of men in arms for the support of the Constitution have left home and all that is dear to them for a purpose like this, is not to be thought of for an instant; they would repudiate the insinuation themselves with all the patriotic scorn it deserved. But it is no less true, however, that the fanatic leaders have all along hoped and labored to give the war just such a direction, and that they give it their support mainly to that ulterior end now. There are signs enough about to teach us this beyond dispute. They desire to see this great Government arrayed on the side of a wild St. Domingo scheme for the forcible release of four million blacks from their domestic relation to the white race with whom they have always lived; and would have but few lamentations for the total annihilation of the Government itself in the frantic endeavor, if so be the blacks achieved a freedom through blood and rapine and burnings, that would be nominal and worthless at the best. They are praying with the zeal and perseverance of Hindoo devotees for the sudden letting loose of an army of wild passions, hitherto kept in subjection by the rules and instincts of society, upon defenceless women and children. They would take a fiendish delight in beholding vast tracts of the most productive portions of our country, upon whose uninterrupted cultivation depend the manufactures and a large share of the commerce of the world, rendered waste tracts, spoiled alike of inhabitants and the visible yearly fruits of their industry. Not only this, but more, they prefer anarchy everywhere to order. Taking the profession of PROGRESS for a motto, they think to confuse the perceptions of all honest citizens, so that they shall suddenly, and to their destruction, mistake ruin for advancement, and the overthrow of everything stable for the construction of something infinitely better. Such dreamers, such madmen, such wild plotters against principles and institutions that all civilized communities hold dear as life itself, because without them there can be no actual and continued life—are seeking to-day to control the direction of public sentiment, and to madden a loyal army, raised for the preservation of our free form of government alone, into measures that can result in nothing less than the loss of all.

This class of men are growing more rampant every day. They are the ones who complain of the Government's inactivity—who continually lament the slowness of the army movements—who affect dissatisfaction with every plan set on foot—and who cunningly declare that nothing will ever come of this war until the President proclaims unconditional and immediate emancipation for the slave, and till such a measure is openly sustained by the army at the point of the bayonet. Tell them that this inhuman work conflicts in its very conception with the spirit of our noble Constitution, and they will answer: "Oh, well; but you know we have no Constitution now! That is all past; we are entering upon new things!" Ask them of the policy, the justice, the humanity of the measure, and they will say they are not bound to give these things a thought—they will, under the overrulings of Providence, take care of themselves. They only insist that, as slavery is the origin and test of the present troubles, so these troubles can never be settled until slavery is destroyed; forgetful of the part they have themselves borne for thirty years in producing this festering sore, and that they are largely accountable for its present existence in the land.

The influence of these mischievous men and presses is to be *put down*; there are no words but these to apply to the case. If we would continue order at home, we must hurl from public sight these gods of fanaticism, and inaugurate the true system by which alone our Government and our society can stand. They are responsible for having wrought a large share of our woes; shall we let them go on, and lead us blindly to destruction? Are we become so enamored of their wise guidance already? Can we not all see and understand, that they would alternately lure and force us to the brink over which lies the deep of a national despair, that would be pointed to with a shudder of horror by all the future generations of men? We may as well be warned in time. —*Boston Post.* (1)

(1) Can there be a more loathsome exhibition of shameless mendacity, abominable caricature, malicious perversion of facts, senseless raving, mental imbecility, moral disorganization, and sham democracy, than is this entire article from the *Post*? And its treasonable intent is easily discerned beneath its veiled hypocrisy. The charge brought against the friends of immediate emancipation, that they wish to see blood and carnage sweep through the land, to gratify an unhallowed fanaticism, is pure infernalism

THE ORIGINAL ABOLITIONISTS.

It cannot be denied that a party in the North are clamorous for emancipation, and they sustain the war only in the belief that it will end in abolition. We know that some of them are not contending for the Union, for they have denounced the Union, and with their own hands burned the Constitution. These are the original Abolitionists. Others, who never worked with them before, say slavery is the cause of the trouble, and slavery must be removed for permanent peace. Altogether they constitute a power that presses the Administration, and which must inevitably grow stronger as the war goes on. We enter the struggle for the nation, as we go forward and men die, property wastes and business ceases, it becomes personal, and we come to hate the men opposed to us, and all their institutions.

Now, whenever this party becomes strong enough, if it ever shall, to change the issue, so that it will be the North against the South, and free institutions against slave institutions, we change the position in two ways,—we make the South a unit, and we fill the North with factions; change a war for the support of the Constitution to a war of subjugation; and if anybody can see the end of such a contest, we are sure that we cannot. It would be a war as vexatious as war could be, bloody beyond history records, and cruel without parallel. It would set State against State, section against section, race against race, and would end in the destruction of a Government that rests only upon the voluntary assent of the governed. Suppose the war should be such as to make the people of the South united against us,—as it certainly will be if it ever becomes a war upon their institutions,—how long, let us ask, would it take to subjugate that people?

Spread out the map, and look over that million of miles of territory with two thousand miles of sea coast, three-quarters of it mountain woods, and upon the whole twelve million of inhabitants,—and tell us at what period of time the conquest will be complete. Then next tell us what we shall do with it at the end of that time; how we are to hold, and what would be the cost of holding. And finally, suppose we did conquer it, and did hold it, how would that restore a union of co-equal States? The whole thing is an absurdity.

If we are ever to have peace, and above all, if we ever want to see a restoration of the Union of these States, the first effort of every good citizen would be to repress and crush out the radical mad-headedness that is willing to risk the destruction of thirty millions of whites for the liberties of four millions of blacks, which blacks, set free with no more preparation than they now have, would be worse off than ever before.—*Newburyport Herald.*

Selections.

"ABOLITION AND SECESSION."

The war has put some over-nice gentlemen into a pretty pickle. These are hard times for Mr. Facing-Both-Ways. For several years he has been blandly repeating: "Our Southern brethren! Our poor, injured, forbearing Southern brethren!" But, the Southern brethren having so unmistakably gone to the bad—having surrendered themselves to the most unfraternal antics—having fallen feloniously upon that Constitution which has been Mr. Both-Ways's private and public and particular pet—he is forced to look about him for something to admire, and, as ill-luck will have it, he finds his ancient enemies, "the Abolitionists," (as he calls them,) working devotedly for his poor Constitution, while he—where is he? Not merely outside the caucus, but pretty nearly outside all creation! In this hot struggle, there seems nothing in particular for him to do, except to utter warnings which nobody heeds, and to give advice which everybody laughs at. He falls into a rage, and begins an indiscriminate damnation. To the pit he consigns all Northerners, and to the same torrid place he sends all Southerners. He calls loudly for "Union," but he cannot find it in his heart to unite with anybody; and so he goes on, day after day, blowing hot and cold, and telling his neighbors for the five hundreth time that he is no "secessionist," but, egad! he is no "abolitionist." He fancies that this is conservative, and so it is, of brains; for in such boys' play, there will be but a scanty expenditure of that article. He calls a meeting, and resolves that he is a patriot, but that he is not an "abolitionist." He issues an address expressly to let the world know that he is not an "abolitionist." He nominates a candidate who is "no secessionist" and "no abolitionist," and he solemnly votes for that candidate as the representative of what he is pleased to call his "principles"; when the lamentable truth is, that what he thinks to be "principles," are merely a hodge-podge of notions, prejudices, traditions and other lumbering nonsense. Having done this, he is satisfied. Things may go from bad to worse, but he is as complacent as an old lady who, having foretold a rainy day, wakes up to find the windows of heaven wide open.

We are led to these reflections by the solemn fact that in Ward 5 of the city of Boston, a little meeting of Constitutional-Union-Democratic-Uptonians voted, the other evening, that they were for "the vigorous prosecution of the war," but that they were not "abolitionists." A more unnecessary disclaimer we can hardly conceive of. It requires a modicum of brains to be anything of the kind. But we cannot blame these timid gentlemen; nor will anybody blame them who considers that an "abolitionist" is also an infidel, an agrarian, a foe of human government, a dupe of his conscience, a woman's-rights-man, an anti-Sabbatarian, a "spiritualist," a phrenologist, a water-curer, a vegetarian, a fourierite, and an opponent of tobacco and capital punishment. All male abolitionists wear beards, all female abolitionists are "bloomers." All of them, being tainted by "peace principles," are avowedly in favor of insurrection, with fire, bloodshed, rape, anarchy, and a general whiz of everything. No wonder that a smugfaced constitutional-union man, just as highly respectable as it is possible for one of our fallen race to be, takes all possible pains, before he lifts so much as his little finger for his country, to have it distinctly understood, though he may be in little danger, that he is not an "abolitionist." His dudgeon at the accusation is a portion of his respectability.

Now, it is no part of our business either to attack or defend the American Anti-Slavery Society. It is a distinct organization, and is abundantly able to take care of itself. But, before we consign to the limbo of the wicked this poor word "abolition," we would like to ask if there be in this whole State of New York, for instance, one well-informed and conscientious person who is not an "abolitionist"? This is the way to put it: Here is this negro slavery; it has been our torment and our curse, our daily and our nightly danger. It has brought us to this shame before the nations; it has attempted to overthrow the institutions which we love, and which our fathers founded. It has changed peace to war, plenty to want, confidence to doubt, and ease to embarrassment. It has wasted our material wealth, and it has hardened the hearts of our brethren against us. It has enfeebled the mind, contaminated the pulpit, made dim the distinctions between right and wrong, and discredited our political principles, which, but for this curse, would have been the hope of the world! God favoring, circumstances permitting, the way opened by a Providence, which will indeed be divine, shall we not rid ourselves of it, once and forever? Where is the intelligent Northern man, we care not how he may politically style himself, who will not say from the bottom of his heart, to such a question, "Yes"? If this is to be an "abolitionist," we should like to look in the face of the poor creature who will say that he is not one. This is no longer a question of morals, but one of common sense and of common safety; of ordinary prudence and the least possible foresight. We are arguing for no particular scheme; we are demanding no hasty action; we feel, as much as any, the need of a circumspect policy; but upon the naked question of "abolition" or "no abolition," we believe that every honest, thinking man will be ready to avow himself an "abolitionist." Shall we send down this inheritance of distraction and division to our children? Are we such cowards as to impose upon them burdens which our fears and weakness shrink from? Shall the Union be restored only again and again to be jeoparded? Shall we have done our whole duty well and wisely, if we transmit to the next generation this frightful bequest of civil quarrel? And has our day been so full of glory and historical achievement that we can afford to throw away this golden opportunity of redressing the injuries of an unhappy race? And yet men shun the subject, and shrink from the problem because its solution is difficult, and strive, by a senseless babble of constitutional obligations, to be rid forever of the whole matter. Is this brave, manly, or becoming?

We say "No"; and, if saying so puts us into the "abolition" category, we accept the place as a place of honor. Many a good, brave, loyal man shares our opinion; many a citizen who has given his blood as if it were water and his money as if it were dross, to the republic, thinks as we do. And by what right is such a patriot to be classed with traitors in arms against the republic? By what law even of the commonest personal civility, do these libelers couple the names of the sound and the rotten, of the patriot and the anarchist, of footpads and freebooters, with the honest names of Christian gentlemen? And who are these new mentors who assume to direct, advise, censure, persuade and exhort an immense majority of the voters of the North—arraigning their intelligence, questioning their motives, imputing to them selfishness or silliness, venality or incapacity? Where is the record of their political successes? Where were they, when this storm was gathering, that they did not by notable pilotage save us from the cruel shore of death which threatens us?

Abolition and Secession! Light and darkness, truth and falsehood, right and wrong, fact and fallacy, are as nearly alike. Heaven help us if, in the dark days which are weighing down our very souls, we shun the truth because it is not pleasant, and strive to exorcise this devil of slavery by the gibberish, nine times worn out and ninety times weaker than water, which sham-conservatives so glibly utter. Better fling at once every musket into the Potomac and recall our gallant men, than to prate follies at home which will make their doughtiest deeds of none effect! If we must have the disgrace of a substantial defeat, let us meet it at once, and before we have murdered—yes, that is the word—any more men. If we must yield at last to the slaveholders, and think their thoughts and do their dirty work, let us at least save our cash, for that will be a consolation in the lower deep of our degradation!—*N. Y. Tribune.*

A DEMOCRATIC COLONEL ON THE WAR.

At the serenade given to the Secretary of War, at New York, on Monday evening last, John Cochrane, late Democratic member of Congress from New York city, but now a Colonel in the Federal army, made the following significant speech:—

* * * "We are here to-night to establish in the applause which we have given to the leader of these armies, our adhesion to our faith, our country, and our God. We are here to lift a note which shall resound over this land, obliterating all others, and confusing and overwhelming all others in its thundering dispersions, signifying that it is the note of freemen in behalf of freedom which their fathers achieved, and which they, as a proud inheritance, have been taught to enjoy. (Applause.) I am here to raise my voice in behalf of those truths, which we all profess, and to cast to the winds all adherence to party, to wipe every fond memory from the record of the past of party action or party faith. While we look at yonder banners which stream over every corner of the streets, do you perceive there the signal cries of armies arming for the contest to-morrow? You perceive a contest merely of individual opinions. It is nothing more to-morrow but the struggle of brothers, every man of whom declares, at the top of his breath, and with the utmost accord, that he is for his country, his whole country, and nothing but his country. (Applause.) Therefore, party is obliterated, and the fires now that flame throughout this land must be, if we pray for success, the lines which divide loyalty from rebellion, treason from integrity. (Applause.)

It is intimated to us that there can be no success for the arms of the North, so long as the South feel that it is their homes, and altars, and firesides for which they fight. Great God! and have we no homes to strike for? Have we no altars that are extinguished and smouldering? Have we no faith to be trampled to the dust? Let me signal yonder flag in yonder tropical sky, as it flies now elate on the breeze, now obscured by the smoke of cannon, and ask you, as the first cannon booms and the first shot penetrates its folds, whether there was no honor and no integrity wounded upon that staff that ascended over Sumter's walls? (Applause.) And let me ask you, as army after army gathered itself against us, as government was proclaimed and confederation established, and the emblem of government and confederation adopted in the flag of the Confederate States, when from beneath that flag and authority of that confederation, a high official applied the match, which discharged the first war gun against our glorious stars and stripes; whether that was not simple war against a government and a flag covered with the glories of the Revolution and the honors of the war of 1812? (Cheers.)

Now, tell me not of slavery and slaves, or of the peculiar institution of the South. The war is one of the institutions of the South upon the freedom and institutions of the nation. (Cheers.) And now, fellow-citizens, allow me to say, and I am fearless in the declaration, believing it to be true, and I am careless of its consequences, because I feel that with you all I am enlisted for my country, and not for party, it has been declared that there is a body in the South which, it has been asserted by many, is the original cause of our disturbances—which body, when armed and emancipated, should be imported into our ranks as allies. I refer to the emancipation of the slave, and more particularly to that description of emancipation which may have been interpreted, or may hereafter be admitted to be accomplished, through the instrumentality of proclamations. I must condemn all such, (applause)—and for the simple reason that in war any such question will produce sides, and sides controversies, and controversies dissensions, and dissensions divisions, and divisions defeat. Therefore, let us have no more proclamations. But let me suppose that our gallant young General, (three cheers for McClellan,) on taking his army South, should discover a magazine of combustibles which, when ignited, would explode and send the enemy skyward, to give us success, would you say that he would be tolerated for an instant if he did not crown our efforts with success by those means? Certainly you would hold him accountable for the neglect; and if our armies, as they march to the South, discover any allies of any character, human, material, or substantial, that can aid the armies of freemen and contribute to our success, let them be used.

I refer to it as a military necessity. It commends to us to avail ourselves of every means within our grasp. (Tremendous cheers.) Suppose for an instant that our armies take a Southern march, and that, as we drive the enemy before us, they are broken and in extremity, what think you of those men in the exercise of sound reason would accomplish or attempt? Would they not put arms into the hands of four millions of the colored race among them? If they did not, you would proclaim their folly to the four corners of the earth. Suppose, on the other hand, in this war of self-preservation, the result should be different, and we should be in adversity. Think you that we should be tolerated, if we did not avail ourselves of the identical advantage, and put arms into the hands of those who, under these circumstances, would be our allies? Whether it will come to this, events will determine; but I, for one, am prepared to see it come to this, and rapidly. (Great applause.) I stand from amongst the ranks of those who are arrayed for the defence of this country, and I believe that such is the opinion of those men, and of every man, woman and child of reflection throughout the United States. They will hold that General accountable who, when victory depends upon his gathering any force, black or white, neglects to avail himself of the occasion. (Applause.) This is war, and conducted on the strict principles of war. Now let us have done with this conservatism. When a man is imperilled, he may resort to everything in self-defence. When a nation is imperilled, it may take the same course; and when liberty is struck at, it is the duty of the human race everywhere to spring to arms, and by every means in its power to prostrate its opponent." (Long and loud applause.)

☞ The New York *Herald* gives the following version of Col. Cochrane's speech:—

"In such a war, we are bound to resort to every force within our power. Suppose our army encounters myriads of cotton bales, and we are able to export those cotton bales to Europe, and receive from them millions upon millions of the sinews of war, do you say we should not seize the cotton? No. You are clear upon that point. Suppose that munitions of war, that subsistence for their army are within our reach, would we not be guilty of shameful neglect were we not to appropriate them to our own use? Certainly we would. Suppose the enemy advances against you, would you, from any squeamishness, from any false delicacy, refrain from leveling the hostile gun and prostrating them in death? No: it is your object, it is your purpose. Then, if you seize their property, if you open their ports, if you destroy their lives, I ask you whether you will not seize their slaves? I ask you whether you will not arm their slaves, and whether you will not carry them by battalions into war against their masters? (Cheers.) What! You have no sympathy for white rebels, and yet you will spare the black slave whom they use! Why, if it be necessary to save this Government, I would plunge their whole people, black and white, into one indiscriminate sea of carnage and slaughter, and build upon it a government which shall be the vicegerent of God. Let us have no more of this dallying with people's dillitanti conservatism, this doubting in Cabinet when your soldiers are perishing in the field. Soldiers, you know no such reasoning as this. You have arms in your hands, and those arms are for the purpose of exterminating the enemy until he submits to law, order and the Constitution. Then explode whatever magazine of combustibles is in your way; set fire to and consume the cotton; export the cotton; take property whenever you find it; confiscate property wherever you find it; take the slave, and bestow him upon the non-slaveholder, if you please; do unto them as they would do unto you; raise up in their midst a party interest against the present slaveholder; distract their counsels. Do all this, and if that be not sufficient, take the slave by the hand, place a musket in it, and bid him, in God's name, strike for the liberty of the human race. (Great cheering.)

This, said Colonel Cochrane, was not abolitionism or emancipation. Abolitionism was to place the slaves above their masters in the social scale. Emancipation was to free them. This war was prosecuted for no such purpose. The South commenced the war, and the North was not responsible for its consequences.

The speaker then stated the proceedings of the Charleston Convention, to show the deliberate purpose on the part of the leaders of the South to precipitate a revolution. He portrayed the direful effects of the admission of the doctrine of secession, and closed by appealing to the sacred principles of religion, on which our cause rests for its support, and to that Deity without whose favor we cannot succeed.

Secretary Cameron having been called for, came forward and said:—

"*Soldiers*,—It is too late for me to make you a speech to-night; but I will say that *I heartily approve every sentiment uttered by your noble commander.* The doctrine which he has laid down I approve as fully as if his words had been my own. It is idle to talk about treating with these people upon their own terms. We must meet them as enemies, and punish them as our enemies, until they learn to behave better."

Secretary Cameron's endorsement of the radical views of Colonel Cochrane produced marked sensation among the troops, and have excited considerable discussion in high civil and military circles.

☞ Slavery having caused the rebellion, what else is it than treason to insist that Government, in self-defence, shall not utterly exterminate it?

TRAITORS IN OHIO.

We ask the attention of all loyal men to the following startling summary of facts from the Cleveland *Plain Dealer*:—

Organized treason exists in the State in the shape of "Knights of the Golden Circle," to an extent, and of material so incredibly great, as to jostle the credulity of the quiet and honest loyal citizens in the truth of any public exposé. It is a *secret organization*, its workings ingenious, its votaries led on by easy degrees from first approach through promises, pledges and obligations to the most terrific and Heaven-daring oaths that ever shook the nerves of Demons. The late arrests startle the slumbering nerves of the incredulous, and the flippant doubt gives way to an interrogative faith. Still the published oaths are doubted, still the extent of the organization, and the mighty names on the roll which so long and so fully commanded the confidence of the people at the polls; the object and the preparation are thought to exist more in imagination than reality. Government officers were slow to believe, and had the people the evidence *now* before the Government, they would startle with alarm. The object of the organization in its present phase is to upset the Federal authority by a preconcerted rising at a given signal from the Southern rebels, looking to plunder for their reward. Large quantities of arms are secreted in different parts of the State, awaiting the hour for home massacre to commence. In one instance, 12,000 stand of arms entering this State from the Lakes, were secreted within three miles of the Lake shore for a long time, when, fearing a revelation of their whereabouts by a traitor in the Circle, they were suddenly removed, and the track lost. An emissary, now of the rebel army, threaded this State with a peddler's wagon, ostensibly to sell dry goods, but really to establish "Knights' Circles." An important letter written by him to another "Knight," was taken from the Post-office by an obscure mechanic whose name was the same, and at once given to the Government on account of its treasonable contents. The letter failing to reach the friend addressed, the itinerant treason peddler became alarmed, and rushed off to the South, and is now in active duty as a General under Davis. That letter has a list of great names, members of the order, ex-judges, ex-M. C's, Sheriffs, &c., which it is not policy yet to publish. Persons have gone into it by insinuating degrees till at length their eyes have been fully open to the prospective bloody culmination, and through very fear have fled for their lives. Others less advanced have reported to the Government their folly, regrets, alarms, and promised to advance farther for the good of society, and for the purpose of such complete exposure as should work its effectual overthrow, but in every instance have come to a point where their hearts have failed them, and they have utterly refused to reveal or advance, and have left the State in hot haste. Their most important ceremonies are not allowed to be in writing, and therefore it is difficult to reach documents of importance; and such letters and papers as they keep are buried or secreted, as are their arms. Had Louisville fallen and Cincinnati been attacked, Ohio would have seen a blood red day from which Heaven defend her. Had St. Louis fallen, Illinois and Indiana would have opened the fruits of the "Knights of the Golden Circle." Had the rebel army crossed the Potomac into Maryland, soon after Bull Run, 20,000 stand of arms, well laid down in oil, would have suddenly emerged from Baltimore Bay. There is scarcely a county in Ohio but has its lodge of "Knights of the Golden Circle," laboring in the cause of the rebels South. We have but pointed at the exposures scarcely in the future, nor need we point at the political wing now nursing it, and from which it wins its recruits, but see for yourselves who are nearest allied or in sympathy with armed rebellion, and "watch."

Can it be possible with such evidence before their eyes, that the loyal people of Ohio will longer doubt the existence of a *secret oath-bound association* in this State, more dangerous to public liberty than the armed thieves, pirates and assassins who openly proclaim their determination to overthrow our glorious Government? The Union menaced by such secret scoundrelism, it becomes the duty of every loyal man in the State to be on the lookout for these stealthy assassins of public liberty. Remember they organized the Southern rebellion which has stricken down the liberties of the Southern people, and that upon the political demoralization of the Northern people depends their entire success. Is it then any wonder that they should strive to extend their devilish order into the free States? and as political depravity is not circumscribed by State lines, we cannot hope that Ohio has escaped the contamination of their devilish presence. The refusal of a large portion of the people of this State to join the Union movement may, we think, be fairly attributed to the machinations of these black-hearted traitors.

☞ By the following paragraph from the Boston *Herald*, (and that paper is likely to know all about it,) it seems that there is a similar secret conclave of mercenary traitors in Boston. Look out for them!

The United League. There is no doubt of the objects of a secret order now existing in this city, and in several of the seaport towns, under the name of the "United League." The League is nothing more nor less than a branch of the "Knights of the Golden Circle." The League is organized for the purpose of rendering assistance, if possible, to the rebels by such information as circumstances from time to time will permit as regards the movements of the New England States in relation to the war. It is stated that a number of our traders in the manufacturing cities and towns who have had a large trade at the South are connected with the secret League, the members working as spies at lyceum lectures, political meetings, etc., and spot all who wage a war of subjugation against the Southern States.

GENERAL FREMONT.

The Portland *Advertiser* warmly sustains Fremont, and has full confidence that he will fully and triumphantly sustain himself in his present very difficult position. A recent number of that paper has the following concerning him:—

"Notwithstanding the fact that the original charges against Fremont have been persistently and malignantly repeated up to the present day, *not one of them* has been fully proved, and we do not believe one of them ever will be proved. We hear that the battle-cry at the late brilliant and successful attack upon Lexington by the General's Body Guard, was 'the Union and Fremont;' the inspiration which moved them was love of their leader, and the love of brave men is not a blind, unreasoning passion, but a profound feeling based upon the worthiness of its object. Fremont could not have filled the souls of such men with love and admiration had he been only the holiday soldier his enemies describe. We sincerely hope that, for the good of the cause, for the sake of that love which a million and a half of people bear his name, in spite of the combined efforts of personal, political and rebel enemies, Fremont will emerge from the cloud, having nobly earned new laurels."

JOHN C. FREMONT.

The deed is done. The enemies of the Pathfinder have at last succeeded in deposing him from his command of the Western army, just as he was driving the rebels from the State of Missouri. But it is a blow which, if we do not utterly mistake the spirit of the loyal American people, will recoil, sooner or later, most terribly upon the heads of those who have dared to inflict it. It never can be that the great North will suffer so pure a patriot and so splendid a man to be sacrificed with impunity to the envy and hatred of his defamers. The end is not yet.

We do not claim that Fremont is the highest type of a military commander. Since he entered upon his duties as a Major-General in our army, he has not seemed to be sufficiently careful and prudent about the expenditures of his department; he has not always acted with the wisest forethought and discretion, nor has he appeared to treat with due consideration many of those upon whom depended there the good success of our cause. But we by no means believe that he has been as guilty in these neglects and mistakes as the persistent charges of the ambitious and mischievous Blairs, and the petty details of the report of Adjutant General Thomas have represented. Whether he has or not, the same rule of right by which the President has removed him from his position would demand that the Administration itself should at once be hurled from place and power. If a man like Fremont is to suffer disgrace like this in consequence of the misconduct of which he stands accused, we ask that others, who have not been less criminal than he, shall be visited with equal executive displeasure. Can all the contracts that have been made at Washington stand the test of a searching and malicious investigation? Has no one yet blundered at the Capital, or along the line of the Potomac? Will our Boston and New York capitalists say that their suggestions and wishes have been regarded with proper deference by the President and his Cabinet? Is Missouri the only scene of mismanagement and corruption? Is Fremont the only offender? Why then is *he* thus singled out for the doom of official decapitation?

It is very evident why. It is because he is a true friend of Freedom, and because, in the prosecution of the war, he would strike at the very root of all our woe. He has not been willing to subordinate his work of restoring the Union to the occupation of hunting and returning fugitive slaves. He has not been sufficiently resp[illegible] and considerate in his treatment of the "peculiar institution." His [illegible] has not been such as to please the men who have solicited arms and equipments from our government, and who have taken good care to see that they should find their way into the hands of the enemy, until General Thomas himself declares that they are lost to our army. He has not manifested admiration enough for the crafty and treacherous "neutrals" of Kentucky and the Border States. This has been the dire offence of Fremont—the offence for which he must needs be most cruelly punished by an Administration, two of whose chief characteristics thus far seem to have been *tenderness toward slavery, and deference to hypocrites.* The South demanded a convincing proof that the Administration had renounced Republicanism. The Administration has [illegible]. Heintzelman's turn comes next. Will McClellan be displaced to make room for Kelley? Oh! is it not a shame and a humiliation that hundreds of thousands of our best and bravest men should be taken from their peaceful homes and occupations, and led forth to the field of conflict, and then be taught that, while it is desirable to preserve the government, their chief care and anxiety must be to please disloyal men, and guard the right of slaveholders to their property in human flesh and blood?

There were powerful reasons why Fremont should have kept his command. The men who can infuse enthusiasm into the masses of our young braves are very few. Fremont was one of them, and this hold upon his countrymen was something that was of invaluable worth to us. His heart has always beat strongly for the honor of his native land! He has rendered that land services which his foes, however distinguished, have neither the genius to equal, nor the patriotism to emulate. In other years he planted the glorious flag he has loved so well, upon the very summits of the eternal mountains, amid wintry snows and freezing cold. But not less ready was he to plant it in victory upon the strong-holds of Rebellion. When the war broke out, he abandoned his important private affairs in Europe, and flew home across the seas, to seal with his blood, if necessary, his devotion to the Republic. The moment he arrived at New York, he hastened to Washington to tender his services to the government in whatever capacity they might be required. If he has not accomplished all that was expected of him, it must be remembered that this same government has provokingly crippled his movements by depriving him at various times of the means and forces which his own popularity and energy had collected, and which were so necessary to the success of his plans. If he has been too lavish with the money of the nation, he has not been less lavish with his own. If he has refused, now and then, to be bound with red tape, yet he has as often accomplished brilliant results by the celerity and daring of his action. Whatever may have been his failures, he seemed to be rapidly recovering his lost ground, and was doubtless just on the eve of an important victory when Lincoln consented to his sacrifice. It is one of the saddest and most cruel things that have yet been done. We fear it may also be one of the most unfortunate. Fremont himself, indeed, will continue to be, as he has been, the idol of the people. His fame is sure. It is not red-tape, thank God, that confers immortality. But his removal will disgust the hearts and paralyze the arms of thousands of our soldiers. It will discourage enlistments. It will dampen the ardor of the loyal States. It will do much to alienate from us the good will and sympathy of other nations, and to divest our cause of its moral grandeur. Let us trust that it may not ensure, at last, the national defeat.—*Norfolk County Journal.*

DISCOVERIES OF CAMERON AND THOMAS.

The report of Adjutant-General Thomas, who accompanied Secretary Cameron to Missouri, has been published by, authority of the War Department, and occupies over six closely-printed columns of the *Tribune*. The *Journal of Commerce* says it has settled the case of Gen. Fremont; that the idol of the Republican party "must be regarded as a doomed man," and it is a cause of wonder that he does not resign. The *Express* says the "extraordinary publication of this very extraordinary document," damaging as it may be, from the information it affords the enemy, was nevertheless necessary in order to prepare the public mind to acquiesce in the contemplated removal of Gen. Fremont. If such was its object, we presume it will fail of its end; for it needs but a bare perusal of the document to convince every intelligent reader that it is a case

got up for a special object. The immense array of paltry charges, second and third-hand rumors, and gratuitous insinuations of dishonesty, can only be accounted for on the supposition of a preconceived determination to make out as strong a case as possible.

From this letter of Gen. Thomas to his travelling companion the Secretary of War, informing the latter of what he, or rather they, saw and heard, it would seem that Gen. Fremont has been the cause of all the difficulties and disasters that have beset the army of the West for the last three months. If Gen. Curtis could not be as free with Gen. Fremont as with Gen. Scott, it was Fremont's fault; if contracts were made for guns and ammunition, they were sure to be irregular; if orders for payment of supplies were issued, they were not in proper form; if officers were appointed, it was without authority from the proper source. A contractor for forage, in one instance, requested his partner to provide a quantity of hay; of course, such an irregular procedure could only have been prompted by the motive of "a consideration." If the mules purchased were too few or too many, if they cost too much, or did too little, it was Fremont's fault; if blankets were rotten, Fremont was the cause; if rifles proved worthless, it was Fremont that bought them; if he provided three hundred half-barrels to carry water, it was where no water was needed; if he made a pontoon bridge over the Ohio, it was where a ferry would have done just as well. He ordered Gen. Hunter to march with forty-one wagons, when he might have known that Gen. Hunter had but forty mules. Gen. Hunter was sent to Missouri by the President for the special purpose of being the "adviser" of Gen. Fremont, as second in command, and yet the latter never consulted him—conduct to which Mr. Thomas "ventures to assert that a parallel cannot be found in the annals of military warfare"; instead of foreseeing that Gen. Lyon would be defeated at Lexington, Fremont sent his reenforcements to the wrong places; he did not adopt Gen. Hunter's plan for relieving Col. Mulligan; finally, Gen. Hunter expresses his decided opinion than his commanding officer is "incompetent," and this is "the opinion entertained by gentlemen of position and intelligence"; and in addition to all these charges, there is another, far more serious, viz., that somebody in St. Louis had mentioned to Mr. Thomas that somebody who was in Europe with Gen. Fremont (a Mr. Sclover) had written to somebody in San Francisco that his (Mr. Sclover's) share of the profits in the purchase of guns in Europe was $30,000! In plain terms, Adjutant-General Thomas would have us believe, on the testimony of Messrs. *Sellover* and *Sellunder*, that Gen. Fremont, not content with the profits of his Mariposa mines, is so desperately covetous that, to obtain some $30,000, he conspires with the Sellovers to defraud his country by purchasing guns that are worthless, and then comes home to put these useless weapons into the hands of his soldiers, for the purpose of leading them on to certain defeat! Malice sometimes overshoots its mark; it has certainly done so in this Sellover story.—*American Baptist.*

The report of Adjutant-General Thomas has been the great topic of talk in camp circles for the last twenty-four hours. As far as I have observed, and I have been quite curious that way, there is but one opinion concerning it among rank and file: It is grossly, cruelly unfair, a piece of special pleading, a desperate attempt to make the best of a bad case, more fitting the practice of a hack lawyer than the dignity of the official station in which it had its source. The general, I believe the universal feeling in our regiment is that of pain, and in many instances of burning indignation, that our yet much loved commander should, in the midst of his harassing cares, be so set upon in the rear, crippled and hindered by those to whom he should look for co-operation and support. But we believe the very fierceness and unfairness of the tirade that has been let loose on General Fremont will render it inefficient, at least to destroy his hold on the esteem and confidence of his army, and of the unprejudiced part of the American people—of nearly all those who have no personal interest at stake in the contest. It may serve as a pretext for his removal, not certainly as cogent reason with any man who has brain enough to administer the affairs of an ordinary *scow*. Taking all sorts of light rubbish, [illegible] the gun now aimed at [illegible] reaction should [illegible] at the breech will [illegible]

Such is camp talk on this painful subject. To one who has served with our regiment for the last five months, it does seem a small thing to remark upon, that troops should march in the rain from Jefferson City to Tipton, a distance of thirty-five miles, with only such food as they could take in their pockets or haversacks, and find their beef a little tainted when issued at the end of the march—a ridiculously small thing to be picked up and thrown, by such hands, at the officer commanding a raw army of forty thousand men, in such a region as this. Some other charges have the same look to us. Some are already well refuted, and others, doubtless, will be. Let us have a fair inquiry into the matter, if, amid the bitter prejudice, personal animosity and selfish interest involved, such a thing be possible.

A fact which commands universal attention is the startling freedom with which Adjutant Gen. Thomas has communicated military information to the enemy. The affairs of the Department of the West and of Cumberland are published without the slightest reserve. The very points which, above all others, should not have been divulged to the foe, are bluntly and fully exposed to the whole world! The exact numerical strength of the Union army in Missouri, and of each of its divisions, with the particular wants and deficiencies of each, are set forth with full particularity. What intelligence could be more valuable, or how could it be more satisfactorily communicated to the enemy? The gloomiest picture is given of the Union resources in Kentucky, and a triumphant attack is invited in the strongest manner possible. After Thomas's exhibit of our condition to the enemy, does anything adverse to us remain to be told? He, at least, *appears* to have apprised the Confederates of substantially *all* they could desire to know.

For this palpable and gross violation of an important army regulation, in giving important military intelligence to the enemy, Adjutant Gen. Thomas should be promptly tried by court martial. If guiltless, his innocence can only thus be established. The evidence now before the public tends powerfully to fasten the guilt upon him. It will be seen whether, even in his high position, he is at liberty in the zeal of malice to disregard the first rules that bind a soldier and a patriot.

MRS. FREMONT IN CAMP.

The correspondent of the Cincinnati *Gazette*, writing from Camp Lillie, near Jefferson City, Mo., under date of Oct. 6, says:—

"On Wednesday last, our camp was honored by a visit from Mrs. Gen. Fremont and her daughter. They arrived in the afternoon train from St. Louis, and were received with becoming ceremony by the staff and body guard. News of their coming having reached head-quarters in time, all necessary preparations were made for their entertainment. A tent was pitched for their accommodation, and a couple of contrabands were detailed to minister to their wants. They still remain here, and seem quite at home in their canvas domicil. To those acquainted with Mrs. Fremont, it is hardly necessary to say that she is ever a welcome guest in refined and intelligent circles, whether civilian or military. Her amiable disposition, her generous heart and cultivated mind, make her a most acceptable addition to the society, of whatever kind, in which she moves. In camp she is, of course, the cynosure of all eyes, and her company is deemed a distinguished favor by the members of the staff. In conversational power and general intelligence, she has no equal in the military household, and in saying this, I do not speak in terms of disparagement concerning any of the gentlemen comprising said household. She has always a large and varied fund of ideas on hand, and without laying herself liable to the charge of loquacity, never permits loquacity to lag in her presence. She can talk with the Chief of the Engineers corps about fortifications, or with the head of the Ordnance Department about columbiads. She can discuss 'the situation' with the Commanding General, and descries the weak points of the enemy as well, if not better than the most experienced military man on the staff. To strangers to whom she is introduced, she is polite, affable and entertaining, but never affected. Her daughter, Miss Lillie, now in her seventeenth year, promises to be equally an ornament to her sex and country. She inherits all the prominent traits of character which make her mother the noblest type of American women."

MRS. FREMONT.

This lady is thus photographed by a correspondent of the *Tribune*:—

"The 'Jessie' whose name was so familiar six years ago, has three children—the eldest a daughter of 15, in whose honor 'Camp Lillie' is named; but hers is one of the natures which do not grow old. Inheriting her father's talent and many salient points of his character, she impresses all who come in contact with her by her great intellectual power. See her, as you might have done a few weeks ago, with all the blood of the Bentons roused within her at the gross injustice done to her husband, and you would say: 'Nature made her for a queen; had she inherited a throne, what a record she would have made in history!' In the winter of 1849, when the frontier of civilization was seven hundred miles further east than now, she was about to join her chief, upon the great plains. It is said that when a very decorous fossil from Keokuk, Iowa, asked her, 'Are you not afraid to take that perilous journey at this inclement season?' She startled his nerves with the reply: 'Afraid, Sir! Do you suppose that the daughter of Col. Benton, and the wife of Capt. Fremont, is *afraid?*'

With peculiar grace of movement, she possesses that 'excellent thing in woman,' a voice like Annie Laurie's, low and sweet—more rich, more musical, and better modulated than that of any *tragedienne* upon the stage. To a broad, comprehensive, masculine intellect, she adds the quick, feminine intuitions which leap to results and anticipate explanations, and that inevitable tendency to episode, incident, and bits of personal analyzation which contribute so largely to the charm of a woman's conversation. It is easy to see that there inhere in her great possibilities of heroism; that for a cause she held sacred, she would not only make the uttermost sacrifice, but say with Cleopatra,

'Let's do it in the high Roman fashion,
And make Death proud to take us.'

A lady in the best sense of the word; of ripe accomplishment and large culture; a rare conversationalist, overflowing with humor and sparkling with epigram; a star in society, but the sun of that home-circle where she has garnered up her heart; an uncompromising friend and 'a good hater;' an enthusiastic believer in the destiny of her husband; an invaluable assistant in his arduous labors, yet full of wifely and motherly tenderness, Jessie Benton Fremont is not only an historic woman, but the greatest woman in America."

A CONTRABAND INCIDENT.

Down in Kentucky, in the region of Muldraugh's Hill, lived an ardent Unionist named M'Kinley, formerly a resident of this county, and now staying, for the time being, among his relatives north-east of Bucyrus.

When General Buckner with his horde of outlaws invaded that part of Kentucky, M'Kinley was a doomed man. He had been plain and out-spoken in his Unionism, and had made efforts to rally the Union men of his neighborhood, and aid the Government in beating back the invaders. No sooner had Buckner's forces possession of the country than the burning, hanging, waste and desolation that have followed secession commenced. M'Kinley, was among the first victims. His house and barns were burned, his crops destroyed, his valuables seized, and his negroes impressed into the rebel service, he escaping barely with his life.

Among his negroes was one for whom he felt a particular interest—a stalwart, full-blooded negro, enumerated in his schedule of property as "John." John had been raised upon the plantation, was extremely intelligent, and was faithful and honest. Three years ago he married a quadroon belonging to a neighboring planter, and his master, to show his respect for his faithful property, purchased her. Two children were born to them, and they had lived as happily as is possible for intelligent beings in a state of servitude. When his master fled, he urged John to accompany him, but the faithful fellow refused. He would stay, and endeavor to save something from the wreck, and so far as in his power to keep matters in some sort of shape. For security he occupied a cabin in a forest some distance from the former quarters.

One day about six weeks ago, he was returning from a tour over the plantation; while yet some distance from his cabin, he was startled by loud screams in the direction of his cabin. Apprehending evil, be sprang forward with lightning speed, and in a few moments was in his dwelling.

As he entered at one door, a brawny scoundrel escaped from the other. His wife lay upon the floor, half crazed, and the broken furniture showed that a desperate struggle had taken place in the room. A few words explained it all. A scouting party of the secession army had entered the house, violated her person, destroyed what little property the house contained, and fled. Knowing the road they must take to reach their camp, he took a shorter route, and saw them pass. He knew them all. They were residents of the neighborhood, ten in number, and the very men who had been instrumental in bringing the vengeance of the rebels upon the head of his master.

The next day he took his family to the Federal camp, sought out Colonel Gibson's regiment, and to his great joy found in it a company (Captain Keller's) from the county that his master was in. Captain K. and his company made the necessary arrangements, and sent the family to their owner at Bucyrus.

Captain Keller furnished him with arms and provisions, and John returned alone, to work out his own vengeance in his own way. He hung around the rebel camp, night and day, and watched, lynx-eyed, their out goings and in comings. Every day he had opportunities of shooting rebel soldiers, but he had his game, and would touch nothing less. Finally he shot one, picking him off as he sat at the camp fire. Another and another were killed, until five of the ten slept their last sleep. Then two of them, scouting in company, were met, and both killed, one shot, and the other in a desperate hand to hand encounter. The remaining three, stricken with fear, kept close in camp, but to no purpose. One was stabbed in his tent, another struck down while on guard, and the last was shot in day-light almost in the middle of the camp. Terrible was the crime, and terribly was it avenged.

John is now with Colonel Gibson's regiment, employed as a scout, and a more valuable man is not in the service. His family are being well cared for here.—*Bucyrus Journal.*

A BRAVE COLORED MAN.

CAIRO, Nov. 9, 1861.

Editors Chicago Tribune:

While other and abler correspondents will write you full particulars of the hard fought battle of Belmont, I will confine myself to narrating a single incident which came under my observation.

The greatest bravery was shown by officers and men; none was more conspicuous in his coolness and daring than Gen. McClernand. There were no cowards, no panics, no Bull Runs, notwithstanding we were attacked on front, flank and rear.

During the thickest of the fight, the body servant of Gen. McClernand, a mulatto named William Stains, of Decatur, exhibited conspicuous courage. He was close by the General during the whole engagement, cheering the soldiers and swearing that he would shoot the first man that showed the white feather. Many of us laughed heartily at the fighting darkey, while the bullets flew like hail about us.

In the course of the fight, a captain of one of the companies was struck by a spent ball, which disabled him from walking. The mulatto boy, who was mounted, rode up to him and shouted out, "Captain, if you can fight any longer for the old Stars and Stripes, take my horse and lead your men." He then dismounted, and helped the wounded officer into his saddle. When he was walking away, a rebel dragoon rushed forward at the officer to take him prisoner. The darkey drew his revolver and put a ball through the rebel's head, scattering his brains all over the horse's neck.

I relate these little circumstances so that merit may be justly dealt with, even if the hero is a "nigger," as some people would call this brave fellow.

Yours, for the Old Flag, C. W.

☞ An irruption of Yankees is threatened at Beaufort. The first these South Carolinians will know, the town will be laid out into corner lots, Seward street crossing on Lincoln avenue, and both bordering on Cameron Square. There will be a newspaper, and a patent medicine store, and a steam ferry, and Henry Ward Beecher will be advertised to give a lecture on the relations of freedom and slavery to civilization.—*Providence Journal.*

The Liberator.

No Union with Slaveholders!

BOSTON, FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 22, 1861.

DEATH OF FRANCIS JACKSON, ESQ.

Six years ago, Mr. JACKSON was brought so low by illness that his case was pronounced hopeless by the most eminent of the medical faculty, and his decease for several weeks became a matter of daily expectation. Happily, his recuperative powers so far rallied, to the surprise of all familiar with his situation, that he was restored to comfortable health until last winter, when he was again so much reduced as to make his recovery seemingly impracticable. But a further respite was granted him so far as to enable him to take moderate out door exercise, to visit his friends and receive visits from them, and to transact his ordinary household affairs. About three weeks ago, he made a visit to his esteemed friend, BOURNE SPOONER, Esq., at Plymouth; but the weather was raw and blustering, and the journey and exposure proved too severe for his debilitated system. Though manifestly much enfeebled after his return home, no immediate danger was apprehended, and his decease at last took even his most watchful friends by surprise. The event occurred at his residence in Hollis street, on Thursday morning, Nov. 14th. Born on the 7th of March, 1789, he was 72 years and 8 months old.

The intelligence of this removal of one so deservedly loved and revered for his works' sake will excite no ordinary emotion among the friends of enslaved and suffering humanity on both sides of the Atlantic. It will be felt by them like a personal bereavement of the closest nature.

In reference to the funeral services, Mr. JACKSON left the following characteristic request, which, of course, was complied with to the letter:—

"At my decease and burial, I desire that forms and ceremonies may be avoided, and all emblems of mourning and processions to the grave. Such irrational and wasteful customs rest on fashion or superstition; certainly, not on reason or common sense. The dead body is of no more consequence than the old clothes that covered it. Nothing should be wasted on the dead, when there is so much ignorance and suffering among the living."

As at the funeral, we took occasion somewhat at length (see succeeding columns) to express our high sense of his life and character—his "mountain majesty of worth"—it is unnecessary for us to add any thing thereto in this connection.

TRIBUTES OF AFFECTION AND RESPECT.

At a special meeting of the Board of Managers of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, held on Tuesday forenoon, Nov. 19, the following Resolutions, presented by SAMUEL MAY, Jr., were unanimously adopted:—

Resolved, That, admonished as we have been, for several years past, by his failing health, that the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society must at no distant day lose the services of its beloved and respected President, FRANCIS JACKSON, yet, now that that event has occurred, and we have been compelled to say to him our last farewells on earth, we find the separation a very grievous one, and feel the loss to be exceeding heavy to our Society, to ourselves individually, and the great cause of Human Progress and Brotherhood, not only in this community, but throughout the land.

Resolved, That we deem it one of the highest honors which our Society has enjoyed or ever can enjoy, and one of the most signal proofs which it could possibly give to the world of the integrity and nobleness of its aims and purposes, that FRANCIS JACKSON was its active friend and steadfast supporter for upwards of a quarter of a century, and that he continued such even to the moment of his departure.

Resolved, That if we loved FRANCIS JACKSON as a personal friend, and valued him as a most efficient officer and fellow laborer in the Anti-Slavery Cause, we did not less respect and honor him as a Man, in whom no high and noble quality which dignifies and enobles our nature was lacking; who, to great clearness of moral judgment, sense of duty and power of will, added a remarkable independence of popular opinion, and rare fearlessness in both speech and action, and combined with them all an habitual modesty and absence of self esteem, which have made him, in our judgment, one of the best and truest men it has ever been our privilege to know.

Resolved, That in the many offices and duties of a public and private nature which have been laid upon him, in the discharge of the many and most responsible trusts which have been confided to his hands, no words can better describe his constant life and character than these—"Faithful Forever."

Resolved, That to his remaining family, with whom we have so long been associated in respect for their honored father, and in the promotion of works dear to his heart, we tender our most sincere and respectful sympathy in this hour, which, if one of temporary bereavement, is nevertheless full of the highest consolations and causes of gratitude.

☞ The following Resolutions were unanimously adopted at a special meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society, held in Boston, Tuesday forenoon, Nov. 19:—

Resolved, That among the numerous bereavements which the Anti-Slavery cause has sustained since its inception in this country, no one has left a larger space of usefulness to be filled, or touched more loving hearts, or made a more profound impression, than that occasioned by the recent death of FRANCIS JACKSON, Esq., our honored and revered coadjutor, who has for so long a series of years so faithfully filled the office of Treasurer of the American Anti Slavery Society, and been so constant and efficient an attendant at the deliberations of this Committee.

Resolved, That he deserves to be held in grateful remembrance as among the truest of patriots, the most unselfish of philanthropists, and the most radical of reformers; for the grand simplicity and rare integrity of his character; for the extent of his private charities and public benefactions, ministering to every variety of human wretchedness; for his early, long continued, generous and hearty espousal of the Abolition movement, as well as of other kindred enterprises; for the serenity and bravery of his spirit in the midst of all-abounding violence and universal proscription; for his life, (covering more than three score years and ten,) so admirable in all the relations of society, so distinguished for manly independence, moral worth and public spirit, so symmetrical and well-balanced, so earnest in its noble purposes, so thoroughly devoted to the cause of "liberty, equality, fraternity," in its highest significance and minutest application.

Resolved, That while it was not permitted him to see the fruition of his efforts and sacrifices, in the utter abolition of slavery, yet we rejoice to believe that, above the roar of cannon, the clash of arms, and the smoke of battle, he heard the song of jubilee and the shouts of redeemed millions, as a swiftly approaching consummation of that glorious struggle for universal emancipation in which he bore so important and conspicuous a part.

Voted, That the tenderest sympathies and highest consolations are proffered by this Committee to the surviving members of his family, and relatives, in view of their great bereavement.

"IN MEMORIAM." We have just received an extended and most feeling tribute to the memory of FRANCIS JACKSON, Esq., and of other prominent laborers in the sacred cause of freedom and humanity, who have within a comparatively short period seen "the last of earth," from the pen of Mrs. L. MARIA CHILD; but, in consequence of our paper going to press one day earlier than usual this week, on account of Thanksgiving, we are reluctantly obliged to defer the publication of this tribute till our next number.

FUNERAL OF FRANCIS JACKSON, ESQ.

On Monday forenoon, 18th inst., the residence of the late FRANCIS JACKSON, Esq., in Hollis Street, Boston, was thronged by an admiring and sympathizing gathering of relatives, friends, neighbors, and fellow citizens, (Music Hall could readily have been crowded with such, had an opportunity been given,) to pay the last sad tribute of affection and respect to his character and memory. Addresses were made by WM. LLOYD GARRISON, WENDELL PHILLIPS, and SAMUEL MAY, JR., in the following order.

REMARKS OF WM. LLOYD GARRISON.

Such is my reverence for the memory of the redeemed and disenthralled spirit whose mortal remains lie before us, waiting for their interment—such my knowledge of the simplicity, integrity and grandeur of his character—that I feel I must carefully measure my words on this occasion, lest, in the fulness of my feelings, I should seem to exceed the bounds of moderation, or overrun the time appropriate to these obsequies.

In itself considered, the present bereavement is marked by nothing peculiar; for, so populous has our world become, that, with every swing of the pendulum, a soul takes its exit therefrom, casting aside its earthly habiliments, and assuming an incorruptible body, in accordance with the conditions of immortal life. What has been the lot of the myriads who have gone before—what is, in due time, as surely to be the lot of all now living, and of all who are yet to dwell upon the earth—cannot, therefore, be other than an infinitely wise and beneficent arrangement, conducive to the welfare and advancement of all, and for the noblest purposes of creation.

Such was the view taken of this great change by our departed friend, who has now experienced it for himself. By evidence which to him was of a strongly demonstrative character, he joyfully recognized the truth of the affirmation—

"There is no death! What seems so is transition:
This life of mortal breath
Is but a suburb of the life elysian,
Whose portal we call death."

Hence, there was no doubt in his mind, no cloud upon his prospects; and he waited for "the inevitable hour" which should liberate his willing spirit, with rational and unfaltering trust, with philosophic serenity, with cheerful readiness, with Christian assurance. To quote his own pleasant words, in a private letter to a friend—"Heaven is all around us! So there is to be no separation between us. I am for both spheres, and all the spheres, 'however bounded.' In whatever sphere, we shall together sing that good old Methodist hymn—in substance:—

'When we've been there ten thousand years,
Bright shining as the sun,
We've no less days to sing God's praise
Than when we first begun.'

There is, then, no darkness here, nothing but light supernal; no sting of death, but death swallowed up in victory. Nevertheless, human nature is not stony insensibility. Regrets at the separation, tears of affection, emotions of sorrow for our own temporary loss, these are not incompatible with absolute trust and reverent acquiescence; for

"There is a tear for all who die,
A mourner o'er the humblest grave."

Only let there be nothing morbid or superstitious in the treatment of an event like this; no gloomy meditation; no talk of a mysterious Providence; no sorrowing as do those who have no hope.

"Clay to clay, and dust to dust!
Let them mingle,—for they must!
Give to earth the earthly clod,
For the spirit's fled to God.

Look aloft! The spirit's risen;
Death cannot the soul imprison,
'Tis in heaven that spirits dwell,
Glorious, though invisible."

And now, what shall I say of the life of our beloved and widely honored friend, whose mortal hand we are never again to clasp, whose outward form we are soon to commit to the sheltering tomb? I feel restricted and oppressed for utterance between my desire to award him the high meed of praise he deserves as a husband, father, relative, friend, neighbor, citizen, cosmopolitan, philanthropist, reformer, and my consciousness of his modest estimate of himself, and his great repugnance to any laudation being made of his efforts to leave the world better than he found it. I seem to hear him saying,—"Award to me nothing more than a conscientious desire and a ruling purpose to know myself; to be true to my convictions of duty; to be led in the right way; to increase in light and knowledge; to contribute something to the stock of human happiness by lessening the sum of human misery; to lead a manly life and set a manly example; to be with the right, at whatever odds or however forsaken; to be lifted above that 'fear of man which bringeth a snare,' my feet planted on the rock of eternal truth; to espouse the cause of the down-trodden and oppressed as my own; to uphold the democratic idea of human equality, without regard to sex or complexion, tribe or people; to show my abhorrence of caste in the most practical manner; to uproot priestcraft, bigotry, a ceremonial religion, and every form of usurpation over the mind and conscience; to encourage freedom of speech and inquiry, in the spirit of the apostolic injunction, 'Prove all things, hold fast that which is good'; and to save and bless my native land, and through her the whole world, by inducing the abolition of her all-blighting and fearfully demoralizing slave system, by which she is shorn of her moral power, and made a proverb in all other lands. If I have been instrumental in the furtherance of any good work, or the success of any righteous enterprise, I have simply tried to do my duty; but spare me, even though now out of the body, the bestowal of any encomiums—for how could I have done less? Alas! that I was able to achieve so little!"

Though I am sure that I correctly interpret the feelings and wishes of our departed friend,—departed in one sense, and yet with us at this hour, I doubt not, for he "still lives,"—yet, admitting that no flesh can glory in the Divine Presence, and that no one can exceed the requirements of faith, hope, charity, I am persuaded that it is allowable to recognize extraordinary virtue and shining worth, both as a matter of justice, and as an incentive to the attainment of a similar moral elevation. How splendid the tribute paid by Jesus, when, assuming to be an outcast and felon as the representative of suffering humanity, he said to those who had succored and befriended him, "Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world"! Of course, they disclaimed having done anything answering to this high award; otherwise they would have shown themselves unworthy of it.

To FRANCIS JACKSON are singularly applicable the descriptive lines of Sir Henry Wotton:—

"How happy is he born or taught,
Who serveth not another's will;
Whose armor is his honest thought,
And simple truth his highest skill:

Whose passions not his masters are;
Whose soul is still prepared for death;
Not tied unto the world with care
Of public fame or private breath:

Who God doth late and early pray
More of His grace than goods to lend;
And walks with man, from day to day,
As with a brother and a friend."

And not less applicable are the lines of Whittier:—

"Such was our friend. Formed on the good old plan,
A true and brave and downright honest man!
He blew no trumpet in the market-place,
Nor in the church, with hypocritic face,
Supplied with cant the lack of Christian grace:
Loathing pretence, he did with cheerful will
What others talked of while their hands were still!
And while 'Lord, Lord!' the pious tyrants cried,
Who, in the poor, their Master crucified,
His daily prayer, far better understood
In acts than words, was simply DOING GOOD.
So calm, so constant was his rectitude,
That by his loss alone we know its worth,
And feel how true a man has walked with us on earth!"

In the prime of manhood, he took an active part in the municipal affairs of this city, and, to some extent, in public life; but, whether in the hall of legislation or in the council chamber, or as one of his country's defenders at Fort Warren in the war of 1812-14, he was always characterized for the faithful performance of every trust, in the spirit of disinterested patriotism, as well as for remarkable solidity of judgment, a wise forecast, great circumspection and rare good sense, blended with equal courage, determination, and untiring perseverance.

Firmness of opinion and purpose was a conspicuous trait, because he did nothing impulsively, and had no self-seeking in view; yet he was always ready to re-examine the ground on which he stood, and if he saw that duty required him to advance, (for he never took a step backward,) he had no pride of consistency to deter him, but boldly went forward, rejoicing in progress.

His personal integrity was of the highest order. No one ever questioned his sincerity, or thought him capable of intimidation or faltering. He believed what he said, spoke with caution and deliberation, and proved his faith by his works. Economical in his habits on principle, he was liberal and unstinted in his hospitality, and munificent in the aggregate of his charities and contributions, especially in reference to the Anti-Slavery cause, to the promotion of which, the last twenty-six years of his life were particularly consecrated. Other reformatory enterprises were also liberally aided by him. An early teetotaller, he was a steadfast friend of the temperance cause, and maintained a consistent example of abstinence to the end. Regarding even the life of the criminal as sacred, and capital punishment as equally inexpedient and demoralizing, he gave his countenance and support to the movement for the abolition of the gallows in this Commonwealth, and in other parts of the country. In the cause of peace, in its most radical form, he took a growing interest; being deeply impressed by the moral sublimity of its doctrines and the martyr-heroism of its spirit. "At the first Woman's Rights Convention I attended many years ago," he wrote to a friend, "Wendell Phillips said in the course of his speech, that 'the movement was the greatest reform of the age.' I thought that an extravagant declaration. I did not then believe it. It served, however, to call my attention more earnestly to the subject. I soon became convinced that the declaration of my highly esteemed friend was true. I now believe that the movement for woman's rights is the most important reform of the age, and still more important for the ages to come. It includes man's rights in the truest sense, not only for this generation, but for all succeeding generations. I do not believe it possible for man to attain or enjoy his highest rights until woman gets hers. I do not see how it is possible to inaugurate a reform more world-wide or more just. I have always believed in the progress of the human race. In this reform I see the way opening, broad and beautiful, towards the summit of human progress; but both sexes must travel it abreast, or it will never be reached."

Such was the strength of his conviction, such his emphasis of expression, for it was his nature to be thorough and complete in whatever he undertook, and, having once put his hands to the plough, not to look back, but to cut his furrows beam deep, and sow his seed broadcast.

In theology he was on the liberal side, thinking more of character than of creeds, and judging men by their lives rather than by their professions. As a lover of fair play, and abhorring all religious persecution, he nobly stood by Theodore Parker, when it was first resolved by a chosen few that he should have an opportunity to be heard in Boston, in spite of the proscriptive efforts to prevent it. It was a struggle for religious freedom and independence against sectarian exclusiveness and dogmatism, and he could not be an indifferent spectator. It was the presentation of the cross in a new shape, but it had for him no terrors.

Prior to this, animated by the same noble spirit, he gave a warm and generous support to his honored friend, Rev. John Pierpont, in the long protracted, hotly contested, and memorable struggle, on the part of a few wealthy and conservative parishioners, to oust him from the Hollis Street pulpit on account of his temperance and anti-slavery views.

In the veins of Mr. Jackson ran the best blood of the Revolution. His father, Timothy Jackson, Esq., at the age of eighteen, joined a company of "Minute Men," in Newton, raised in January, 1775, "who verified their claim to the name they assumed, on the morning of the Lexington fight, to the letter." He was a corporal in the company. On the morning of that ever-memorable day, he heard the signal guns which announced that the British troops were in motion. He went to the Captain's house at the break of day, and received orders to warn the company to meet upon their parade ground forthwith, which order he promptly executed on horseback, and before eight o'clock, the company were on the march to join their regiment at Watertown meeting-house, and from thence took their march for Lexington and Concord. They encountered Lord Percy's reserve at Concord, and continued to hang upon the flank and rear of the British troops until night-fall, receiving the thanks of Gen. Warren for their zeal and bravery. He subsequently participated in other battles, was captured, and suffered much by confinement in those floating hells called prison ships.

The love of liberty, therefore, seemed to be inborn in the person of our deceased friend. As soon as his attention was called to the subject of slavery, he became an avowed Abolitionist, with his customary zeal and courage. In the month of October, 1835, the memorable mob of so-called "gentlemen of property and standing" furiously assailed a meeting of the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society, convened at 46 Washington street, and caused its dispersion. Though hazarding his personal safety and property by the act, (such was the phrenzy of the times,) Mr. Jackson promptly and openly invited the ladies to hold a meeting in these very parlors; to which invitation more than a hundred of them responded, (among whom was the distinguished writer, HARRIET MARTINEAU, of England,) and a thrilling occasion it proved. Grateful for such an overture in a crisis so perilous, the Rev. Samuel J. May, who was then the General Agent of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, was requested by the ladies to communicate their appreciation of it in a letter to Mr. Jackson, which elicited from the latter the following soul-stirring reply:

"BOSTON, Nov. 25, 1835.

* * * "In tendering the anti-slavery ladies the use of my dwelling house, Sir, I not only had in view their accommodation, but also, according to my humble measure, to recover and perpetuate the right of free discussion, which has been shamefully trampled on. A great principle has been assailed; one which lies at the very foundation of our republican institutions.

"If a large majority of this community choose to turn a deaf ear to the wrongs which are inflicted upon their countrymen in other portions of the land—if they are content to turn away from the sight of oppression, and 'pass by on the other side'—so it must be. But when they undertake in any way to impair or annul my right to speak, write and publish upon any subject, and more especially upon enormities which are the common concern of every lover of his country and his kind, so it must not be—so it shall not be, if I, for one, can prevent it. Upon this great right, let us hold at all hazards. And should we, in its exercise, be driven from public halls to private dwellings, one house at least shall be consecrated to its preservation. And if, in defence of this sacred privilege, which man did not give me, and shall not (if I can help it) take from me, this roof and these walls shall be levelled to the earth, let them fall, if they must. They cannot crumble in a better cause. They will appear of very little value to me, after their owner shall have been whipt into silence.

"Mobs and gag-laws, and the other contrivances by which fraud or force would stifle inquiry, will not long work well in this community. They betray the essential rottenness of the cause they are meant to strengthen. These outrages are doing their work with the reflecting.

"Happily, one point seems already to be gaining universal assent, that slavery cannot long survive free discussion. Hence the efforts of the friends and apologists of slavery to break down this right. And hence the immense stake which the enemies of slavery hold, in behalf of freedom and mankind, in its preservation. The contest is, therefore, substantially between Liberty and Slavery.

"As Slavery cannot exist with free discussion, so neither can Liberty breathe without it. Losing this, we, too, shall be no longer freemen indeed, but little, if at all, superior to the millions we now seek to emancipate.

"With the highest respect, your friend,

FRANCIS JACKSON.

"Rev. S. J. MAY, Cor. Sec. Mass. A. S. Society."

Worthy to be printed in letters of gold, and handed down with Magna Charta and the Declaration of Independence to the latest posterity! Worthy of Hampden and Sydney, of Jay and Franklin, of Martin Luther and George Fox, of the Mayflower and Lexington, of the noblest patriots and the bravest heroes of any age or country! Now, happily, so altered is the state of public sentiment on the subject of slavery, it is impossible for those who have since come upon the stage of life to realize the moral grandeur and sublime, self-sacrificing spirit of an act like this—its immense service to the cause of freedom—the imminent danger that attended it, (such was "the madness of the hour,") for the probability was that this consecrated dwelling would be levelled to the ground by a demonized mob, and its owner subjected to personal outrage. The whole country was in such an inflammatory state, at that time, that the uncompromising advocate of emancipation, like an apostle of old, could speak of being "in perils of robbers, in perils by mine own countrymen, in perils in the city, in perils in the wilderness, in perils among false brethren." But that "reign of terror" has passed away—the spirit of freedom is abroad in the land, with great majesty and power—and there is cheering evidence that the demonic slaveholding spirit which has so long and so brutally held sway will speedily be cast out, to the redemption of us all, and the joy of heaven and earth.

As another illustration of his scrupulous regard to his conscientious convictions—Mr. Jackson resigned his commission as a Justice of the Peace, in a letter written July 4th, 1844, addressed to His Excellency George N. Briggs, in which, objecting to the Constitution of the United States as "containing provisions calculated and intended to foster, cherish, uphold and perpetuate slavery," he expressed his belief that it would be morally wrong for him any longer to support it—adding, "I am not in this matter constituting myself a judge of others. I do not say that no honest man can take such an oath, and abide by it. I only say that *I* would not now deliberately take it; and that, having inconsiderately taken it, I can no longer suffer it to lie upon my soul. The burdens that the Constitution lays upon me, while it is held up by others, I shall endeavor to bear patiently, yet acting with reference to a higher law, and distinctly declaring that, while I retain my own liberty, I will be a party to no compact which helps to rob any other man of his."

Such personal integrity is, alas! rarely to be found in history. It breathes of that spirit which of old exclaimed, "Whether it be right in the sight of God to hearken unto you more than unto God, judge ye"; and of that kindred spirit which asked, "What fellowship hath righteousness with unrighteousness? and what communion hath light with darkness? and what concord hath Christ with Belial?" Whether that step was really called for or not, all must admire the conscientiousness which prompted it.

So it was with our honored friend in all things. Desiring neither conspicuity nor notoriety, he was, nevertheless, ever ready to "stand in the gap" when gap-men were wanting, and to brave all obloquy in the cause of unpopular truth. Like Niagara or Mount Washington, his character impresses us the more deeply, the more it is contemplated. Symmetrical, massive, grand, it challenges admiration, it excites wonder, it prompts to high aims, it is a model for imitation.

Farewell! truest of friends, safest of counsellors, bravest of heroes, noblest of exemplars!

Farewell! shelterer and defender of the hunted fugitive slave, foe of oppression, lover of justice, friend of humanity!

Farewell! veteran in years, crowned with the glories of a philanthropic life, and the honors of a spotless career!

Hail, ascended spirit, no longer held by the trammels of earth! Lead us onward and upward in the path of everlasting progress, and inspire us with thy unfaltering trust in the truth and the right, whatever may be the trial, or however heavy may be the cross!

REMARKS OF WENDELL PHILLIPS, ESQ.

Let me, friends, add a word, however needless it may seem, to what Mr. Garrison has told us. Here lies the body of one of whom it may be justly said, he was the best fruit of New England institutions. If we had been set to choose a specimen of what the best New England ideas and training could do, there are few men we should have selected before him. Broad views, long foresight, tireless industry, great force, serene faith in principles, parent of constant effort to reduce them to practice—contempt of mere wealth, that led him in middle life to give up getting, and devote his whole strength to ideas and the welfare of the race: entirely unselfish, perfectly just; thrifty, that he might have to give—fearing not the face of man—tolerant of other men's doubts and fears—tender and loving—are not these the traits that have given us the inheritance we value? None will deny they were eminently his.

My only hesitation in describing him is lest I be thought to flatter. What men have themselves seen, they believe; all further is set down to the blind partiality of friendship. Few have been privileged to know men like Francis Jackson. To such men, in fulness of years, there is no death. There seems no place for tears here. Our friend has only laid down his body, the worn tool God lent him, and passed on to nearer service and a higher sphere. He had fought a good fight, and certainly *finished* his work here.

We have known him so long, looked up to him for so many years, trusted his judgment, leaned on his friendship, counted on his strength so constantly, that, like the child losing a parent, we seem left without some wonted shelter under the high, cold heaven—something we nestled under is gone.

I said he was all that our institutions ought to breed—yes, having regard to his plans and purpose of life, he was one of the most thoroughly educated men I ever knew. All he professed and needed to know, he knew thoroughly. Though enjoying but scanty opportunities of education in early life, he was thoroughly dowered by patient training, carefully gathered information and most mature thought: he was in every sense a wise man. And wise men valued him. My friend, Mr. Garrison, has quoted Theodore Parker. All of you who knew Theodore Parker intimately, will recollect that when he wished to illustrate cool courage, indomitable perseverance, sound sense, rare practical ability, utter disinterestedness, and spotless integrity, he named Francis Jackson; and when in moments of difficulty he needed such qualities in a staunch friend, he summoned Francis Jackson to his side.

Every character has some pervading quality, some key note; our friend's, I think, was decision, serene self-reliance and perseverance. He was the kind of man you involuntarily called to mind when men spoke of "*one*, on God's side, being a majority." Such a *one* sufficed to outweigh masses, and outlive the opposition of long years. Francis Jackson's will did not seem a mere human will or purpose—it reminded you of some law or force of nature—like gravity or the weight of the globe—hopeless to resist it. I cannot describe it better than by quoting some sentences of John Foster's sketch of Howard—you will see how closely they fit our friend:—

"The energy of his determination was so great, that if instead of being habitual, it had been shown only for a short time on particular occasions, it would have appeared a vehement impetuosity; but by being uninterrupted, it had an equability of manner which scarcely appeared to exceed the tone of a calm constancy, it was so totally the reverse of anything like turbulence

or agitation. It was the calmness of an intensity kept uniform by the nature of the human mind forbidding it to be more, and by the character of the individual forbidding it to be less." * * * *

"The moment of finishing his plans in deliberation, and commencing them in action, was the same. I wonder what must have been the amount of that bribe in emolument or pleasure, that would have detained him a week after their final adjustment. The law which carries water down a declivity was not more unconquerable and invariable than the determination of his feelings towards the main object. * * * There was an inconceivable severity of conviction, that he had *one thing to do*, and that he who would do some great thing in this short life, must apply himself to the work with such a concentration of his forces, as to idle spectators who live only to amuse themselves, looks like insanity." * * * *

"As his method referred everything he did and thought to the same end, and his exertion did not relax for a moment, he made the trial, so seldom made, what is the utmost effect which may be granted to the last possible efforts of a human agent: and therefore what he did not accomplish, he might conclude to be placed beyond the sphere of mortal activity, and calmly leave to the immediate disposal of Omnipotence."

Add to this quality of decision his other trait,—tireless activity,—and it explains his life. Indeed, he needs no words of ours: "his own right hand has carved his epitaph." As Mr. Garrison has told us, he withdrew long ago from office—stood outside of the political machine. But when History records the struggling birth of those changes and ideas, which make our epoch and city famous, whose name will she put before his? And God has graciously permitted him to see of the labor of his hands. These walls said to the wave that beat down all law and authority in Boston in 1835, "Thus far; no further." That word of rebuke was the first faint sighing of the tempest that now sweeps over the continent, "scourging before it the lazy elements, which had long stagnated into pestilence." Some men would say he flung away the honors of life. No; who has reaped so many? The roar of the streets, the petty inefficiency of mayors, never turned him one hair's breadth from his path, or balked him of his purpose. Brave, calm, tirelessly at work, he outlived Mayors and Governors,—the mere drift-wood of this Niagara,—and wrote his will on the Statute Books of States.

Three years ago, he brought me five thousand dollars, to be used in securing the rights of women. The only charge he laid on me was, to keep the name of the donor secret, until what has now happened, his death. Already that fund has essentially changed the Statute Book of the Empire State—altered materially the laws of two other Commonwealths, and planted the seed of radical reform in the young sovereignty of Kansas. This unseen hand moved the lever which, afar off, lifts the burdens of one-half of the people of great States. And you all know how every man, friend or foe, confidently expected to see his calm brow on every platform which advocated a humane and an unpopular idea. I remember, years ago, at the very first meeting ever held in this city to abolish the use of the whip in the navy, a timidly conservative merchant refused to attend, saying, "Why, I know whom I shall see there—just Francis Jackson, of course, and his set."

But he was not only a Reformer, nor wholly absorbed in what narrow men call useful. Our broad city avenue to Roxbury is half hid by noble trees, because, thirty years ago he, a member of the City Government, saw to it, unaided at first, that they were planted. And he found time to save for history a sketch of his native town—a volume the result of great labor, and which ranks among the best of our town histories.

Rarest of all, this pitiless toiler in constant work, this tremendous energy of purpose, was wholly unsavored with arrogance. He was eminently tolerant. It was not only that his perfect justice made allowance,—no, his ready sympathy helped to give fair, full weight to all that should excuse or make us patient with others. Indeed, his was that very, *very* rare mixture,—iron will and a woman's tenderness,—so seldom found in our race. Those who saw him only at work, little knew how keenly he felt, and how highly he valued, the kind words and tender messages of those he loved. He not only served the needy and the fugitive slave, but his genial sympathy was as precious a gift as the shelter of this roof or the liberal alms he was sure to bestow. Some men are only modest from indifference, and the energy of some is only ambition in a mask. Mr. Jackson's modesty had no taint of indolence. his enterprize was no cloak for ambition.

Highest of all, he was emphatically an honest man in the full, sublime sense of those common words. "Boston," as the *Tribune* says, "has lost her honestest man." If I speak again of the opposition he encountered, it is not because he cared for it. He took fortune's buffets and rewards with equal thanks—with a serene indifference. But it is just to him to consider that malignant opposition in another light. The pitiless storm of public hate beat upon him for thirty years. Malice—personal, political, religious—watched his every act, dogged his every step, and yet no breath of suspicion ever touched his character. Out of that ordeal he comes, with no smell of fire on his garments: the boldest malice never gathered courage to invent an accusation. Son, brother, husband, father, neighbor, friend, reformer, in private life, in business, or holding office, no man ever suspected him of anything but the bravery of holding opinions which all hated, none could confute,—and of acting them out at the risk of property and life, and the actual sacrifice of all common men love. How few have such an epitaph! We who knew him, when we read of Hampden resisting ship money, or Sidney going to the block, feel that we have walked and lived with their fellow. Scholars watched him, and thought of Plutarch. Narrow sectarians scrutinized him, and wondered how one lacking their shibboleth wore, so naturally, graces they only prayed for. Active, stanch friend, wise counsellor, liberal hand, serene worker like the stars, "without haste, without rest"! Let us thank God for the sight, for the example. He would tell us to spare our words, saying he had only tried to use his powers honestly. His best praise is our following his example, and each fearlessly obeying his own conscience, and doing, with his might, whatever his hand finds to do for his fellow-man. Let us so do him honor. And as the great Englishman said of his friend, "There's none to make his place good—let us go to the next best," so of thee, dear comrade and leader of many years, thy place is sacred forever to thy memory—we go to the next best, till God gives us to see thee once again, face to face.

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Samuel May, Jr., General Agent of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, said:—

I will occupy one moment on this occasion to read an extract from a letter written by our friend Francis Jackson, which I hold in my hand. Last winter, when he was so ill, he desired and purposed to resign the offices which he held, of Treasurer in one Anti-Slavery Society and President of the other. He felt that he must resign those offices, for his strength was not sufficient to warrant his retaining them. This letter was written by him, communicating that purpose. It is unnecessary to say, that the urgent entreaties of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society induced him to consent to remain the President of that Society, and he did retain that office, with the pledge that the active duties should be discharged by others; the other office he gave up, and he also resigned the office of Treasurer of the Vigilance Committee. But in regard to fugitive slaves, he says—

"I cannot withhold my aid from fugitive slaves, who for the last twelve or fifteen years have had much of my time and assistance. I cannot deny them, while I have any strength left. They and the millions they have left are my system of Theology, my Religion, my Atonement. I have helped to enslave them—my father helped; unknowingly, it may be, nevertheless, helped. I believe in this kind of Atonement; my reason accepts no other. I believe the slaves are God's chosen people."

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The services here closed, and, after many a lingering look at the placid features of the deceased, on the part of those present, the company separated, and the mortal remains were taken to Newton for burial.

FREMONT AND THE GERMANS OF BOSTON.

At a meeting of the "friends of Fremontlike energy," called by the Germans of this city, and held at their Turnhalle, Tuesday evening, November 12th, resolutions were adopted, of which the following are a translation. They give vigorous expression to the free, enlightened sentiment of our German population, both here and elsewhere, in relation to the war in general, and the last, most disgraceful feature of it in particular. Our readers cannot fail to find them interesting:—

RESOLUTIONS.

1. We reject, as narrow and pernicious, the doctrine that in time of war the Government ought to be spared public criticism or opposition. It need never fear this criticism, when it does its duty; but to be silent about its violations of duty, is to approve and encourage them. When the People must sacrifice not only their treasure but their blood also, it is all the more incumbent upon them to see that both are not wasted; and they should the more zealously maintain their rights in the midst of war, the more likely war is, *per se*, to induce the Government to believe itself the independent Lord and Master, instead of the responsible Servant and Guide, of the People. Public criticism by speaking and writing, in popular gatherings as well as through the press, ought, in war as in peace, everywhere to exercise free judgment, except where extreme peril has temporarily clothed the Government with dictatorial power, or made necessary the suspension of constitutional rights by a proclamation of martial law. But when the Government, in open violation of the Constitution, by forcible measures menaces the freedom of the press, in order to suppress the consequences of its own mistakes in the right of challenged criticism, the citizens should let no opportunity pass of lifting each one his voice and calling to mind the fact, that the People, and not the Government, are and remain the highest and the final tribunal of the Republic.

2. We reject, as foolish and unworthy, all homage rendered to a public man as the tribute of a thoughtless admiration, or even as the expression of unmanly devotion for his rank. We entertain sympathy for, and espouse the party of, those only in whom we see the right persecuted, and whom we can recognize as worthy supporters of a noble cause.

3. In the sense of these principles, we take open sides with General Fremont against the Administration at Washington and its abettors, while we condemn the whole proceedings which were crowned by his removal, as thoroughly unmanly, iniquitous, shameful and pernicious.

4. We recognize in General Fremont not merely the noble character and pure patriot, but also the energetic and courageous supporter of the only true policy which should be employed in this war against the most unjust and reckless of all rebellions. Whereas we see in his removal only a ruinous, ill-boding triumph of that irresolute feebleness and reactionary mania for compromise which are responsible for all our disasters hitherto, and which alone have made the Rebellion formidable, and encouraged it more than the consciousness of its own strength ever could.

5. The insidious, passionate and unjust proceedings against Fremont do but agree with the spirit and interest of those to whom by his removal the weightiest service is rendered, to wit, the rebel slaveholders. They violate every consideration of personal honor, of official discretion, of impartial justice and the public weal. While it was made the patriotic duty of the press to avoid every publication that might injure the army and benefit the enemy, the Commanding General of a State in the extreme of danger was publicly pursued with every conceivable kind of official chicanery, intrigue, treachery, and accusation, whose disastrous effects were paralyzed only by the personal character and self-denial of the victim, and surely not by the intent or merit of his persecutors. They seem, in the consciousness of their inability to bring any adequate charges against him, to have wished to force him to resign by vexations, hindrances, and every species of indignity, in order to spare themselves the odium and hazard of an act of injustice. By the parade of investigations which were ostentatiously undertaken against him, they seem to have wished to inspire him as well as the people with a belief in guilt which did not exist, that he might by voluntary resignation avoid the impending sentence. And after he, in the consciousness of his integrity, had endured even this last test of his steadfastness, they at last removed him, without sentence and to gratify a personal enemy, from the head of an army which he had created, and whose entire confidence he possessed, at the moment when they had to tear they might see him,—thanks to a decisive, long prepared-for victory,—snatched from the power of his persecutors, and themselves put to overwhelming confusion. Even the danger of seeing his army demoralized in face of the enemy, and the rescued State delivered back into their hands, could not disarm the scandalous hatred which had sworn his downfall, because he had threatened destruction to the enemies of the Republic and intended to elevate their slaves to "free men"; perhaps, also, because, by a policy in harmony with the free spirit of the People, he had become a dangerous rival to ambitious political aspirants. If it was foreseen,—as we must conclude it was, after the censure which preceded it,—that his recall in the presence of the enemy would render the army worthless, then open treason was committed; but if it was trusted, that, spite of the recall of their beloved leader, the army would remain patriotic and capable of victory, then in this very trust lies the most brilliant vindication of the censured General. All the grounds which could be employed as pretexts for his removal, EXISTED ALREADY BEFORE HE TOOK THE FIELD. The fact, however, that his recall was delayed till he was confronting the enemy at Springfield, justifies every suspicion and reproach which the procedure against him may excite. This unexampled procedure, which rests on charges partly unimportant, partly proved false, partly yet to be investigated, seems the more revolting when compared with that in the case of other military leaders. With what conscience could they remove the organizer of the army of Missouri, who spared General Patterson and deprived of a court-martial the authors of the defeats at Vienna, at Great Bethel, at Manassas, and at Edward's Ferry? Few Generals of the army would be sure of their positions or perhaps their heads, if the procedure towards Fremont were adopted as the measure of inflexibility in the treatment of the military leaders. From the experience we have had, we must conclude that Fremont would long since have been shot, had he commanded at Harper's Ferry, Bull Run or Ball's Bluff; while, as things are, no fault or no culprit is to be found in the official world. But it seems that the yardstick for the measurement of faults, as of merits, is applicable only to a man's position on the slavery question, and that he is regarded as the most incapable and culpable General who betrays the greatest ability and the best intention to put an end to the rebellion by extirpating its root.

6. If the removal of Fremont must be called a disgrace, it is at the same time a new peril, to the Republic, since it destroys faith in justice, invokes dissension, paralyzes true patriotism, encourages bad passions, and manifests a continuance of that destructive policy which treats the country's enemies with forbearance, and its best friends with asperity. It is our firm conviction, that the Rebellion can only then be suppressed, the Union only then restored, and the Republic only then secured against external as well as internal dangers, when such relentless energy as was expressed in the proclamation of Fremont, and especially as made good in the action of General Lane, conducts a war whose means and end are made the abolition of slavery. If 500,000 men and 500,000,000 dollars should have been demanded only to restore the Union on the old conditions, the American people would be the most foolish in the world, and this formidable war would be nothing else than the most senseless self-destruction and the most deadly self-betrayal, under the deceitful guise of patriotic sacrifice. A people that should neither have the will nor the power to employ this war for the regeneration of the Republic, would thus indicate that they had become weak enough and corrupt enough to see it buried.

7. Whilst in the foregoing resolutions or declarations we have expressed our political views on occasion of Fremont's recall, we assure him, in addition, of our sympathy and recognition for the especial reason that, by his behavior towards our fellow-countrymen and other adopted citizens, he has revealed a capacity, not everywhere to be found, of recognizing rights and merits without prejudice and without regard to descent, and of allowing them, in the interest of the Republic, to attain their full value.

8. The President and Secretary are hereby instructed to transmit a copy of the foregoing resolutions to General Fremont in the name of this assembly, and to provide at the same time for their publication.

WHO IS RESPONSIBLE?

It is more than unjust on the part of a portion of the political press, to undertake to unite the two extremes of abolitionism and secessionism. Either those who do this are incapable of distinguishing the connection between cause and effect, or they are "false witnesses against their neighbors." If of the former class, they should be sent at once to a school of idiots. If of the latter, they deserve the hearty condemnation of all honest men. Heaven and hell, light and darkness, the true and false, are not more suggestive of opposition and conflict, than are these misused words in the mouths of such persons. All attempts, for any purpose, at this time, by any clique, to harmonize the meanings of words so divergent in origin and purpose, in order to make those whom they designate equally responsible for our national troubles, are both false and stupid.

While this rebellion was imminent months before the fall of Sumter, it was plain to see why the abolitionist should be held responsible, by some who knew better, for the loss of Southern debts. To find the shortest path to the pocket of the indebted secessionist and conspirator, it was thought necessary to stifle the convictions of honest men, and inflict a blow upon free speech. This was a sacrifice on the altar of proslavery, the wrath of which was to be appeased. But why, at this time, when not only this immense debt, but millions of the national property, and other millions owned at the North, and invested in the South, have all gone by the board—and while war as terrible as ever existed has become a stubborn fact—it is difficult to see what is to be gained by trying to make this imaginary issue. Certainly, there can be no motive for it, except it be to disturb the unanimity of the North, and thus prolong the war.

It would be useless to indulge in feelings of vindictiveness to this class of writers. It would be wrong to doubt their patriotism. Their interests and hopes are common to us all. They have played their part in former times. They have worked as unselfishly as others, for the growth and prosperity of the country, and, like other men with strength of will and purpose, what were once ideas pertinent to the issues of their time, are now prejudices which they have not yet been able to throw off. These men have done their best to reconcile freedom and slavery, and they have made the mistake to suppose that a union of States, resting on such a basis, could ever be made permanent. The disturbance of their power and respectability, from any cause, they could ill brook. To sever the close friendship between Northern and Southern politics was a severe blow; and when new emergencies required their removal, it was but natural that somebody should be blamed for their reverses. And what less formidable for this purpose than the poor unhonored abolitionist?

Now, what has this abolitionist ever done? Why, simply what every votary of science does. Not to create facts, but to expose them to view. Slavery was *a fact*, and an appalling one. The abolitionist has pointed it out, and explained, in befitting terms, its hideous nature and bearings upon our national welfare. This idle censure is as absurd as to censure the astronomer for pointing out the spots on the sun, or the physician who describes the disease of the dying man.

But the efforts of these men will be unavailing. Slavery *is*, and ever has been, a gigantic wrong in this country. Our best statesmen,—to say nothing of others,—have so considered it from the dawn of our national existence to this hour, and it is the deep-seated conviction of nearly all Northern men that slavery, in whatever form, is a curse to all concerned; and that our form of it is the direct cause of this rebellion. And these gentlemen editors will find a difficult task, more difficult than anything that has yet been attempted in this war now upon us, to suppress the utterance of this conviction.

This accursed rebellion *is* a slaveholders' rebellion; and it will never be put down, and peace will never return to us, till slavery is crushed throughout the length and breadth of the land.

When the hour arrives for THE PEOPLE to decide the question, whether this Government shall fall, or the rebellion, with all the props that support it, let demagogues and partisan papers "stand from under"! W.

MEMORIAL OF THE PEOPLE TO CONGRESS.

"PROCLAIM LIBERTY THROUGHOUT ALL THE LAND, TO ALL THE INHABITANTS THEREOF."

To the Congress of the United States:

The undersigned, citizens of   , State of   , respectfully submit—

That as the present formidable rebellion against the General Government manifestly finds its root and nourishment in the system of chattel slavery at the South; as the leading conspirators are slaveholders, who constitute an oligarchy avowedly hostile to all free institutions; and as, in the nature of things, no solid peace can be maintained while the cause of this treasonable revolt is permitted to exist; your honorable body is urgently implored to lose no time in enacting, under the war power, the total abolition of slavery throughout the country — liberating unconditionally the slaves of all who are rebels, and, while not recognizing the right of property in man, allowing for the emancipated slaves of such as are loyal to the government a fair pecuniary award, in order to facilitate an amicable adjustment of difficulties; and thus to bring the war to a speedy and beneficent termination, and indissolubly to unite all sections and all interests of the country upon the enduring basis of universal freedom.

Acknowledgments. Our thanks are due to the Hon. John P. Hale for a "Narrative and final Report of the Explorations for a Route for a Pacific Railroad, near the 47th and 49th Parallels of North Latitude, from St. Paul to Puget Sound. By Isaac I. Stevens, Governor of Washington Territory." This volume, emanating from the War Department, while the traitor Floyd was still at its head, contains, besides the General Reports, Botanical and Zoological Reports, Appendices, &c., is clearly and handsomely printed, and, with its maps, colored lithographs, and tables, forms a most interesting and valuable work.

From Ticknor and Fields we have received the "Record of an Obscure Man," but must defer a proper notice of the book till we have had time to read it. The publishers have our thanks for their favor.

New Music. Messrs. Oliver Ditson & Co., 277 Washington street, have just published "Ole Shady," or the Song of the Contraband, by the author of "Darling Nelly Gray," dedicated to Columbia's noble son, Major-General Benjamin F. Butler. "Grand Army March," introducing the popular melody "Glory Hallelujah," and "Hail to the Chief," dedicated to Gen. Scott, by Ch. Grobe; "Kathleen Mavourneen," being one of the series of translations, for the piano, by Brinley Richards; and "General Scott's Grand Review March," with a fine portrait of the General as a frontispiece, music composed by Stephen Glover.

ENCOURAGING TESTIMONY FROM CAMP LIFE.

Dear Friend Garrison:

The following extract from a letter which I have lately received from a young friend, and a Captain of a company of volunteers, now encamped near Washington, is one of many encouraging proofs that Slavery itself is now most effectually converting intelligent soldiers to Abolitionism. If you think the extract worthy of a place in the *Liberator*, please insert it.

I had inquired of my friend, in a private letter, what he thought the effect of the war would be on Slavery, and he answered:—

"I must tell you frankly that my views are changed materially on the subject of slavery since this rebellion has broken out. Before, as you perhaps knew, I was not an 'Abolitionist'; I did not believe in the 'irrepressible conflict.' I was an *ultra* Unionist, and believe I should have preferred slavery in *all* the Territories to a dissolution of the Union. I now *know* that the institution has once threatened our liberties, culminated in rebellion, and must cost much blood and treasure to put it down. No reasonable man can assign any other cause for our troubles, and that admitted, there is but one thing left for us to do; nor should we hesitate. The history of our nation should record, that, *with this rebellion died the cause*—Slavery. The same cause will always produce the same effects, and it is certainly good logic to say, that if we fail to eradicate the cause, the effects will again, sooner or later, reappear. I believe with you, that that is inevitable, and it were cowardly and unjust in us to entail upon our posterity such a curse. As you say, the rebels have forfeited all rights under the Constitution."

Thank God for the retributive Providence that is thus making Abolitionists! The traitors and rebels are a *legitimate* crop of slavery, and when the North shall be ruled by them, civilization will go down, and barbarism prevail. But the people will yet drive a reluctant pro-slavery government to strike for liberty and the rights of man, in order to save itself. What imbecility to protect the plantations of rebels with one hand, and to fight them with the other—and the fighting being done, apparently, with the *left* hand! But it is encouraging that the *people* almost unanimously condemn such folly, and sigh for an administration that is as earnest for the "Union" as the traitors are for the "Confederacy."

I have yet heard no man speak of the removal of Fremont that does not condemn the act, and conjecture the cause to be, *envy* and *jealousy*. The letter-writer just quoted from says, "It looks to me as if *some one* was envious of him, and wished to place him where he cannot interfere with his ambitious aims."

Another friend—and he a *distinguished* one, who speaks for many of the influential—says, in a letter this hour received: "If the Government does not satisfy the people that the removal of Fremont, just when it was done, was eminently right and proper, it will lose, beyond recovery, the public confidence."

Alas! that that "confidence" is so nearly gone already! That there is no enthusiasm anywhere for the Cabinet is a fact known and read of all men. But God's Providence is pledged to protect this nation till it let the oppressed go free; and the people are fast coming up to work with it. The less earnest the Cabinet appears, the more do the people rouse themselves to demand activity against the *cause* of the murderous rebellion. Their subserviency to the Slave Power *may*, therefore, be overruled for good.

"God moves in a mysterious way
His wonders to perform."

Let us all hope, then, in Providence and in the people, and in the government at last.

But, in a crisis like this, what need of great men—morally and religiously great men, especially to *lead*, instead of inferior men to be *driven*! But the Hour is not yet. The Man will come with the Hour—or the Men. God reigns! W. H. F.

☞ Francis Jackson, a well-known citizen of Boston, died in that city on Thursday morning. His death was sudden, at last, from an attack of acute disease, though he has been an invalid for several years. Mr. Jackson was best known to the public from his long and devoted adherence to the Anti-Slavery cause. When, nearly thirty years ago, the "broadcloth" mob of Boston undertook to suppress all expression of Anti-Slavery sentiment by an attempt to hang Mr. Garrison, Mr. Jackson, from pure love of fair play and free speech, threw open his house to the devoted women whose meeting was the immediate cause of the mob. Since that day, his door has never been closed to those who suffered persecution, whether black or white, and especially has his home been a haven of refuge to those flying slaves whom neither man befriended nor the law protected; but though Mr. Jackson has been for so many years conspicuous among the advocates of more than one cause of reform, a very large circle has known him in quite other relations, where the tenderness of Christian sympathy and the generous openness of Christian charity were the qualities brought into action, rather than the sterner virtues of the reformer. Mr. Jackson was a natural democrat, who was literally no respecter of persons, and saw no difference between man and man, but who possessed that large pity for human suffering of every nature that was never appealed to in vain. Hunger and nakedness, whether of soul or of body, whether in the high or the low, found in him a ready helper, and his winning simplicity and kindliness, his wisdom and his benevolence, made him the centre of a circle who held him in such reverence and love as is given to not many men in a generation. While all Boston will bear testimony—in spite of the fact that she has pointed her finger at him so often on the Anti-Slavery platform—that her honestest man has died, there will be a deep and silent sorrow among very many people who will mourn a benefactor as wise and kind as he was unassuming.—*N. Y. Tribune.*

Death of Francis Jackson, Esq. Boston has lost one of its most useful and esteemed citizens in the death of Francis Jackson, Esq., which took place at his residence in Hollis street, on Thursday morning last. He was born in Newton, March 7th, 1789, and, was, consequently, in the 73d year of his age. The city owes much of its enlargement to his enterprise and perseverance, as the Tremont Road and the South Cove sufficiently testify. As early as 1835, he became warmly interested in the cause of the enslaved millions in our land, and has ever since been conspicuous in the ranks of the uncompromising Abolitionists; giving liberally of his substance to aid that cause, and to promote the success of kindred reformatory and beneficent enterprises. A man of eminent integrity and uprightness of character, he was firm in the execution of his purposes, and conscientiously adhered to his convictions of duty, at whatever cost.

He was for many years President of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, and also Treasurer of the American A. S. Society; but, though deeply consecrated to the liberation of the oppressed, his benevolent interest extended to every form of distress, and multitudes have been succored and blest by his charities. However unpopular his anti slavery opinions and position, he always commanded the highest respect for his solid character and sterling worth, and will long be remembered as among the many who have done honor to Boston and the Commonwealth.—*Boston Traveller.*

Death of a well-known Citizen. Francis Jackson, Esq., one of the earliest and most prominent abolitionists of the country, died in this city yesterday morning, after a long illness. His zeal and devotion to the Anti-Slavery cause, are widely known. He was a gentleman of great intelligence, and was much esteemed for his benevolence and probity.—*Transcript, 15th inst.*

"The Union Must be Preserved." The New York *Evening Post*, speaking of the great meeting on Thursday night for the benefit of the loyal inhabitants of the Hatteras banks, says:—

"One of the striking incidents of the evening was when Mr. Bancroft read the original letter of General Jackson, transmitting the closing part of his famous proclamation to the revising hands of Mr. Livingston. 'One night, in the watches of the night, as he sat alone,' said Mr. Bancroft, 'he finished that proclamation, and as he sent it to Livingston, he accompanied it with these words, written with his own hands—the copy I now read was from the original letter, for the authenticity of which I can vouch:—

"Dear Sir,—I submit the basis and conclusion of the proclamation for your amendment and revision. Let it receive your best effort of language to strike at the heart and to speak to the feelings of my deluded countrymen of South Carolina. The Union must be preserved, without blood, if this be possible; but it must be preserved at all hazards, and at any price.

Yours, with high regard,
Andrew Jackson.

Dec. 4, 1832—11 o'clock p. m."

"'Now,' continued the speaker, 'can any new phantom frighten us from the love of the Union? If slavery and the Union be incompatible, listen to the words of Andrew Jackson that come to us from the tomb: "The Union must at all hazards be preserved."' At this allusion to slavery, the cheering on all sides was terrific, the men rising to wave their hats, and the ladies to wave their handkerchiefs."

In the course of his speech, Mr. Bancroft added:—

"I do not understand turning a soldier of the United States into a constable to keep the peace on the plantations of the Secessionists. (Enthusiastic and prolonged applause. 'Give it to them.') It is not the part of strength to return them; it is not the part of a brave man to make himself a police officer of that sort. (Cheers.) It is not the part of a soldier who fights under the flag of the Revolution. It is not worthy of a man of honor. It is not consistent with the duty of a commanding officer in the service of the people of the United States. (Cheers.) We send the army into the South to maintain the Union, to restore the validity of the Constitution. If any one presents claims under the Constitution, let him begin by placing the Constitution in power, by respecting it and upholding it."

ARREST OF THE CONFEDERATE AMBASSADORS, MASON AND SLIDELL!

Fortress Monroe, Nov. 15. The U. S. steamer San Jacinto has arrived from the coast of Africa via West India, where she has been cruising six weeks.

Old Point was electrified by the tidings that she has now on board Messrs. Mason and Slidell, who were going abroad as Ministers of the Southern Confederacy to England and France.

They were taken from an English steamer in the channel of Bahamas.

Commodore Wilkes reported the news at headquarters in person, and will forward his dispatches to Washington to night.

Baltimore, Nov. 16. The name of the British vessel is unascertained. All the private papers, documents and instructions of Slidell and Mason were seized. Their families were allowed to proceed. The Captain delivered them up under protest. This is the substance of the reports by passengers.

Capt. Wilkes was sent to the coast of Africa especially to bring home the San Jacinto, and it was only when he arrived at the West Indies that he heard of the escape of Messrs. Slidell and Mason. Therefore his arrest of them could not have been pursuant to orders. Capt. Wilkes acted in accordance with the principle of international law. He tendered to the ladies accompanying the Slidell and Mason party a passage in his ship and the use of the cabin, with all the delicacies and attentions they might require, but they declined his gallant and considerate attention.

The visit of Mr. Mason to Boston calls to mind an incident which may now be considered prophetic. In January last, Mr. Winthrop, who was then in Washington with the Union Committee, called upon Senator Mason, and, referring to his former visit to Boston, said, "I hope, Mr. Mason, we shall see you again at Bunker Hill." To which the pompous Senator stiffly jerked out the response—"Not unless I come as an ambassador, sir." The words were nearer prophetic than will now be pleasant for the traitor to reflect upon as he looks at the granite shaft at Bunker Hill from the walls of Fort Warren.

The reported arrest of Slidell and Mason created a phrenzy of enthusiasm in New York. Slidell was born in that city. This leader of Southern chivalry, who maligns the "mud-sills" of the North, sprang from an honest tallow chandler, who, as father of Slidell, carried more light into the dwellings of the nations from his tallow shop, than his degenerate son has done from his seat in the national councils.

"Great Expectations." The Richmond *Examiner* of Oct. 29 has the following rich pronunciamento on a small scale:—

"By this time, our able representatives abroad, Messrs. Mason and Slidell, are pretty well over the briny deep toward the shores of Europe. We commit no indiscretion in stating that they have embarked upon a vessel which will be abundantly able to protect them against most of the Yankee cruisers they may happen to meet, and the chances are consequently a hundred to one that they will reach their destination with safety. The malice of our Yankee enemies will thus be foiled, and the attempt to capture them fail of success. Great will be the mortification of the Yankees when they shall have learned this result. Our ministers did not choose to leave from any other port than one of our own, or under any but the Confederate flag. We believe that, at no distant day, Mr. Mason will have the pleasure of signing a treaty of amity on behalf of the Confederate States with one of the oldest and greatest dynasties of Europe, and thus cement those relations of commerce upon which our future so largely depends."

Every line of this is good.

Ludicrous Rebel Talk about the late victorious Naval Expedition. The Richmond *Enquirer*, just before the sailing of the Expedition to Port Royal, malignantly and boastingly said:—

"If the expedition attempt to land at an important point, we hope that our force will be sufficient for their repulse. If among the pines and swamps, they will have committed a great folly, and injure themselves, not us. We are not, however, without other hopes. The winds have been howling, and the clouds have been pouring out their floods. We confess it—the blast of the storm has sounded in our ears like sweetest music. It has made us think of the Spanish Armada, that sailed in great pomp, on grand design, but was dispersed by the winds, and vanquished, without meeting an enemy. Who knows but that stormy Hatteras was created for such a time as this? Who can tell but that the rocks and sands on the Florida coasts shall prove the instruments of Providence to punish the wickedness of man? The grand fleet sailed on Tuesday, the 29th. On Friday afternoon the storm commenced. Three days had thus elapsed. Where the fleet had got to—whether the storm there raged, and whether it claimed its prey, we have yet to learn.

But, whether by the winds of Heaven, or by the blessing of Heaven on Southern valor, we trust soon to be able to announce that the fleet which sailed from Hampton Roads is a fleet that shall never more return, unless, indeed, under another flag."

What does the *Enquirer* say of it now?

☞ The landing of a powerful force on the coast of South Carolina is carrying the war into Africa in a form which will be universally approved by our people. It was there that the cockatrice's egg was hatched a generation ago, and that open treason sprang defiantly into existence years before the rest of the country could realize the danger which threatened from it. South Carolina passed the first ordinance, and fired the first gun; she set the example in crime, and it was the result of her long labors that others were ready to follow. If peace were to come to-morrow, it would be felt to be a halting success, if South Carolina had not first felt the rough hand of authority. Years ago, she threw away all kindred with the other States, and began to preach alienation, hostility, jealousy, and contempt for those whose industry and success she at once despised and envied. She will find that bitter fruit has been the result, that not only her own people but ours have learned her lesson; and they who proclaim that the war will never be properly fought until hatred is matched with hatred, will find no lack of it, we apprehend, on either side, on the Carolina coast.

☞ The Leavenworth correspondent of the New York *Times* says—"Ever since the commencement of this war, the moveable property of Missouri has been taking unto itself legs. One gentleman has kept the record of the fugitives who had passed through his town since last May, and it reached over 150. Over 200 have been recorded at Leavenworth. Some 400 are now at Lawrence, a number at Atchison, and in the counties of Linn and Bourbon, south-eastern Kansas, there cannot be less than 400 more. Of these latter, 150 are a new instalment, sent from his camp to Gen. Lane, and gathered during the march from Kansas City to join the column of Sigel in pursuit of Price. It is true that where the Kansas men march, slavery disappears, as Gen. Lane in the United States Senate declared it would. The 150 contrabands spoken of were all provided with teams, bedding and provisions, which their late masters having left, they appropriated."

A Fire in the Rear. According to the Little Rock (Arkansas) *Democrat*, quoted by the St. Louis *Republican*, the rebels have been caught in their own spring. It seems that the Indians in the Southwest are not unanimous in joining the rebellion, but that the Creeks absolutely refuse to have their loyalty transferred. One of their chiefs is reported by the rebel colonel McIntosh to have raised a large force of warriors, estimated at from 3000 to 6000, and to have torn down the confederate flag at the Creek agency at North Fork, where McIntosh had hoisted it, and to have raised the stars and stripes. Disunion residents were in a panic, McCulloch had ordered out a force to "crush the outbreak," and it is supposed that several thousand secession soldiers will be needed in Arkansas to hold the Indians in check.

St. Louis, Nov. 18. The Memphis *Argus* of the 16th has a dispatch dated Chestertown, 14th, which says that the Federal forces have possession of Pinckney Island, and have seized all the able-bodied men on the plantations and placed them on board the fleet. Others were fleeing. They had made no attempt to effect a lodgment on the main land.

The Memphis papers express great alarm at our preparations for an expedition down the Mississippi, and demand that the entire reserves of the country shall be brought to bear against it.

The Slave Pirate. The conviction of Captain Gordon of the ship Erie, of piracy, for being in the slave trade, is said to be the first capital conviction for that offence ever obtained in this country. The penalty is death; and as there is no escape but through a pardon by the President, which cannot be had, Gordon will undoubtedly be hanged for slave trading. This will mark an era.

☞ A gentleman in Southern Illinois has raised about one thousand acres of cotton the past season. It is a very good crop, and preparations are being made to plant about ten thousand acres next year. The gentleman who raised it is a Louisianian; and other Southern refugees in Southern Illinois will probably devote their attention next year to the cultivation of their favorite staple.

☞ Senator Wilson addresses to the Boston *Journal* an explicit denial of the story which has been circulated, that he has a Government contract for one million pairs of shoes, by which he is to realize the sum of a quarter of a million of dollars. "This story," he says, "in all its parts, and in every form, is utterly false; and the persons originating it knew it to be a false and wicked slander."

☞ The Government saw fit to rebuke Gen. Fremont for his proclamation confiscating the slaves of rebels. Well, the Administration has instructed the commander of the land forces taken South by the great Naval Expedition to arm the slaves against their masters, if he shall find that measure expedient. Arms and uniforms were furnished for that purpose. If the Government is right in this step—and we believe it is—it was wrong in censuring Fremont. It must either drive slavery to the wall, or slavery will drive the Government there.—*Honesdale Democrat.*

☞ "Perley" closes one of his letters from Washington to the Boston *Journal* with this sentence—"A few doses of Fremont's proclamations would prove fatal, and scatter the people to their homes and peculiar institutions." So think the people generally.

☞ Seven negroes, belonging to the estate of the late John A. Washington, fled from one of his plantations beyond Occoquan, and were brought into Fort Lyon, whence they were sent to Washington.

☞ Gen. Sherman has seized two million dollars' worth of cotton in the vicinity of Beaufort, S. C. Numbers of citizens there have professed loyalty to the Government, and were soliciting arms with which to organize and protect themselves against the rebels.

☞ It is said that four thousand seven hundred and thirty-five applicants for admission to the New York State Inebriate Asylum are on file, coming from all States of the Union, from all classes of men, and some of them from foreign countries.

☞ It is stated that the government has now a volunteer force of 480,000 men in the field—lacking but 20,000 of the number authorized by Congress.

☞ As far as heard from, Davis and Stephens have received a unanimous vote for President and Vice President of the Southern Confederacy. Their term is for six years.

Ohio Election. The majority for Mr. Todd, the Union candidate for Governor at the late election in Ohio, was fifty-five thousand.

☞ FRATERNITY LECTURES. ☜

FOURTH SERIES.

The public of Boston and vicinity are respectfully informed that the Fourth Series of FRATERNITY LECTURES continue weekly at Tremont Temple.

The lecture on Tuesday Evening, Nov. 26, will be by

HENRY WARD BEECHER.

To be followed on successive TUESDAY EVENINGS by Lectures from the following gentlemen:—

December 3—FREDERICK DOUGLASS.
" 10—DANIEL S. DICKINSON.
" 17—EDWIN H. CHAPIN.
" 24—EZRA H. HEYWOOD.
" 31—WILLIAM S. STUDLEY.
January 7—WENDELL PHILLIPS.

Doors to be opened at 6 1-2 o'clock. Lectures to commence at 7 1-2 o'clock, precisely.

☞ A. T. FOSS, an Agent of the American Anti-Slavery Society, will speak in

Portland,	Maine,	Sunday,	Nov. 24.
Hallowell,	"	Monday,	" 25.
Skowhegan,	"	Wednesday,	" 27.
Cornville,	"	Friday,	" 29.
Athens,	"	Sunday,	Dec. 1.
Palmyra,	"	Tuesday,	" 3.
East Pittsfield,	"	Wednesday,	" 4.
Newpor,	"	Thursday,	" 5.
Carmel,	"	Sunday,	" 8.
Etna,	"	Monday,	" 9.
HampdenCorner,	"	Thursday,	" 12.
Bangor,	"	Sunday,	" 15.
Bucksport,	"	Tuesday,	" 17.
Orland,	"	Wednesday,	" 18.
Ellsworth,	"	Sunday,	" 22.

☞ A. M. POWELL will speak at

Ghent,	N. Y.,	Sunday,	Nov. 24.
Canaan,	"	"	Dec. 8.

☞ MERCY B. JACKSON, M. D., having had fifteen years' experience in the Homœopathic treatment of diseases, offers her professional services to the Ladies and Children of Boston and vicinity.

References.—David Thayer, M. D.; Luther Clark, M. D.; John M. Tarbell, M. D., Boston. Eliphalet Clark, M. D., Portland, Me.

Rooms No. 20 Bulfinch street. Office hours from 2 to P. M.

JOHN S. ROCK,
ATTORNEY AND COUNSELLOR AT LAW,
No 6 Tremont Street, -- - Boston.

TERMS REDUCED,

AT the Round Hill Water-Cure in Northampton, Mass., to $7 and $10 per week. Open Summer and Winter. Dr. Halsted's success in the treatment of Woman's diseases is well known. The cure is speedy and reliable. Those brought on beds, even, are soon enabled to walk. Over four hundred cases of spinal diseases, paralysis and loss of the use of limbs have been restored; and numerous cures have been made of various stubborn difficulties which had lingered without help for years. For the success in treating more ordinary complaints, and the great favor given the Turkish Chemical and other Baths, see circular sent gratis.

Needing a little change, and desirous to confer as well as to receive benefit, Dr. H. will make a few professional visits, travelling expenses being paid, without charge.
Northampton, Oct. 30.

Woman's Rights under the Law.

THREE Lectures delivered in Boston, January, 1861, by Mrs. C. H. Dall.
I. The Oriental Estimate and the French Law.
II. The English Common Law.
III. The United States Law, and some Thoughts on Human Rights.
16mo., cloth, 63 cts.
Published by WALKER, WISE & CO., 245 Washington street, Boston.
Uniform with
Woman's Right to Labor, 63 cts.
Practical Illustrations of the same, 63 cts.
Historical Pictures Retouched, $1.00.
All of which are sent *free* by mail on receipt of the price.
Oct. 25—3tis.

Diseases of Women and Children.

WM. SYMINGTON BROWN, M. D., and
Mrs. MARGARET B. BROWN, *Accoucheuse*,
HAVE opened an office at 274 Washington Street, Boston, and will devote special attention to the treatment of the above diseases.
Office Hours, from 10, A. M., to 4, P. M.
Boston, Oct. 4, 1861. 3m

THE most able and brilliant book, called forth by the present struggle, is

THE REJECTED STONE;

Or, Insurrection vs. Resurrection in America.

By a Native of Virginia. 12mo., flexible covers—50 cts. Published, and sent free by mail, on receipt of the price, by WALKER, WISE & CO.,
Oct. 25—3tis 245 Washington street, Boston.

The Life and Letters of

CAPTAIN JOHN BROWN,

WHO was Executed at Charlestown, Vir[illegible], December 2, 1859, for an Armed Attack [illegible]erican Slavery: with Notices of some of his Co[illegible] Edited by Richard D. Webb.—This very v[illegible]eresting work, which has met with a most [illegible]ception and ready sale in England, has bee[illegible]pared by one of the most intelligent and ex[illegible]ends of America in the old world. For sa[illegible]nti-Slavery Office in Boston, 221 Washington stree[illegible] No 6. Also in N[illegible] York, at No. 5 Beekman street, and in Philadel[illegible] No. 106 North Tenth street. Price, One Dollar

Poetry.

For the Liberator.

PAST, PRESENT, AND FUTURE.

Our fathers set dark Slavery's root
In Satan's Compromise;
To-day we pluck the ripened fruit
Of blood, and theft, and lies.

Now let us dig, and never cease,
Till falls this Upas tree;
Then plant the olive-bough of Peace,
Whose fruit is Liberty.

Richfield, October, 1861. HITCHINGS.

THE TWO WATCHWORDS.

A cry from the South,—"Secession," sedition,
Scream of a Fury to startle the night,
Ruthless contention, and reckless ambition,
Hatred of rule, and destruction of right;
Tyrannous pride, and lust of oppression,
Wicked defiance of reason and law,—
This, O false Southerner, this is "Secession,"
Vilest of treasons the world ever saw!

A voice from the North,—long suffering in sadness,
The grief of an angel to darken the day;
Calmly rebuking the popular madness,
Slowly determined that hydra to slay!
Order, and peace, and social communion,
Law bad in honor, obedience to rule;
This is the Northerner's watchword of "Union,"
Noblest of lessons in loyalty's school!

Which of these twain should an Englishman favor,
Cosmos or chaos, the right or the wrong,—
Slavery's curse, O fowl of ill savor,
Or blessed Freedom, that bird of sweet song?
Which of these twain will Providence, guiding,
Lead to the haven of national might?
Joy to thee, Northerner, justly confiding!
Woe to thee Southerner, ruin'd outright!

Albury, (Eng.) MARTIN F. TUPPER.

SOUTHERN TREASON.

[Another American ballad by Mr. Tupper.]

Like Jezebel's face at her casement,
Strangely dismay'd and perplext,
The world looks forth with amazement,
Marvelling what's to come next:
The world looks round her in wonder
For beauty and strength destroy'd,
For brotherhoods broken in sunder,
And statecraft quite made void!

Alas, for America's glory!
Ichabod, vanisht outright,
And all her magnificent story
Told as a dream of the night:
Alas, for the heroes and sages,
Sadden'd in Hades to know,
That what they had built for all ages,
Melts as a palace of snow!

And woe, for the shame and the pity
That—all for no cause, to no end—
City should fight against city,
And brother with brother contend:
Alas, for this libel on freedom—
Patriots—gone to the bad,
Citizen Arabs of Edom,
Slave-drivers, liberty-mad!

How sadly, through sons so degraded,
Pigmies ill-sprung from great men,
Even your glories are faded,
Washington, Franklin, and Penn!
Popular government slander'd,
Mid the deep scorn of the world,
Liberty's star-crowded standard
Foul'd by black treason, and furl'd!

Southerners! shame on such treason!
Shame on your folly and guilt!
Woe for this war of unreason!
Woe for the brothers-blood spilt!
[illegible]
[illegible] mother to shreds;
Curse on those children of Belial,
Curse on their parricide heads!

Albury, (Eng.) MARTIN F. TUPPER.

THE QUIET SLUMBER.

Lay him gently to his rest—
Fold his pale hands on his breast;
From his brow—
Oh! how cold and marble fair—
Softly part the tangled hair;
Look upon him now!
As a weary child he lies,
With the quiet, dreamless eyes,
O'er which the lashes darkly sweep,
And on his lip the quiet smile—
The soul's adieu to earthly strife,
And on his face the deep repose
We never saw in life.
Peaceful be his rest, and deep;
Let him sleep!

No tears for him—he needs them not;
Along life's drear and toilsome road
Firmly his manly footsteps trode,
Striving to bear his weary lot,
With such a pride upon his brow,
With such a pain within his heart,
The firmness of the manly will
Veiling the secret smart.
Oh! it is well the strife is o'er,
That thus so peacefully he lies,
Unheeding now the bitter words,
The cold, unpitying eyes.
Fold his mantle o'er his breast—
Peaceful be his sleep and blest;
Let him rest!

No sigh to breathe above his bier,
No tear to stain the marble brow;
Only with tender pitying love,
Only with faith that looks above,
We gaze upon him now.
No thought of toil and suffering past—
But joy to think the task is done,
The heavy cross at last laid down,
The crown of glory won.
Oh! bear him gently to his rest—
Oh! gently heap the flowery sod,
And leave his body to the dust,
His spirit to his God.

From the Salem Gazette.

ON THE COMPLETION OF THE PACIFIC TELEGRAPH.

Swift to the western bounds of this wide land,
Swifter than light th' Electric Message flies;
The continent is in a moment spanned,
And farthest West to farthest East replies.
While War asunder drives the nearest States,
And doth to them all intercourse deny,
Science new bonds of union still creates,
And the most distant brings forever nigh!
I hail this omen for our country's cause;
For it the stars do in their courses fight!
In vain men strive against th' eternal laws
Of Peace and Liberty and social Right;
Rebel against the light, and hope to stay
The dawn on earth of Freedom's perfect day.

J. V.

OCTOBER DAYS.

Yet one smile more, departing, distant sun,
One mellow smile through the soft vapory air,
Ere, o'er the frozen earth the loud winds run,
Or snows are sifted o'er the meadows bare.
One smile on the brown hills and naked trees,
And the dark rocks whose summer wreaths are cast,
And the blue gentian flower, that, in the breeze,
Nods lonely, of the beauteous race the last.
Yet a few sunny days, in which the bee
Shall murmur by the hedge that skirts the way,
The cricket chirp upon the russet lea,
And men delight to linger in thy way:
[illegible] rich smile, and we will try to bear
[illegible] winter frost, and winds, and darkened air.

The Liberator.

AN ARTFUL DODGE.

In October of this year, a bulky octavo volume was published by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions—prepared by Rev. Dr. Rufus Anderson, its Senior Secretary—entitled, "A Memorial Volume of the first Fifty Years of the American Board." It purported to give a sketch of the Board's history and operations for that period, and great praise was bestowed upon it by the "religious" periodical press.

The *Congregationalist* slightly qualified its praise by regretting "that the relations of the missionary churches to slavery have not been stated *as freely* as those which they sustain to caste and polygamy."

In an article written for the *Congregationalist*, but refused admission to that paper, (and subsequently printed in the *Liberator* of October 14th,) I pointed out that the relations of the Board's mission churches to slavery, instead of being merely imperfectly stated, in Dr. Anderson's "Memorial Volume," were not stated at all; and that the transactions thus omitted, instead of being small or trivial, (and thus necessarily or justifiably passed over in a sketch covering half a century,) occupied forty of the Board's fifty years—had given rise to numerous and urgent remonstrances on the part of its members and patrons—had occupied much time, given rise to much exciting debate, and occasioned the presentation of many special reports in the Annual Meetings—had necessitated the sending of two expensive deputations from the Board's headquarters to the Indian Territory, to attempt an adjustment of these difficulties—and had forced the Prudential Committee into the unpleasant dilemma of either abandoning a course of policy which they had commenced in 1817, and carried on ever since, or of maintaining it at the expense of truth and justice, by a long series of disingenuous and dishonest contrivances.

The article in question proceeded to show, not only that the Prudential Committee had adopted, and persisted in, the latter of these alternatives, but that the Senior Secretary, in his "Memorial Volume," had followed the same line of policy; not only omitting material and important portions of the history which he pretended to sketch, but making gross misstatements in regard to other parts of that history.

The *Congregationalist* of the 8th inst. announces that "this oversight" [so the editor has the hardihood to call the entire suppression of one great department of the history in question] "has been rectified in the fourth edition of the work"; and page 303 is referred to as containing this rectification. On turning to the page, the whole of the pretended rectification is found to be the addition of the following passage:—

"The relation of the mission churches to slavery, where that has existed, has been the same as that sustained to caste, polygamy, and other evils and sins. The qualification required for admission to the ordinances of the gospel has been common to all the churches in the missions, and also to the churches in this country supporting them, namely, a credible profession of faith in Christ, in the judgment of those whose duty it is to act in the case. With that principle, the Board, not being an ecclesiastical body, has had no power to interfere. The churches among the Cherokees and Choctaws, acting on that principle, have admitted holders of slaves to their communion; but the statistics show that this class of church-members has been decreasing for some years."—Mem. Vol. p. 303.

This is the whole of the addition which the *Congregationalist* represents as having "rectified" the book, in regard to the forty years' complicity of the Board with slavery. This is the only addition to the *substance* of the book. But it has been thought needful to add something more to its *appearance*; and the fourth edition has been made to *seem* different from the preceding editions, just as a fashionable lady is made to seem different by the application of *rouge*, or a stolen horse by the application of paints and washes. The first edition contained the word "slavery" in four obscure places, where it was indispensably needful for the elucidation of other topics, but this word did not appear in the Index, nor in the headings of the chapters. A person cursorily examining the volume would not have discovered that it mentioned slavery at all. A person *searching* for the mention of that subject would not have been able to find it, unless accurate previous knowledge of the facts had taught him precisely where to look. Now, in the fourth edition, besides one-third of a page really added, at the end of a chapter, to the substance of the book, the word slavery has been skilfully *let in*, in two places; once in the Index, and once in the heading of that chapter to which the passage above quoted makes the tail.

Slavery is now as conspicuous in the Index as the *rouge* on a lady's cheek. Every inhabitant of Boston has seen placarded on its walls the name of "the great Magician, Wizard, and Prestidigitator, Anderson." But none of *his* feats have been more wonderful than this trick performed by his namesake, the change of a line of printing in a stereotyped book. For, where the Index to Dr. Anderson's first edition read—"Sewall, General Henry, 142"—in the fourth edition, (Presto! Change!) this line has disappeared, and we read in its place—"Slavery, 140, 303, 357, 358, 361." And in the heading of "Contents" to Chapter VI., where the first edition read—"Among the Choctaws.—In Other Tribes.—Tabular View of the Churches," the fourth edition reads—"Among the Choctaws.—Slavery.—Tabular View of the Churches."

The introduction of this word "Slavery" into the Index of Dr. Anderson's book is not only a false advertisement—a pretence, in four of the five places mentioned, of a subject being treated there which is *not* treated there, and where only the name stands for the thing, only the painted mask for the face—but it is doubly deceitful, since the one place out of the five where slavery is really spoken of (to the extent of one-third of a page) gives a false representation, and is adroitly expressed so as utterly to mislead the confiding reader.

1. The relation of the Cherokee and Choctaw mission churches to slavery has *not* been the same as that sustained to "other evils and sins" in those nations; and it has *not* been the same as the relation sustained to "polygamy and caste" by the mission churches of the "American Board" in the nations where these vicious customs prevail.

In the book entitled "Relation of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions to Slavery," evidence is given, compiled from the Annual Reports of the Board, (which are prepared by this same Dr. Anderson,) thoroughly disproving both his allegations above quoted. Taking, for instance, the vice of intemperance, it may there be seen (pp. 34–36,) that the missionaries among the Cherokees and Choctaws preached against it, printed tracts against it, adopted church rules against it, formed societies against it, and wrote to the Prudential Committee periodical accounts of those labors, and of the success or want of success attending them. It may also there be seen, (pp. 100–113,) not only that the same missionaries did *none* of those things against the equally prevalent vice of slaveholding, but that they made a *merit* of *not* having done them, and declared that they would continue to treat slaveholding as unobjectionable, and to receive slaveholders to their churches as Christians.

As to the treatment of "polygamy and caste" by missionaries of the Board stationed in Asiatic or African nations where those vices prevailed—although it is true that a degree of unfaithful and unchristian laxity has sometimes been practised upon these points which would astonish and confound the churches at home, if it were collected and placed before them—yet, on the other hand, many instances of faithful rebuke of these sins can be found, spoken by the missionaries and printed in the Board's publications, such as cannot be paralleled in a single case by the action of the Cherokee and Choctaw missionaries in regard to slavery.

Examples of the real purpose and effort of the Board's missionaries in Asia (not in America) to overthrow and destroy caste, may be found in the following places.

In the Board's Annual Report for 1839, p. 166 of the Appendix, there is an account of a meeting of delegates from the Ceylon, Madura and Madras missions. One of the questions which they discussed was—"What is the best method of *destroying caste* in the native churches?" To this question they reply—"The whole power of the gospel must be brought to bear upon it. . . . . . There must be a constant pressure upon it, and there is danger perhaps in our missions of growing weary in the contest. . . . . . They would allow no distinctions of caste at the Lord's table, or in the church."

In the Annual Report for 1846, p. 139, is an account of the suspension of a church-member by the Ahmednuggur mission, for adherence to caste, and on the next page his repentance, public confession and restoration are recorded.

Page 143 of the same Report mentions the suspension of five church-members, for the same offence, by the Madras mission. After months of persistence in their offence, "all these persons, with one or two others who had joined them, came forward and made full and humble confession, and promised for the future to conform to what was required *in renouncing caste.*"

These are specimens of a faithful performance of the duty of missionaries on this subject. The testimony of the missionaries among the Cherokees and Choctaws shows that they never did anything of this sort in opposition to slavery, and that they never used against slavery one of the various methods of active opposition which they used against intemperance. If they had done these things, no remonstrance would ever have been made, (because none would have been needed,) against the Board's complicity with slavery. Since they did *not* do these things, nor any of them, the statement of Dr. Anderson, added to the fourth edition of his "Memorial Volume," that—"the relation of the mission churches to slavery . . . has been the same as that sustained to caste, polygamy, and other evils and sins"—is a statement directly and flagrantly violating the truth.

2. In the above-quoted passage, adroitly "veneered" into the middle of Dr. Anderson's book, it is asserted that "the Board, not being an ecclesiastical body, has had no power to interfere" with the acceptance of "a credible profession of faith in Christ" as the recognized and sufficient qualification for membership in the mission churches.

This introduction of a statement which, though true in itself, is entirely without pertinence to the matter in hand, and is a dishonest evasion of the difficulty which it purports to answer, is a fair specimen of the ordinary dealing of the Prudential Committee, and of the Secretary, upon this subject. I will disentangle it.

Nobody ever pretended that the Board was "an ecclesiastical body," or should try to exercise the powers of one.

Nobody ever pretended that the Board should demand of their missionaries the requisition of any qualification for church-membership *other* than "a credible profession of faith in Christ.")

What *was* demanded of the Prudential Committee was, that they should *dismiss* from their employment missionaries who persisted in assuming the practice of open and flagrant vice to be *consistent* with "a credible profession of faith in Christ," and in admitting persons manifestly living in such vice to membership in their churches.

This is the thing which the Prudential Committee have constantly refused to do, and which the Board have constantly refused to require.

This, however, is the thing which their own confessions, recorded in their Annual Reports, plainly show to be their duty.

As long ago as 1845, they declared, by an unanimous vote, (in which Dr. Anderson is named as taking part,) that the slaveholding system is "a tremendous evil"; that its effects are "pernicious"; that "its destructive influence is seen on the morals of the master and the slave"; that "it sweeps away those barriers which every civilized community has erected to protect the purity and chastity of the family relations"; that "we also see its baneful effects on the rising generation"; and that the abolition of it is a consummation "which justice, humanity, and Christian principle demand should be hastened."

As long ago as 1848 they declared, in a document drawn up and signed by Dr. Anderson himself, that slavery "is at variance with the principles of the Christian religion." And they further declared, in the same document, that in the case of any missionary who refused compliance with his duties, their resource was "to dissolve his connection."

The missionaries to the Cherokees and Choctaws had not only previously gone on, from year to year, receiving slaveholders into their churches as Christians, and thus upholding slavery in the most efficient manner, but in that same year, 1848, they expressed their determination still to do so. It then became, therefore, even more emphatically than before, the duty of the Prudential Committee to "dissolve their connection." This they would not do. And their refusal to dismiss these openly pro-slavery missionaries (whose converts, be it remembered, are now in arms against the United States in defence of slavery,) is the very offence which has continued, from year to year, to be charged against the Board and its Prudential Committee. And yet Dr. Anderson has the effrontery to present, as an appropriate and sufficient reply to this charge, the statement that the Board is "not an ecclesiastical body," and *therefore* "has had no power to interfere."

What is to be said, therefore, to *this* portion of Dr. Anderson's apologetical paragraph is, first, that it is not at all an answer to the charge; and, next, that its conclusion—palpably a *non sequitur*, not following from the premises—is manifestly placed there with intend to mislead its readers.

3. The next paragraph, telling only half the truth, is also manifestly placed there with deceptive intent. It says that "*the churches* among the Cherokees and Choctaws" have admitted slaveholders. But the charge is against the slaveholding *missionaries*, and the Prudential Committee who employ them, and the Board who sustain them. And all these admitted, as long ago as the Annual Report of 1848, that "some of the *earliest* converts, in both nations, were the proprietors of slaves." The *missionaries*, then, *began* the course of recognizing slaveholding as perfectly consistent with a Christian life; and it is they, not the Indian churches which they educated in that pernicious error, who are to be held responsible for it.

4. Dr. Anderson's apology closes with saying—"the statistics show that this class of church-members has been decreasing for some years."

To this, two things are to be said. First, no such statistics are before the public. The Prudential Committee have given none in their Annual Reports, except such as have been cork-screwed out of them by the importunity of the remonstrants; and these are not sufficient to explain the relation of the successive years to each other. Next, part of the decrease claimed is discreditable to the churches and the missionaries, being a voluntary departure of the worst of the slaveholding church-members, who were dissatisfied that the missionaries merely tolerated slavery, instead of eulogizing and extending it. These men, (who ought to have been excommunicated, instead of being dismissed with letters of recommendation,) went away because they wished to join *more pro slavery* bodies, which they found among the Methodists and Baptists. We find this departure (and the shameful permission for them so to depart) admitted by Mr. Secretary Wood, in 1855. He mentions that the missionaries are denounced by many as "abolitionists," (which is well known as the readiest vituperative expression in the slaveholding region,) and adds, that—"Some of their slaveholding church-members have left their churches for another connection on this account."

The alterations in the fourth edition of Dr. Anderson's book do not avail to excuse, or to palliate, the conduct of the Prudential Committee. Since, however, they show a new attempt to mislead the public, they show additional guilt on the part of the author.

Let it be remembered—let it never be forgotten until the Prudential Committee and their Senior Secretary retract their shameful declarations—that the *present attitude* of these two in regard to slavery, in the end of the year 1861, is the following: the Prudential Committee testify that the slaveholding Cherokees are "a Christian people"; the Secretary, in his "Memorial Volume," echoes this assertion, and adds to it the representation that the slaveholding Choctaws also are a Christian people; while the fact is, that these two nations of Indians are not only as desperately bent upon the maintenance of slavery as the people of South Carolina, but that they have joined that people in making war upon the United States to secure the extension, perpetuity and supremacy of slavery.—C. K. W.

WHO ARE THE INFIDELS? No. II.

By the late Rev. J. P. Fessenden, of S. Bridgton, Me.

Mr. Garrison is an infidel, in respect both to the benevolence and philanthropy of the men who founded and have all along patronized the American Colonization Society. He does not believe, as do the friends and patrons of this Society, that God has planted such an invincible aversion to colored people in the breasts of white people, that it is impossible for the former ever to live in the same country, in the possession and enjoyment of equal rights and privileges with the latter. He does not believe that the colonization of emancipated slaves in Liberia will facilitate the civilization or evangelization of the heathen in Africa, or essentially better the condition of the colonists who are sent there. But he does believe that this Society is an iniquitous scheme, which has a direct tendency to foster and perpetuate the sin of caste, and was got up by selfish slaveholders at the South, and pro-slavery men at the North, for the purpose of removing the free colored people from the country, that slaves may be held by their oppressors in greater safety and security.

He is decidedly infidel in respect to the blasphemous dogmas, generally held by orthodox ministers and churches at the South, and extensively embraced by professedly religious persons at the North, that God authorizes American Slavery, and the Bible sanctions that system of utter abominations, by which, in half the States of this nation, nearly four millions of human beings, men, women and children, for no fault of theirs, are, by the strong arm of the Government, imbruted, doomed to the most degrading ignorance, and subjected to countless wrongs, indignities, sufferings and sorrows, at the contemplation of which the heart of humanity is pained and the eye of benevolence weeps.

He is infidel to the generally assumed fact, that slaveholding ministers and churches, and those ministers and churches in what are called the Free States, who uphold or abet slavery as it exists in this country, either by their direct teachings, or by their influence in any way, or even by their silence in regard to it, are ministers and churches of Christ. He believes that they are not Christ-like, and, therefore, cannot be his ministers and churches. He does not believe that it is right or proper for professing Christians in the free States to recognize, as ministers and churches of Christ, and hold fraternal intercourse with them as such, ministers and churches of the South who hold slaves, and defend the iniquitous system of chattel slavery as a divine and benevolent institution. He believes that, in such recognition and fraternal intercourse, these Christians give the whole weight of their influence in the support of slavery, and practically declare to the world that, in their estimation, imbruting human beings is not inconsistent with true piety, and a good standing in the ministry and church.

He is an unbeliever in the false and ridiculous sentiments which are everywhere current in the land, both among professors and non-professors, that the slaves are generally contented and happy in their present condition—are in a better situation in bondage than they would be in the enjoyment of liberty, and in a better situation than are the free colored people of the country, and the free laborers of the North.

He has no faith in the equity or Christianity of the Fugitive Slave Bill, the opinions of eloquent statesmen, and learned doctors of divinity, and pastors of churches, who have written and published speeches and sermons in vindication of it, to the contrary notwithstanding. But he believes it to be a cruel, barbarous and infamous enactment, which is disgraceful to the nation, at variance with the Gospel, with humanity, and all the great principles of liberty and human rights; and which ought to be spurned and trodden under foot by every free man in the nation.

He is a believer in the doctrine of immediate emancipation, that every slave in the country is entitled to his freedom on the soil where he was born, without any delay, and that no slaveholder can withhold the blessings of liberty from any wretched victim of oppression in his possession, for a single hour, without being guilty of the grossest injustice and wrong.

He believes that any concessions to slavery, any compromises with slaveholders, made, either in the Constitution or the administration of the Government of the country, are sinful, "a covenant with death and an agreement with hell," and ought to be annulled. And his motto, therefore, is, "*No union with slaveholders, politically or ecclesiastically.*"

He believes in the Bible as an anti-slavery book, and all along, throughout the whole course of his anti-slavery career, for a quarter of a century, has openly and strenuously maintained, that it is a calumny to say it gives any countenance or support to the vile and hateful system of American slavery. In all his speeches and writings which have had any reference to the subject, he has avowed his belief that the teachings of the Prophets, of the Lord Jesus Christ and his Apostles, are to be relied on as the grand instrumentality, above all others, for the overthrow of slavery, intemperance and war, and all other sins in our country and the world. He is a firm believer in our Savior as a Teacher sent from God, and maintains that his spirit must be imbibed and his example followed by every person who can lay any just claims to being his disciple.

He believes that it is sinful for individuals and nations to rob the poor and oppress the afflicted, and has never been known to swerve for a moment from the faithful discharge of his duty in opening his mouth in behalf of the suffering and the dumb. In the midst of bitter obloquy and unrelenting persecution, when assailed by mobs, and obliged to take refuge in a jail as the only shelter in which he could be protected from the violence of infuriated men, and a large price offered by State Legislatures for his head, he has never forborne to do all in his power for the deliverance of the helpless victims of oppression in the country who are daily drawn unto death, and are ready to be slain. And it is doing him but simple justice to say, that a man of purer character, greater integrity, kindness, benevolence and self-denial, for the promotion of every good cause, is not to be found among us.

Now, let me offer it as my humble opinion, that it would be more befitting, in religious journalists, to purge the leaven of infidelity out of the evangelical ministry and churches of the country, before they undertake to condemn Mr. Garrison for any heresies of which they may suppose him to be guilty. If *he* is an atheist who denies the existence of God, he is a much worse atheist who makes the God he professedly believes in a monster of iniquity, by giving license to men to commit with impunity crimes of the greatest enormity. If *he* is an infidel who denies the divine authority of the Bible, he is a worse infidel who believes it to be God's word, and that it gives its sanction to the "sum of all villanies." If they are infidels who write treatises against the inspiration of the Scriptures, they are worse infidels who write books in vindication of American slavery, and endeavor to make their readers believe that it is a benevolent institution, authorized by God and the Scriptures. What term, then, ought we to apply to those Theological Professors, Presidents of Colleges, and Doctors of Divinity, in our very midst, who have written and published books which teach that slavery is in accordance with both natural and revealed religion? What name ought we to apply to ministers who have endorsed these books, and thanked God for them, and who have written and published sermons in justification of the Fugitive Slave Bill? In my judgment, such writings do a far greater injury to the cause of Christ and the progress of true Christianity, than all the open infidel works that have ever been published. And I think it would be well for evangelical ministers and Christians at the North to inquire, whether they are not justly liable to the charge of making infidels in fearful numbers, by extending the right hand of Christian fellowship to slaveholders, and the abettors and supporters of this dreadful system. They are, surely, guilty of practically endorsing as Christian, the foulest iniquity that the sun ever looked upon. It is a fact which ought to make them hang their heads in shame, that, with the Bible in their hands, and professing to believe it to be the word of God, they have suffered American slavery, from a feeble beginning, to grow with the growth and strengthen with the strength of the nation, till it has become a sin of giant magnitude and power, overshadowing the whole country, threatening its speedy ruin, and bidding defiance to all efforts made for its overthrow. It ought to cover them with confusion of face, that they have suffered it, unmolested, to build its strongest fortress in what they call the church of Christ, and to cover in this fortress its defenders with the oracles of God, as an impenetrable shield for their immunity and protection against the assaults of all opposers. At their door, more than anywhere else, must lie the guilt of fostering and protecting the crimson iniquity. They have been, from the beginning, and are still, its chief bulwark. Had they done their duty, we should have been saved from the mortification of seeing the lips of such bodies as the American Board, the Tract Society, and the Sunday School Union, hermetically sealed against uttering the gentlest word in its condemnation. Had they done their duty years ago, slavery would have ceased to exist, and would now be remembered only as a frightful sin that had been. And I trust the few ministers and Christians in New England, who have been in profound slumber, and even now are only partially roused in regard to it, will not forget that the dead sleep in which they were so long holden was broken by *the shrill note of the anti-slavery clarion of the very man whom they stigmatize as an infidel!* Whatever they may say of him, let them not be guilty of the meanness of withholding from him the credit, which is certainly his due, of succeeding, after a long and persistent trial, in disturbing a little the insensibility which they have manifested in regard to the enormous sin of American slavery.

DARBY VASSALL.

The decease of this well-known and worthy colored citizen occurred in Boston, Oct. 12th, 1861. The day of his burial (15th) completed just 92 years and 5 months since his birth.

Mr. Vassall was born in Old Cambridge, in the celebrated Vassall house, known as Washington's headquarters, (now the residence of Prof. Longfellow.) It was formerly occupied by Col. John Vassall, (a royalist,) when, in 1775, it was confiscated, and subsequently called the Cragie estate.

After his marriage, Mr. Vassall settled in Boston, where he became known to many of the wealthy families, including Peter C. Brooks, James Sullivan, William Stevenson, and others—by whom, to the day of his death, he was universally respected for his general intelligence and excellent character.

He was the oldest member of Brattle Street Church, having received the ministrations of the following stated occupants of that pulpit, viz. Peter Thatcher, J. S. Buckminster, Edward Everett, John G. Palfrey, and Samuel K. Lothrop the present incumbent, whose remarks at the funeral bore deserved tribute to the virtues of the deceased.

He was among those colored citizens of Boston who, in 1796, instituted the "African Society." Its objects were benevolent, and the preamble to its Constitution expressed its loyalty by the following emphatic clause:—"Behaving ourselves, at the same time, as true and faithful citizens of the Commonwealth in which we live, and that we take no one into the Society who shall commit any injustice or outrage against the laws of their country."

In alphabetical arrangement, the name of Darby Vassall stands last on the list of members, and he lived to be the last survivor.

In April, 1843, he was presented with a paper by Miss Catharine Graves Russell, which contained this provision:—

* * * "I have promised Darby Vassall that he and his family shall be placed in my grandfather's tomb under the church in Cambridge, built by Henry Vassall, and owned by me, his granddaughter." * * *

It happened that the centennial anniversary of Christ Church was being commemorated on the very day of the funeral. The tomb had not been opened since the death of Miss Russell, some sixteen years ago; and to those who were not cognizant of the provision for Mr. Vassall's interment therein, the event seemed strange indeed. The idea of this tomb being his last resting-place was often the subject of his meditation, and he was eloquent in grateful expressions towards her whom he had always regarded as a considerate, rare, and valued friend.

That he inherited loyalty will be seen by the following facts, noted by a correspondent of the Boston *Transcript*:—

"At a gathering of historical writers at Professor Longfellow's, on the 17th of June, 1858, the late Chief Justice Shaw stated an incident with which he was officially conversant, of Anthony, (Mr. Vassall's father,) and Catherine, (his mother,) viz:

"When the commissioners were selling the estate, Tony, who had long lived in an old house on the estate, stepped forth and said—'*He* was no tory, but a friend at liberty, and, having lived there all his life, he didn't know any reason why he should be deprived of his dwelling.'

On petitioning the General Court, a resolve was passed, granting Tony a stipend of twelve pounds annually. About 1810, after his death, Cuba, his wife, went to the State Treasurer to get her stipend, but it was found that the resolve did not include her. Judge Shaw, then a member of the House, presented her petition for its continuance, which found favor, and she had the annual sum through her natural life."

Mr. Vassall was favored with a wonderful memory, and it was deemed a privilege with many persons, from different walks in life, to avail themselves of his conversational reminiscences of Boston and vicinity, in the olden time.

He had an intelligent appreciation of the Anti-Slavery movement, and loved to speak with and of Wm. Lloyd Garrison and Wendell Phillips. Those who attended the first Attucks commemoration in Faneuil Hall, March 5th, 1858, will remember his presence, and the reference made to him by Rev. Theodore Parker.

He was probably the oldest colored man in Massachusetts, and in his death has been severed the last link which associated many of his race with the wealthy and dominant class in Boston, and which (at least in his case) was kept bright by continued sympathy, friendship and recognition of his Christian manhood.

Boston, Oct. 13, 1861. W. C. N.

EQUAL RIGHTS.

BOSTON, Nov. 12, 1861.

DEAR FRIEND GARRISON: The accompanying petition, forwarded from New Bedford by our active friend Wm. P. Powell, gives earnest of what his fellow-citizens are preparing for the approaching legislative season.

Boston and other localities in the Commonwealth will, it is safe to infer, renew their application, trusting that the people of Massachusetts are now ready to grant them this long-solicited right. W. C. N.

PETITION.

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, in General Court assembled:

The undersigned, citizens of New Bedford and of the State of Massachusetts, respectfully submit—That the alpha and omega of civil government is the protection of man; that every independent State of this Union has a perfect right, between itself and all other States, to adopt such a form of government as its people shall choose, but in no case to violate, in its organic law or legislative enactments, the rights of native citizens, to say nothing of foreign subjects, as guaranteed to them by the United States Constitution; that in framing laws for the common weal, it is the obvious duty of legislators to enact such laws as will best secure the *liberty, virtue* and *happiness* of their constituents; that the divine right of every individual, whether native or foreign, should be so guarded that he cannot be oppressed, or deprived of those rights, either by a party or a government; that man has a God-given right to himself and all other blessings of this life, to all intents and purposes, in common with his fellows, without regard to the cuticle which covers his body, or the texture of the hair which adorns his head, unless forfeited by misconduct; that complexional and political, to say nothing of religious tests, are beyond the purview of legislative authority, and any attempt to enforce them is downright usurpation. Under these circumstances, and in view of the broad fact that the Federal Constitution nowhere specifies the *complexional* standard of its citizens, justice, sound policy, and the growing intelligence of the age, alike demand the repeal of all laws which make any invidious distinction.

Therefore we earnestly but respectfully request your honorable bodies to strike the word *WHITE* from off the statute laws of this Commonwealth.

And your petitioners will ever pray.

From a letter recently received from a devoted anti-slavery friend in Albany, N. Y., I select the following encouraging facts. W. C. N.

"Let us hope on and hope ever. There is one side of the cause which must give us encouragement; that is, in the change as to prejudice against color. The very boy that was turned out of our public schools, some years since, has been sent to the boys' academy from one of the public schools, as being the best scholar in the school, of whom each school has the privilege of sending one to be taught gratis; and a colored girl is attending at the academy—one of the most aristocratic schools in the city."

THE NO-PARTY CRY. What is really meant by the homilies to which the public have been treated of late by certain Democratic leaders, is plainly seen in what follows, from the Boston *Post* of the 1st inst.:—

"We would again impress upon the minds of Democrats the importance of *casting a full vote for their State ticket.* * * *

"By giving our State ticket as large a vote as possible, we shall prove the Democracy to be of sufficient strength *to command consideration in public movements hereafter*, and thereby enable it to wield a beneficial influence in *future political movements in Massachusetts.* Do not neglect this duty, Democrats—*a very important duty at this time*, namely: *to give your State ticket as many votes as your best exertions can bring to the polls. More will depend upon such a course hereafter than is now apparent*, and we hope the *full significance of the action of the party* in this respect will be properly appreciated by its members all over the commonwealth."

☞ The Lawrence *Sentinel*, in alluding to the State election, says—"The Democratic State ticket receives an unexpectedly strong support. It will probably reach the vote given to Douglas for President, and may exceed it. The speech of Charles Sumner, the course adopted by some of the Republican leaders, and certain acts of the State Administration, have given thousands of votes to the Democratic ticket. If we cared very greatly about party now, we should find cause for congratulation in the result of Tuesday's election. Proportionately, the Democratic vote is the largest cast for fifteen years, at least."

☞ The Boston *Journal* and *Traveller* say that there will be a radical element in the coming Legislature. Well, we suppose that Fort Warren is not yet full. Why should not the same policy be pursued in Massachusetts that was in Maryland? Latitude has nothing to do with it.—*Boston Post.*

WOOLEN MITTENS. An officer from West Point, who commands one of the finest regiments in the service, suggests that woolen mittens for the soldiers will be greatly needed when the cold weather begins. Will not all who can employ themselves in this way, help to furnish five hundred thousand pairs? They should be knit with one finger, to allow a free use of the first finger and thumb. It is said there were more soldiers disabled in the Crimean war from frost-bitten fingers than from any other one cause. [All newspapers please copy this.]

☞ The Richmond *Examiner* publishes John Tyler's plea for votes as a candidate for the Confederate Congress, and devotes itself to a eulogy of that gentleman's life-long fidelity to the South, declaring that to him belongs the credit of breaking up the Peace Conference of last winter: "Had he yielded to the many arts employed to seduce him from his duty, and courted Northern favor for the hope of Northern rewards, the result would have been an almost unanimous report by the Peace Congress in favor of an unworthy and deceitful compromise—some juggle which would have paralyzed the movement for independence in the border States."

☞ The Providence *Journal* says—"Some men, who are a little superstitious about names, are sorry that it should be our fate to land a force at Bull Bay. Since the disasters at Bull Run, they have an aversion to any place with a taurine appellation. The New York *Herald* says that near Bull Bay is Hell Hole Swamp. A cheerful neighborhood."

☞ The far seeing men of the South are looking forward to the holidays with much anxiety; for that is the time on which the great negro insurrections have always occurred. Should this season be passed in peace, they are confident that the negroes can be kept down through the war.

☞ Now that Gen. Fremont and his Presidential prospects are supposed to be crushed, would it not be policy for the ambitious members of Mr. Lincoln's Cabinet, with the assistance of Thurlow Weed and Adjutant Gen. Thomas, to begin considering the propriety of lauding Major General George B. McClellan guilty of incompetency, extravagance, &c. &c.?—*Hamilton Democratic Republican.*

☞ The Southern rebels have become dissatisfied with their flag of stars and bars. They propose to have a new one. Among the substitutes, is one with a blue field and a spread white eagle in the centre.

$40 PARKER $40

Sewing Machines,

PRICE FORTY DOLLARS.

THIS is a new style, first class, double thread, Family Machine, made and licensed under the patents of Howe, Wheeler & Wilson, and Grover & Baker, and its construction is the best combination of the various patents owned and used by these parties, and the patents of the Parker Sewing Company. They were awarded a *Silver Medal* at the last Fair of the Mechanics' Charitable Association, and are the best finished and most substantially made Family Machines now in the market.

☞ *Sales Room*, 188 Washington street.

GEO. E. LEONARD, *Agent.*

Agents wanted everywhere.

All kinds of Sewing Machine work done at short notice.

Boston, Jan. 18, 1861. 3m.

IMPORTANT TESTIMONY.

Report of the Judges of the last Fair of the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association.

"FOUR PARKER'S SEWING MACHINES. This Machine is so constructed that it embraces the combinations of the various patents owned and used by Elias Howe, Jr., Wheeler & Wilson, and Grover & Baker, for which these parties pay tribute. These, together with Parker's improvements, make it a beautiful Machine. They are sold from $40 to $120 each. They are very perfect in their mechanism, being adjusted before leaving the manufactory, in such a manner that they cannot get deranged. The feed, which is a very essential point in a good Machine, is simple, positive and complete. The apparatus for gauging the length of stitch is very simple and effective. The tension, as well as other parts, is well arranged. There is another feature which strikes your committee favorably, viz: there is no wheel below the table between the standards, to come in contact with the dress of the operator, and therefore no danger from oil or dirt. This machine makes the double lock-stitch, but is so arranged that it lays the ridge upon the back quite flat and smooth, doing away, in a great measure, with the objection sometimes urged on that account."

J. B. SWASEY,
BOSTON.

LAW OFFICE, 114 STATE STREET, ROOM 11.

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The following gentlemen constitute the Financial Committee, but are not responsible for any debts of the paper, viz.—FRANCIS JACKSON, EDMUND QUINCY, EDMUND JACKSON, and WENDELL PHILLIPS.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.

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Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind.

Refuge of Oppression.

THE ABOLITIONISTS TRAITORS TO THE CONSTITUTION.

The great speech of Daniel Webster is reply to Mr. Calhoun, that the Constitution was not a compact, may be applied in every answer it contains to the principle of the Abolitionists, that the same Constitution was a league with hell. The whole knowledge, the perversion of the plain facts of history, and the desperate, wicked treason in the utilization of the South, were not more legitimate marks for the tomahawk of the Indian, than of patriotic declamation, than the deliberate and fanatic assaults on the Constitution by the aspersersspirits of the North. Between secession and Abolitionism, the Constitution of the country has been torn in twain. The former has gone the bloody length of using all its means to disrupt that agreement. The latter took the knife to the treasure, it has been the most violent in it; and at the very instant, when the country is distracted by civil war, it stops not, but takes advantage of the difficulty to dislodge its pedestal from doctrine to dislocate the national bond which it shamefully designates a bargain with hell. What wonder that rebellion has taken root? In weighing the guilt of this compound treason, the larger share of it does not fall on the Southern politicians. Guilt is there infinitely, but our fanatic friends at home are the more criminal particular. Case of Cushing—Attorney General—Attempted secret treason than the afflicted baronage of Charles Stuart; and I do not compare the malcontent leaders of the North with the remaining secession literature of the South, the latter will be convinced that it was illegal of the two. Nay, more: in most of its phases, the second is the consequence of the first. A point of fact. Whether may as well have crushed the con-stitutionalists, as he did Hayne and Calhoun. There was a double treason around him to be attacked; and history will not decide that the Northern head was not the least innocent. And as the Abolitionists commenced, they are proceeding. On the Constitution they yet are at it; were as they scandalously call it, "*a league with hell.*" They ready hatch the dissatisfaction and the treason the furtherance of their emancipation principles. The Raid of the Brothers to ratify the extravagant proclamation of Fremont has utterly confounded them. Their leading writers are confounded at the unauthorized interference; and the proceedings of the Administration to suppress the treason, they denounce as misprovoking. Their course is, emancipation at all hazards to the integrity of the country, and in their use of arms in the both hemispheres and seasons. This is overt treason. For proof of what we have say, see most attentive to the recent issue of the *Tribune*, and to every issue of the *N. Y. Independent*. We are not attentive to the treasonable severity of the press: but, treason of the most infamous kind against the Constitution and against the Union, that

log, just as he fell, grasping his musket in both hands.

A wounded man, with *both legs* nearly shot off, was found in the woods singing the 'Star-Spangled Banner.' But for this circumstance, the surgeons say they would not have discovered him."

THE "CRUSHING OUT" THEORY.

There is a set of addle-pated fools in the North, says the Fond Du Lac *Commonwealth*, Secessionists at heart, or if not that exactly, sighing for the restoration of the rule of the slave-drivers over them, who know of no way to show their craven spiritedness, but to abuse the abolitionists. Some of them will join, so they say, in subduing the rebellion of the slaveholders, provided abolitionism is suppressed by the same high and strong hand. The idiots imagine that abolitionism is a thing which a man can root out of his heart and exterminate from his convictions, believe in, or recant, for a consideration, and still be as much of a man as the Almighty calls for in each of their individual cases! As well ask a man to gaze on the tumbling waters of the Niagara, and believe they are going back to Lake Erie all the while, instead of going on down to the ocean! A man who has a moral character, is capable of having moral convictions; a statement that may be difficult for a fossilized pro-slavery servile to understand; still, it is true. Having a moral character and capable of having moral convictions, if it so happens that the system of slavery is brought to his notice, from the inherent properties of the accursed system he cannot fail to have sharp and well-defined convictions of its infamous character. The more he knows in regard to it, the deeper will be his convictions. There is no way to exterminate his convictions, and no way to make him recant with his lips what his heart and his understanding affirm, but to make shipwreck of his moral character.

This being the case, the idea of exterminating abolitionism by any "crushing out" process, is as crazy as would be the attempt to blot out a belief in the Multiplication Table.

And yet, by such inane gabble, do men hope to win votes in a nation that has 500,000 men on the tented field to keep our Government from being subverted by a Slave Oligarchy! That venal scoundrels—place-hunters—should break the silence by the utterance of such nonsense at a time when place was at the disposal of slaveites, was not to be wondered at; that men should have no more self-respect than to continue their prattle in the ears of their old coadjutors who must cordially despise them, is proof conclusive that a moral cancer has eaten out their hearts, and has now taken vigorous hold of the brain.

Hon. George B Upton of Boston was nominated for Congress a few weeks ago, in opposition to Samuel Hooper, both being residents of what is known as Burlingame's District. After his nomination he made a speech, in which he elaborated at length the idea that Secession and Abolitionism must both be crushed, before we could have peace. The New York *Tribune* concludes an article devoted to the gentleman's case in the following words, and as it contains capital instruction to all who imagine honest and earnest men can slough off their convictions as easily as they can pull off their coats, we insert it and invite its perusal:—

"The human mind shrinks back aghast, and resolutely refuses to believe in folly like this. For our own part, we thought, but thought, it seems, fondly, that it had gone out of date. It is such a ludicrous confounding of cause and effect; it is such a jack-daw repetition of one thin and threadbare formula, which never had much meaning, and has no meaning now; it shows such blindness to fact, such deafness to warning, and such besotted incapacity to reason, that, as we read it, we ask ourselves in wonder, how it is that this man of facts and figures, who, in the purchase of a ship, or the terms of a charter-party, could not be swindled by the cunningest competitor, to the extent of one quarter of one per cent., cannot talk of public affairs without lamentably exposing his own incompetency and talking like a simpleton? It is not to be carried, of course, to the discredit of trade, because able merchants, like Mr. Hooper, the other Boston candidate, often have clear public views, and write statesmanlike letters. What can have possessed Mr. Upton, and left him to believe, that, if we will only go back to the point at which we commenced the war, we shall be sure of eternal peace? Of what stuff does he think the human mind is composed? How can he, otherwise, we believe, a sensible man, [illegible] he calls 'Abolitionism' and not getting rid of slavery? As if 'Abolitionism' were an accident of an accident; as if it were something which some ill-intentioned fellows had stimulated for their profit or amusement, and which we have only to resolve to be rid of, to be rid of immediately! Will Mr. Upton, in the event of his election, bring in a bill for the repeal of tide-tables, and the reconstruction of the solar system? He thinks, in his folly, that he can regulate the human mind, put checks and balances upon its complicated operations, make it believe this, make it disbelieve that; he thinks that he can reverse the laws of public economy, that he can legislate outrageously and yet profitably, and that he can buy a peace of the Father of Lies! He is dreadfully mistaken. He does not know what he says, when he so flippantly couples Secession and Abolitionism. While Slavery lasts in this world, there will always be Abolitionists. No reconstruction of the Union, much as we pray for it and desire it, would be worth having at the cost of the hopeless and interminable enslavement of the African race in America."

SPEECH OF GEN. LANE.

Gen. JIM LANE made a speech at Springfield, Mo., on the 31st of October, which is characteristic of the man, and very pointed on slavery. We give a synopsis of it:—

"I shall not conceal the fact that in one respect I differ from some of my compeers in command, as to the mode of warfare which is best calculated to bring this wretched contest to a speedy, honorable and durable close. The point of the difference refers, of course to slavery—the cause of all differences—the Pandora's box from which have issued all our national troubles. My creed is, *Let slavery take care of itself.* If it can survive the shock of war, let it live, but if between an upper and nether mill stone it be ground to powder, and the winds drive it away, it is not for me to gather up the dust again. I do not propose to make war upon slavery, but upon rebels, and in the meantime to let slaves and slavery take care of themselves. An oligarchy more cruel and proscriptive than ever scourged and cursed a nation, ancient or modern, has brought on this war *for* slavery; and if we are required to protect, or in any way to help slavery, then we are required to co-operate with the enemy to help him, to defend him, and work for the same end.

Can we place ourselves thus in alliance with our deadly and barbarous foes, and at the same time conquer them, subdue them, crush them? When less contradictions are reconciled, we shall think of harmonizing this. War at best is a terrible calamity to a nation. In all the country through which we have passed, mails are stopped, schools are suspended, churches are turned into hospitals for the sick and wounded, and general demoralization prevails. Protract the war one year, and desolation, moral and material, alone would mark the track of armies. Justice, humanity and mercy require that the conflict should be terminated as soon as possible, with the least practicable shedding of blood. Astonishing as it may seem to you, gentlemen from Indiana, it is a fact we have repeatedly demonstrated, that a heavier blow is dealt to the realm of Secessia in the abduction or freedom of a slave, than in the killing of a soldier in arms. Yes, and I may put the truth in a still stronger light; abduct from the same family a slave, and kill a son in arms, and the loss of the slave will be regarded as the greater misfortune—the calamity for which there is no healing balm. I could bring up more than a thousand witnesses, whose observation and experience qualify them to speak of the truthful candor of my remarks.

If, then, by allowing a slave to fall into the wake of the army and find the priceless boon of freedom, we avoid bloodshed, save property from destruction, and strike death-dealing blows upon the head and front of this rebellion, does not every good and just consideration require that this policy be adopted! This war is for slavery; let us make it the mighty engine for slavery's destruction, and the rebels will soon cry "enough." They will see that like Saturn in the fable, they are eating their own children, and will consent to cut short the repast. Every guaranty that is given to slavery by the Government strengthens the rebels in their course. The Kansas Brigade has met the enemy in battle, and routed him in every conflict. We have destroyed Osceola—a sort of half town and half military post—but all these things combined have not brought the rebels so quickly to their knees as the escaping of a few hundred slaves by following the back track of the army.

Gentlemen, my logic teaches that we cannot defend and make war upon the same foe at the same time; and if it is the purpose of the Government to crush the rebels and prevent their slaves from stampeding, *two* armies should be sent into the field. The advance force might be called the treason-crushing army, and should be furnished with offensive weapons. The other should be called the slavery-restoring army, and should move about ten miles in the rear. It should be clad in defensive armor of triple steel; for such is the meanness of spirit which is bred in the hearts of men by slave-breeding, slave-trading and slave-holding, that the masters would creep into every place of ambush and fire upon those who were gathering up and returning their fugitive human property. It would be illegitimate for the slavery-restoring army to return the fire, as they might harm some of the pets and darlings for whom they were so generously acting. Therefore, give them the defensive armor, but no offensive weapons. Such an arrangement, novel as it might seem, must be had, if slavery is to be preserved in the rear of an army which moves with a force sufficient to crush this huge rebellion.

In my opinion, the second army should be as numerous as the first. Preserving slavery will cost the Government ten times as much as crushing the rebellion. ("That's so.") The policy inaugurated by the Kansas Brigade, which I have the honor to command, was not adopted in a moment, but is the result of much experience. In a speech, recently made in the city of Leavenworth, my feelings of indignation became wrought up to such a pitch that I was betrayed into the use of language which was justly condemned by the religious sentiment of the country, and which, in cooler moments, meets my earnest disapproval. But, whether excited or calm, whether my language is rough or smooth, principle and duty require that our policy be rigidly adhered to until condemned by the Government, and if it should be condemned, if the Government demand of the Brigade obedience to the behests of slavery, I shall consider the question of withdrawing from the field.

Since the rebels have failed to nationalize slavery, their battle-cry is: "Down with the Union!" Let slavery lift its crest in the air. And here I solemnly vow that, if Jim Lane is compelled to add a note to such an infernal chorus, he breaks his sword and quits the field. Let us be bold; inscribe "Freedom to All" upon our banners, and appear just what we are—the opponents of slavery. It is certain, as if written in the book of fate, that this point must be reached before the war is over. Take this stand, and enthusiasm will be inspired in the ranks. In steadiness of purpose and courage, each soldier will be a Spartan hero. The spirit of the Crusader will be united with the iron will of the Roman, and an army of such soldiers is invincible. (Cheers.) These things to you, Indianians, may appear strange; but when your military education has received that peculiar cast which experience is sure to give it, and which now pertains to the Kansas soldier, then will we march shoulder to shoulder, and victoriously, too, against the enslavers and brutalizers of men; against the traitors to the best government in the world.

Soldiers, we have a commander in whose skill, courage and kindness of heart we may always confide. General Hunter has a Kansas education; he suffered with us because of slavery, and he will, I know, endorse the policy I have advocated to-night.

It should be the business of Congress, at its coming session, to pass a law directing the President of the United States, by proclamation, to order the rebel States, within thirty or sixty days, to lay down their arms and return to their allegiance; or in default thereof declare every slave free throughout their domains. So far as I am concerned, I hope the Almighty will so direct the hearts of the rebels that, like Pharaoh, they will persist in their crime; and then we will invade them and strike the shackles from every limb.

As such a proclamation might have the effect to liberate the slaves of many loyal citizens, I would cheerfully give my consent to have them paid out of the National treasury any loss they might sustain. Let us dare to do right, trusting to the principle that might makes right; and the Great Republic, once the wonder of the world, will emerge from these troubles purer, wealthier and stronger than ever. These are among the reasons why "Freedom to All" is the watchword of the Kansas Brigade. Would to God I could publish it throughout the army and to the whole nation! Let the wind waft it over the prairies of the West, let the thunder of cannon speak it to the ears of traitor tyrants, let the mountains of Pennsylvania, Virginia and New-England echo it to heaven, and the great God of angels and men, as its Patron and Friend, will give it success.

PLAIN TALK FROM A KENTUCKY PAPER.

The Frankfort *Commonwealth*, one of the oldest and most respectable journals of Kentucky, gives an unqualified approval to Colonel Cochrane's recent emancipation speech. It remarks:—

"The policy indicated by Mr. Cochrane is exactly right, and in accordance with the usage of civilized warfare. We hope to see it adopted by the Government. It should have been at first. Had it been, *many lives of loyal citizens would have been saved,* that were lost through the anomalous conduct of the Government toward traitors in arms. Since the commencement of this most unnatural war, *it has been safer to be a rebel than to be loyal to the government.* The extreme punishment of treason has thus far been an 'oath of allegiance,' which a rebel will take with as much *sang froid* as he would a gin cocktail.

"Why should not the slaves of traitors in arms be confiscated to the use of the government? The *Democrat* will not deny that slaves are property, as clearly so as are mules. Is it right and proper to confiscate a mule, and put it to hauling transportation? If it is, why is it not equally right and proper to confiscate a slave for a driver of that mule? Both are property, and both are employed by the rebels in their attempt to destroy this government. We believe in 'fighting the devil with fire.' The rebels employ armed negroes, armed savages; they resort to all sorts of base means, even to piracy on the high seas. They poison wells, and when they can—as at Guyandotte—they resort to assassination. It is all stuff to talk about fighting such an enemy on 'high points.' The government has been trying the experiment some eight months, with indifferent success. If we meet a rattlesnake in our path, we mash his head if we can. Let this barbarous rebellion be crushed out. We care not how, so it be done quickly."

The *Commonwealth* further says:—

"The rebels have two full regiments of negroes in Louisiana. They have three or four regiments of Indians in the field, armed with tomahawks and scalping knives, in addition to the ordinary weapon of warfare. They have a battalion of Nashville State prison convicts in the field, (the Bull Pups,) commanded by a beast that served ten years in our penitentiary, (Red Bill).

"What do these professed Union men, who are so shocked about the contingency hinted at by John Cochrane, say to these facts? They approve them, of course. The Confederates can do nothing wrong. If they violate the Constitution, the rules of decency, and the laws of civilized warfare, it is all right, because they have no Constitution, no decency, and no civilization. But the Government must adhere strictly to the Constitution, and throw its protecting arm around the traitors who are trying to destroy it.

"Out upon such hypocritical cant, say we. A straight-out, open and avowed rebel is infinitely above such Union men."

☞ A writer in the Boston *Transcript* comments bitterly on the conduct of General Stone. "He is known to be in high favor with the Maryland Secessionists. These fellows express the greatest confidence in General Stone; and why shouldn't they? He orders the troops under his command to obey and observe the laws of Maryland, which forbid the harboring of fugitive slaves, &c.; protects known traitors who have been arrested by subordinate officers for making signals to the enemy, and when brought before him, they have been discharged, with a reprimand to the officers making such arrests; sends back all negroes found in the camps to whoever claims them; and to crown his recommendations to their favor, has needlessly, foolishly, criminally, ordered our Massachusetts troops to unavailing slaughter."

☞ It is said that Mason is not so bad a man as Slidell, though he is as bad as he knows how to be. Had he half as much sense as pride and pomposity, he would have been twice the traitor he is.

The Liberator.

No Union with Slaveholders!

BOSTON, FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 29, 1861.

MUNICIPAL ELECTION.

The Annual Municipal Election will take place in this city on Monday, Dec. 9th. The present Mayor, Joseph M. Wightman, is a candidate for reëlection, and is supported, of course, by the *Post* and *Herald*, and whatever else is pro-slavery in spirit and purpose, and demoralized and vulgar in character. The *Journal*, too, with its characteristic moral paltering and political vacillation, joins the ranks of his adherents, declaring, "We were not among his original supporters, and if he was now a candidate for the first time, we should probably take a different view of the question: but we don't like to see an honest and faithful official made the victim of the secret intrigues and cabals of disappointed politicians." The *Journal* always has a "but," and justly makes itself a "butt" of ridicule for its double-and-twisted course on every important public question. To what "secret intrigues and cabals" the *Journal* refers, we are ignorant; but as it makes a fling at the Republican City Committee for "nominating a man who last year positively declined to be their candidate," (Hon. E. S. Tobey,) its "disappointed politicians" must mean the leaders of the Republican party in Boston. Yet the *Journal* professes to be Republican in sympathy and position; but it does more harm to the cause of Republicanism by its contemptible course than though it were avowedly hostile to it. Those who recollect (and who can ever forget?) the mobocratic scenes of December and January, can appreciate the fitness of the epithets "honest and faithful" when applied to the man who, if not an active instigator, was at least a brazen and open accomplice in the pro-slavery riots of that disgraceful period. His broken oath of office—not to speak of minor perjuries at the City Hall and in the Tremont Temple—was a distinguished proof of Mayor Wightman's honesty, and the violated peace of the city, for which he was alone responsible, a signal instance of his fidelity. The *Journal* has the hardihood to quote with approbation from the *Saturday Evening Gazette*,—a paper, by-the-bye, which openly urged on the rioters at that time, and, like the *Journal* itself, had no fault to find but with the Abolitionists,—an article which parades the question, "impossible for any man to answer satisfactorily,"—"WHAT HAS MR. WIGHTMAN DONE THAT HE SHOULD NOT BE RE-ELECTED?" It might have been pertinent to inquire, and difficult to answer, what he had done that he should ever have been elected; but to propose the former question is sheer effrontery. If to imperil the lives of unoffending citizens, to endanger property everywhere within the municipal limits, and to corrupt the morals of the whole city, by giving loose rein to such a devilish mob as beset the Tremont Temple and Music Hall, when free speech was struck down in Boston, is nothing,—we may well despair of finding satisfactory reasons why the Chief Rioter and the Chief Corrupter of Morals should not be ejected from office, instead of being sent to the penitentiary.

Every lover of order, every friend of freedom of speech, every one regardful of the city's honor, we trust will record his vote in opposition to the election of Joseph M. Wightman.

THE FRATERNITY LECTURES.

The sixth lecture of this course was given by Rev. William R. Alger, Nov. 19th, on "Judas Iscariot and his Family." The lecturer gave a minute description of the mental and moral characteristics which go to make up a traitor, and made pointed application to some notorious modern members of that family. The concluding remark, worth more than some whole lectures, was that we may reasonably expect Congress, very early in its approaching session, to make provision for the emancipation of the slaves; a prediction which was received with enthusiastic applause.

The Fraternity lectures always fill the seats of the spacious Tremont Temple. The attractiveness of the most popular orators is shown by their filling, in addition, all the standing places, and producing an active competition for the foremost seats. On the evening of the 26th, when Henry Ward Beecher was to lecture, a great crowd besieged the Temple long before the opening of the outer doors, and the house was ultimately filled to its utmost capacity.

Mr. Beecher is noted for his ability and disposition to preach funny sermons. His discourse on this occasion was of this character, and, treating the gravest of subjects with unscrupulous levity, it greatly amused those of the audience who were not shocked by its perversions of truth, justice, reason and Scripture. It was entitled "Camp and Country," and contained an elaborate eulogy on war, as a promoter of civilization and improvement. The hearers of these lectures being among the most vigorous supporters of the present war, it was easy to amuse them by first giving a caricature of Non-resistance, and then proceeding in detail to argue that the absurdity which he had manufactured *was* an absurdity. It was easy, too, (for one sufficiently unscrupulous,) to make fun of those Pennsylvania Quakers who—with hearts sorely divided between their dislike of war and their dislike of slavery, and forced by the sad circumstances of the country into the dilemma of finding their customary protest against the former turned to the upbuilding of the latter—have now shouldered the musket and entered the army. The comments of the speaker upon those earnest and honest men resembled the jeers of drunkards against a teetotaler who, having been ordered to take brandy by his physician, had found himself intoxicated by it.

Mr. Beecher admitted a certain amount of demoralizing influence in camp life, but thought that this influence did not differ very greatly in amount from that experienced at home, and in ordinary life, and that the balance of good might be more than recovered by a due admixture of chaplains, tracts and prayer-meetings with the several divisions of the army. As evidence upon this point, he quoted the opinion of one of his 240 soldier-parishioners, who, in a letter to himself, had stated that the means of grace were rather more abundant, and rather more satisfactory, in the camp than at home.

Of Mr. Beecher's accuracy in stating facts, and of his fairness in quoting Scripture, the following specimens must suffice, for the present:—he represented the Non-Resistants as refusing to use, and objecting to the use of, physical force, and he quoted the saying of Jesus—"I came not to bring peace, but a sword"—as valid warrant for wars between nations.—C. K. W.

☞ THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY for December, 1861, completing the eighth volume, is published. The following is the table of contents:—

The Home of Lafayette; A Field Night in the House of Commons; A Legend of the Lake; Agnes of Sorrento; A New Counterblast; The Wolves; A Story of To day; Health in the Hospital; A Story of Thanksgiving-Time; Song in a Dream; England and Emancipation; Union and Liberty; How to Rough it; Self-Possession vs. Prepossession; Review and Literary Notices.

The publishers give notice, that "the January number will commence the ninth volume, and its very large and still increasing circulation is a gratifying evidence of public approval, and no industry will be spared to render the forthcoming volume adequate to the requirements of times so pregnant with great events as those of to-day. The ATLANTIC MONTHLY will never give other than the best literature, and it will be the constant aim of its conductors to render its variety greater and its attractions better each month than the last."

Ticknor & Fields, publishers, 135 Washington street, Boston. Terms—$3 per annum, or 25 cts. a number. Specimen numbers furnished gratis.

LECTURE BY WENDELL PHILLIPS, ESQ.

Mr. Phillips delivered an address at the Music Hall on Wednesday evening last, under the auspices of the Mercantile Library Association, on "The War." The spacious Hall was crowded, and on the platform were seated very many distinguished gentlemen, among them, several clergymen, of different denominations. Mr. Phillips, as he entered the Hall, received a hearty welcome; and when he took his place upon the platform to commence his address, he was hailed with repeated outbursts of enthusiastic cheering.

He began by stating, that, after the addresses by Mr. Sumner and Mr. Everett, on the cause and character of the war, their conclusion might safely be adopted, that slavery was the cause of the war. Some men attributed it to disappointed ambition, but he did not think the cause equal to the result. Doubtless, political disappointment was made the occasion of the outbreak, as the tax on tea was made the occasion of the Revolution, though far from being its cause; but the cause of the war was *slavery*.

It might be supposed that he came there as an Abolitionist, to talk of the war. Not at all. As a mere Abolitionist, his interest in the war had gone by, for the system of slavery on this continent had received its death wound. (Loud cheers.) The rest of its life would be the process of dying. If the North conquered, or there was a compromise, either the old Constitution would be restored or a new one adopted. He believed the Constitution of '89 dead; that the people of the North, after their enormous sacrifices of blood and treasure in the prosecution of the war, would never consent to put back slavery where it was on the 4th of March, 1860; and if we had a new Constitution, its novelty would consist in the omission of the slave clauses, and that would be the death of slavery in the end. If the South baulked us of victory, (she could never conquer,) it would be by writing Emancipation on her banner, and so winning the support of the friends of liberty on the other side of the water. In either case, the slave went free. (Applause.)

This was the most glorious year of the Republic since '76. (Loud cheers.) Until now, the North had been cringing in craven subserviency to the South; to-day, she flung off the chain. It was a sad day when an impertinent Virginian, standing on Bunker Hill, insulted Massachusetts, and then dragged her citizens to Washington to tell him what they knew of John Brown; but it was a sunny day when Massachusetts held that same impertinent Senator, an acknowledged felon, in her prison fort. (Prolonged and vehement applause.) He loved peace,—not that peace which has craven submission for its mother, and contempt for its father,—but a peace born of Justice, and which recognizes the rights of every race and every man. (Loud applause.)

Some men claimed that they would look at this question only as white men. He descended to no such narrowness. He would look at it, not as a white man or a negro looks at it, but as an American citizen, (cheers,) who knows neither black nor white, neither Saxon nor Indian, but stretches an equal sceptre over all. (Renewed cheering.)

Mr. Phillips then referred to the character of the war, describing it as a terrific one; to the enormous debt which it would cause, to the suspension of the *habeas corpus*, and to the dangers that would arise from the existence of such vast armies. He did this, he said, not to find fault with the Government, but to show what the war cost us, and that we ought not to sacrifice so much for nought. He did not believe with some men, that the people of the South had been misled by their leaders, and that the presence of a Federal army in their midst would enable them to find out that they have souls of their own, and every thing go back to the happy condition and good old times of Franklin Pierce and James Buchanan. (Great merriment.) He believed we had divided, because we were two nations, and that, in order to come together, we must make ourselves *one nation.* (Loud applause.) His doctrine was—abolish slavery to save the Union! (Loud and prolonged cheering.)

Some might think this strange language from his lips. Nor at all. He did hate the Union when it made white men hypocrites and black men slaves; when it poisoned the conscience of statesmen, filled the pulpits with lies, and the streets with mobs. Much as he realized the value of the Union, he preferred disunion to being an accomplice with tyrants. But to-day, when he saw that the Union must mean justice in order to last, when he saw that, with a current as swift and irresistible as Niagara, twenty millions of people are resolving that it shall mean "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity," why should he be a disunionist? He was a disunionist to take nineteen States out of thirty-four, and consecrate them to justice; and twenty million people answer back—"We adopt your motto, but we include the thirty-four instead of the nineteen." (Loud cheers.) Why should he refuse? Was it supposed that he was not born with the common sense of a Yankee, to know the value of the Union, if it could be had *at a fair price?* (Laughter and cheers.)

Any other policy was unsafe. It was said that the Administration meant to reconstruct the Union on the old basis, but he did not believe it. But however that might be, they could not resist the logic of events. As well might a blade of Swiss grass stop the sweep of the avalanche. War and Niagara thunder to a music of their own, and no politician sets the tune. (Cheers.) If he thought reconstruction possible, he should deem it the greatest possible mistake; and if he thought our leaders intended it, he should think this war the most wanton and reckless waste of life and treasure that the world ever saw. The leaders who led us to such a goal, would be damned to an infamy compared with which Arnold was a saint and Buchanan a public benefactor. (Great cheering.)

Mr. Phillips said he believed reconstruction impossible, because the negro was to go free, either by the act of the North or the desperation of the South; for the South, the moment she saw victory turning decisively to the side of the North, would write Freedom on her banner, and summon Europe to her aid. The events at Beaufort had shown that the blacks were on our side, not on the side of the South. He would have Congress, by solemn act, proclaim emancipation throughout the Union, and offer compensation to every loyal subject for any loss he might sustain. (Long-continued applause.) This policy he regarded not only as just, but expedient, since a market would thus be secured to the manufacturers of the North which would otherwise be thrown open to Lancashire. Not that he despaired of the ultimate result, but it was possible we might lose this generation. As Napoleon said, "Every moment lost was an opportunity for misfortune." When December opened, he would have the people demand of the government that it say to the world—"We know well the evil which has troubled our peace for three generations, sending ruin along our wharves every ten years, and thwarting the natural tendency of our institutions. Democracy knew its strength—knew it could trust great evils to die out, or reveal themselves in such hideous proportions that the people should decree their death. It was in such sublime consciousness of strength that our fathers tolerated the acknowledged evil of slavery, until the reptile that we thought we could tread upon starts up at the touch of disappointment, a fiend. Democracy welcomes the battle! Confident of the strength to execute her judgment, she deliberately records the verdict—DEATH!" (Prolonged applause.)

At Mr. Phillips's request, we refrain from giving a full report of this excellent and most timely address. A brief sketch like the above can do justice neither to his argument nor to the pertinency and beauty of the illustrations by which it was enforced. We are glad to know that the address is to be repeated in several cities and towns of this State, and elsewhere.

☞ Hon. CHARLES SUMNER re-delivered his able speech on "The Rebellion" at Tremont Temple, on Monday evening, to an overflowing audience. We hope to be able to give it in full next week.

A NEW BOOK.

RECORD OF AN OBSCURE MAN. "Aux plus déshérités le plus d'amour." Boston: Ticknor and Fields. 1861. 216 pp.

This book, which was heralded in our last issue, we have read in the interval with rare interest. From the anonymous way in which it is presented to the public, the reader cannot settle with himself, after its perusal, whether he rises from a novel or from a true story. Be it one or the other, it has all the charm of fiction with all the assurance of truth. It assumes to relate what befell the author, while travelling in the South in 1842. At the close of a rainy day, he obtains shelter for himself and horse at the farm of one who proves to be a native of Massachusetts. Transplanted to Southern soil, in order to reinforce the failing health of the father, a clergyman, the family had become reduced to Edward Colvil and his mother—the former a young man inheriting his father's taste for books, the latter an invalid from a spinal complaint. A free woman, Tabitha, completes the household, which exhibits all the thrift and tidiness of New England.

A fever, resulting from his exposure, confines the author to that hospitable home for weeks. In that time, he is enabled to admire the wonderful character of the mother, who by her mental force had sustained the spirit of the house, and not suffered the refinement and civilization of the East to sink into the slovenly barbarism of the South; he discovers the precious library which has saved the backwoods farmer from assimilating with his cattle and his clods; he forms a life-friendship with Edward Colvil. They converse often on various topics, but chiefly upon the nature, capacities, and sometimes the history, of the African race. Whenever this subject is started, Edward speaks warmly in support of the black man. He adduces copious extracts from the works of eminent travellers in Africa, to establish his favorable opinions in this regard, and by felicitous comparisons of extracts from poets, historians, and travellers in civilized lands, convicts the majority of readers of prejudice and distortion in their consideration of the Africans. He constantly insists on their being regarded like other human beings, and deprecates the mind which revolts at some barbarous custom of the negro of to-day, while it placidly accepts, if it does not enjoy, the identical barbarism among the classic peoples of the Mediterranean. The writer reluctantly confesses his conversion at every step. Edward's mother has revealed the fact that he is an author, and, at the solicitation of his new friend, Colvil produces the manuscript of a "Tragedy of Errors." It is meant only for reading, not for the stage. For five acts we have instead Morning, Noon, Afternoon, Evening, Night. The theme is derived from American Slavery. Thus the sable thread runs through the book.

Our author returns at length to his own home, bent on rescuing from obscurity this farmer genius, and from time to time receives portions of the tragedy from his Southern friend, who also exchanges journals with him, and writes much more in testimony of African virtue. At last, before half his plans are consummated or his dreams realized, Edward Colvil falls a prey to consumption, and his mother's death follows close on his. Our author loses his own father, from being rich becomes of a sudden bankrupt, starts anew in business, and is in the end again prosperous only to be lonely, for wife and children have passed from earth. The wish to make his friend Colvil's life of some profit to the world has induced him to publish this memorial volume. To carry out the fiction, or to confirm the truth of the facts narrated, we notice that the publishers have in press the "Tragedy of Errors."

To this little sketch we may add, in a few words, what we have to say of the book. It is written in a pleasing style, not devoid of ornament, yet simple withal, and bears one on quietly but surely to the end. Such a studied tribute to the negro, in this way, we have never had the fortune to see. There is not a word of contempt, as there is not a word of adulation, for the race in the whole book. The African is contemplated as a man apart from his accidents, and heavy must be the load of prejudice against color that is not lightened by the spirit and the truthfulness with which his claims are urged. This is no sensation book. There is not in it a reference to the present hour; there is no formal discussion of the right and wrong of slavery. The endeavor is made, forgetting place and time, to do justice to those who have been insulted, maltreated, and misrepresented, since they first fell into the clutches of civilized beings. If the attempt has been unsuccessful, the fault lies neither with Edward Colvil, with the author of the Record, nor with the publishers. We wish the book the success which it deserves.

ELOQUENT TRIBUTE.

The discourse delivered before the Twenty-Eighth Congregational Society, at Music Hall, on Sunday last, by Rev. WILLIAM R. ALGER, was a very clear, discriminating and admirable vindication of Reform and Reformers. At the close of it, Mr. Alger paid the following tribute to the memory of FRANCIS JACKSON:—

With this sentence I should have closed my discourse. But since you last met here, a member of your Society has been buried, who was so admirable a representative of what a Christian Reformer should be, and who was furthermore so honored and beloved by you, that I feel it would be a breach of decorum to let this meeting dissolve without at least some passing mention of him. After the touching and lofty tributes paid at his funeral by those whose intimate friendship, kindred spirit and allied services made them the fit eulogizers of his worth, I, a comparative stranger, shrink from the obtrusion of laying any formal offering on his grave. Yet one or two words I may say without impropriety, leaving the more tender and domestic aspects of his life unapproached in their sacredness.

It was a luxury to us, it was a rare service to the community, to have before the public sight for half a century a man who, in every sterling virtue, in weight and height of character, towered above the degenerate times like an adamantine Cato. He was so grounded in principles that you always knew where to find him; of such massive equipoise that you might always lean on him without the shadow of a misgiving. Most men are social vanes, showing which way the popular wind blows: he was rather a secluded magnet, steadily pointing to the eternal heights of heaven. Many even of our public teachers, veering to the dominant moods of the day, are like electrometers that dance about with every disturbance of atmospheric equilibrium. he was steadfastly rooted in certain primary convictions, the fundamental truths of morality, and remained, through every shock of argument or odium, immovable as a granite mountain socketed to the centre. Such a character forms a remarkable landmark, to be looked up to with honor and gratitude.

It was a beautiful trait in him that he grew in grace and goodness to the last, becoming ever freer, broader, more charitable. His whole life was a criticism on himself, seeing where he fell short to-day that he might remedy the defect to-morrow. A Christian reformer indeed, who began with himself, and thence worked abroad on the world. Thus, instead of keeping stationary or falling off, he improved. And surely, friends, this is the true success and victory of man over time and decay. For old age is a tragedy when it contracts and sours us, makes us crabbed, peevish, misanthropic: but old age is a blessing and a glory when it expands and sweetens our sympathies, deepens and elevates our wisdom, renders us genial and content, ripening and mellowing us for the skies. Then like him, we may bid the years fly as fast as they will, since they shall leave us greater and better than they found us, and we have no fear of the future.

Now I will intrude no further words of my own, but conclude with a citation which may give you some conception of what your late Pastor would say, were he standing here to-day to speak of his prized and faithful parishioner. The second edition of the Speeches and Addresses of the first and last minister of this Society contains a dedication, written by him in Europe, while the sentence of death which he bore within him was hastening to its fulfilment. That dedication is in these words:—

"To FRANCIS JACKSON, the foe 'gainst every form of wrong; the friend of justice, whose wide humanity contends for woman's natural and unalienable right; against his nation's cruelty protects the slave; in the criminal beholds a brother to be reformed; goes to man fallen among thieves, whom priests and Levites sacramentally pass by, and seeks to soothe and heal and bless them that are ready to perish; with admiration for his unsurpassed integrity, his courage which nothing scares, and his true religion that would bring peace on earth, and good will to man, these volumes are thankfully dedicated by his minister and friend, THEODORE PARKER."

Let these graphic and characteristic words, which were an honest testimony to him when he was yet alive, stand as his just eulogy now that he is dead. The wintry sea rolls between their parted graves in Florence and New England. No ocean, either of space or time, sunders their friendly spirits already met in heaven and eternity.

WASHINGTON IN NOVEMBER.

REV. JAMES FREEMAN CLARKE, having returned on Saturday evening from a visit to Washington, announced as the subject of his discourse Sunday morning, before the society of the Church of the Disciples, at the Indiana Place Chapel, "Washington in November." The attendance was large. The services were commenced by the singing of the very appropriate hymn, commencing

> "When Israel, of the Lord beloved,
> Out from the land of bondage came,"

which was followed by the reading of select passages from the Scriptures, and, as being especially appropriate, words found in the 1st chapter of Isaiah.

Mr. Clarke, in explanation of his choice of a theme, then said,—In making my recent visit to Washington, I decided to go there, in order that I might learn something that would be useful to my friends. I propose no elaborately-studied discourse, but simply to give you my impressions.

When previously I visited Washington, in 1851, I found it, said he, a city to weep over. The statesmen there were tired of finding themselves eclipsed by some small man who occupied the Chair. Truth for the sake of Truth was unknown—none were ashamed of its perversion. True, men of ideas were there, men of honesty of purpose, but they were totally neglected unless happening to be in power.

I maintain that that state of society must be the most immoral in which every hypocrisy is laid aside—the homage which vice ever pays to virtue. Such, said he, was Washington as I found it in 1851—a miserable place—the Slave Power ruled everything. The Free Soilers then formed but a little cluster, while to the White House crowded the splendid throngs to whom the word Free Soil was a mockery. Henry Clay held the opinion that the Free Soilers must go down—*would* go down, and never again rise.

Ten years—and what a change! the little Free Soil cluster of that time has become the great Republican party of to-day. Jeff. Davis, Stephens, Toombs, and those then so domineering, so triumphant, have gone of their own accord into complete exile. The words uttered by John Quincy Adams in those halls have suddenly become so many bayonets in the hands of as many soldiers occupying the very places. Beneath the Capitol 40,000 loaves of bread are baked each day for the soldiers; the government is manufacturing bread in those places where, before, when a man asked for bread, he got a stone.

Now Washington is entirely changed—now it is thoroughly beleaguered and defended, and the sword has taken the place of the toga. But it is the nation itself that has taken up arms—to defend the Constitution, the independence and the laws of the land. The army is the most interesting thing about Washington. I talked, said he, with hundreds of the soldiers; I never tired of talking with them, and never saw men so earnest, unpretending and straightforward. He referred to his visit to the hospitals, where he found them all cheerful, all hopeful, and all patient; described individual cases of suffering, alluding to the fact that there were many resulting from carelessness. Yet the majority were found sitting up, employed in writing letters to wives, mothers or sisters, each one animated by a desire to get back to camp and be doing duty.

Last Sunday, said he, I preached to the soldiers at Camp Aldernay, and told them how much our women felt for them—felt that they could not do too much for them. I was glad to speak to them on Virginia soil. At the review of 10,000 men on the other side of the Potomac, on Monday last, I was present when news was brought that a Brooklyn regiment was liable to be surrounded by the rebels; the review was broken up and the regiments at once set in motion; the soldiers, seeing the signs of battle so ardently longed for, exclaimed, "Now we are going to have some fun!" And on the road I was enabled to converse with them as they walked by the side of the carriage, then on their outward march to the expected engagement. The stars and the moon shone in their fullest lustre, and the air was filled with the voices of the men as they sung the John Brown Army hymn, or others so familiar in our own New England. The scene was the most picturesque and wonderful I ever beheld.

At the sanitary department, when I visited it, 300 or 400 boxes had just been received direct from Massachusetts, the contents of which he very amusingly enumerated. Perhaps, said he, you would like to know something of what I learnt of those who are at the head of the Republic. I do not know that you can learn more of them there than here. Some I conversed with complained that they showed a want of energy—were weak. But the immense quantity of work to be done could not show any immediate results. His impressions of President Lincoln were that he was a thoroughly honest and candid man—too modest, perhaps, to decide on matters unless it became his duty to do so—but on the whole, said he, I do not know how we could have found a better man for the place. Gen. McClellan, he describes as a man of small but robust stature, of fine perceptions, and capable of putting his whole intellect into his work—but he had not inventive genius—not the power of making a brilliant stroke like those of a Hannibal or a Napoleon, but sure not to make mistakes—the best man for the times.

On the whole, said he, my impressions of 1861 are better than they were ten years ago, though then all was peace and now all is war. Washington seems to me much purer to-day, in the midst of war, than it did then in apparent onward peace and prosperity. We have an immense and difficult task to perform. War is a terrible evil. How strange it is that we should be devoting the energies of the nation to contrive to tear in pieces the men whom we would always have met as brothers; and then, after we have torn them in pieces, exhaust every means to restore them. War is bad; but is it not better than to see the heart of the nation corrupted? Is it not a glorious thing to see men sacrificing all on the altar of their country?

A prize was offered for an Army Hymn—no one received the reward, because they could not meet the requirements; but has not the John Brown Army Hymn met and supplied the need? "His soul is marching on": and what is the soul of John Brown but an earnest hatred of slavery? The work has been taken out of the hands of the Abolitionists, and is now wholly in the hands of God.

THE COMING REPORT OF SECRETARY CAMERON. It is understood to have been publicly stated by Secretary Cameron himself that, in his annual report from the War Department, he shall take strong ground in recommending to Congress the emancipation of all slaves belonging to rebels in arms against the Government.

SLAVERY AND THE PRESENT CRISIS IN AMERICA.

A public meeting was held in the Town Hall, in High Wycombe, (England,) Thursday evening, the 10th ult., when addresses were delivered on the above subject by the following gentlemen:—G. Thompson, Esq., late M. P. for the Tower Hamlets; Harper Twelvetrees, Esq., Chairman of the John Anderson Committee; a deputation from the National Anti-Slavery League; Rev. T. M. Kinnaird, a colored clergyman, formerly a slave, of Hamilton, Canada West; and the Rev. J. Sella Martin, a distinguished colored orator, of Boston, U. S.

The Rev. J. Hayden was in the chair.

Long before the time appointed for commencement, every available square foot of ground was tenanted, and many had to content themselves with remaining in the council room. The heat was so intense and oppressive, that several ladies had to be removed.

The Chairman said,—Believing, as he did, that the religion of his Divine and beloved Master was ever opposed to slavery, he readily complied with the request of the gentleman who waited on him to take the chair that night, although he was quite sure that a chairman might have been found better qualified than himself. He would give place to no one in his intense and indignant abhorrence of slavery. It was opposed to the principles of reason and to the principles of religion. Tempting as the subject was, he held himself liable to blame if he took up much of their time on that occasion. Slavery, he rejoiced to say, was an abomination to England; and he hoped the time would never come when the men of this country would cease wholly to detest it. England was never so great, so free, and so noble, as when she held the Bible in her hand and cried aloud, "Let the oppressed go free!" He would finish his speech with a malediction on slavery—"Cursed be slavery from this time forth, and forevermore, and let all the people say Amen." (Cheers.)

George Thompson, Esq., said the fearful and emphatic malediction with which the Chairman had closed his speech was not uttered there for the first time. That was the malediction which had been rung round the world by millions of voices ever since the world itself was cursed, in consequence of men's sins. Slavery was accursed in the beginning, and in the end. When the children of Israel were oppressed by Pharaoh, God raised up Moses and sent him into the presence of Pharaoh with the message the Chairman has just repeated, "Let my people go free." When he doubled the burdens of the people, and would not let them go, God visited that land, then the centre of arts and science, exalted above all other powers, with a series of stupendous plagues, even to the destruction of the first-born, and in the midst of blood, Pharaoh let them go. After the passage over the Red Sea, seeking a way through Idumea, they were not allowed to pass. That same God, who brought Israel out of Egypt, smote the king of Edom; and the desert of Idumea, on which once stood palaces, is a standing monument of God's execration of slavery. If God spared not the land of Idumea, let the rulers of the present day see whether they are strong enough to fight against Him who delivered His people from Egypt. Slavery has ever been a curse. It has cursed every nation that has cherished it. Where is Idumea, where is Rome, where is Greece, where is Carthage, and where is now the once *United* States of America? It is only seventy years since the first President got into the presidential chair, and now where is the United States? For the last six months an unnatural and fratricidal war has raged there. The Southern ministers of the Church have entered the army, and send challenges to the Northern ministers, saying, "Come out and fight us, and we will do unto you as Samuel did to Agag." What is the cause of this war? There is but one cause, and that is slavery; but this is only the last curse. Slavery has been accursing America from the beginning. It was an evil day for the United States when a Dutch vessel entered the James River, and deposited on its shores the first cargo of slaves. The Americans sometimes threw on them the blame of having introduced slavery into their country. He (Mr. T.) had always hurled back in their teeth that the same men who gave them slavery gave them laws, and gave them taxes. They established their independence in 1776, and had ample time to choose between what they liked and what they did not like. They did not like the taxes on tea; and they hurled large quantities of tea into Boston harbor. They did not like tax collectors, and they hanged them. They did not like red coats, and they shot them. And, if they had not liked slavery, they would have sent it with the tea. If they followed us in our footsteps as slaveholders, why did they not follow us in our repentance? A Bible society in America has vaunted that she has distributed a copy of the Scriptures to every man in America, but she has yet to print the first Bible or Testament for the service, enlightenment, and salvation of a slave there. They have printed numbers of tracts against the foibles, vices, and crimes of every class of men and women, but they have yet to print the first tract that acknowledges that there is a slave in the United States. They have their Sunday School Union; they have printed hymns and tracts peculiarly adapted to the juvenile readers, but they have yet to publish a hymn or a tract that will tell a Sunday school child in America that there is a single slave in the United States. The children are thus left ignorant of the fact that there are four millions of slaves in their land. Mr. Thompson then, at length, explained the Fugitive Slave Law. This law has been sufficient to blot out all the stars from the banner of the United States. If they are to be of their proper hue, they should be of the color of blood, to keep company with their stripes. He trusted the time might come when that flag might become the symbol of liberty, and the slave might be cherished by its principles of freedom. Slavery is a curse in the sight of God, and ought to be universally and unconditionally abolished. There was a time when slavery seemed as deeply rooted in the West Indies as it did in the United States six months ago. When he first went to America, a very small room would hold all the abolitionists of the country; but now, search the country from Cape Cod to the Alleghany Mountains, or even to the borders of the Pacific, and there is scarcely a house in which there is not an abolitionist. They and he (Mr. T.) cared not to gather the fruit whilst they lived, but that posterity should gather from their graves the harvest that they had endeavored to produce. They wanted to give to the negro, what every white man possessed, personal liberty. There is the laborer working for his bread, he is free, though he may shelter himself in a hovel, on the site of which his son might build the palace of a millionaire. If the mother is allied to the negro race, although the father might belong to one of the best families in the United States, the offspring would still be a slave. They wished them to be free—free to buffet in the billows of care. He cared not what they were, he wished them to be free. Mr. Thompson resumed his seat amidst vehement cheering.

Rev. T. M. Kinnaird felt that he had very little to say. He had been ill for five hours; but his friends told him they could never see any change in him, sick or well. (Cheers and laughter.) The fewer words he said the better, as they had on the platform a young man who would tell them something that would interest the whole of them. Whilst listening to the eloquent address of his beloved and tried friend, Mr. George Thompson, tears were drawn from his eyes. Slavery is a mill through which many have passed and been ground pretty closely. They could speak more from experience than from theory. Experience was best, if they did not pay too much for it. The underground railway was a scheme for the salvation of the slave; it did not only purpose to go to a planter's house, and say to the slaves, "Follow me," but would pay their way, find them something to eat whilst on the journey, and land them safely in Canada under the protection of the British flag. The league intended not only to deliver the slave out of bondage, and to give him something to eat, but to clothe his wife and children until they could find work. It had been said that negroes would not work. Now, there were 45,000 where he was; and, if they did not work, he did not know how they lived. They wanted to prove that a libel had been passed on them by slaveholders; they wanted to sustain the anti-slavery movement by sustaining the underground railway. He (Mr. K.) had sometimes harsh and bitter feelings; and it would take a long time to work out all his ill-feelings against slavery. He thought it would be after the resurrection. (Laughter.) He then gave an anecdote of a Quaker, who, being called upon to stand and deliver, turned the tables upon his opponent, wrestled with him, threw him down, and was very busily employed in throttling him, when a passer-by said, "Friend, let the man get up"; but the Quaker replied, "Friend, if thou hadst known how long it took me to get him down, thou wouldst not say let him get up." (Laughter.) It was so with slavery—that had held him in its bonds for nearly forty years; and now he was landed on British soil, he did not want it to breathe another breath. He had no patience with slavery, and still less with slaveholders. He thought slavery had no right to be found on the earth, and slaveholders on this side of where they ought to go. (Cheers and laughter.) He thanked them for the kindly-expressed feeling of the town. They would die with the knowledge that God has raised up out of their ashes more noble men to work out the deeds commenced by them. He begged again to congratulate his friends in this city—it would be a city some day—for their warm feeling. (Cheers.) All they wanted was a little help from them; they only asked for the crumbs that fell from the table; they did not want the loaf. He would now give place to better men. (Cheers.)

Harper Twelvetrees, Esq., said,—If he entertained any feeling, it was against that atrocious villany of slavery, which he would oppose in whatever form it might be found. He would not disguise the fact that he was entirely opposed to any attempts on the part of masters to withdraw the rights and privileges of those in their employ. He was equally opposed to the men who endeavored to impose aggressive restrictions on their employers. Whilst the one class was dependent on the other, it was not seemly that strikes and riots should be the order of the day. He was particularly opposed to American slavery—that gigantic crime that trampled out manhood. With what rapid strides has public opinion changed on the subject of slavery, especially in America! Not long ago, four millions of slaves were allowed to groan in their chains; and slavery was then a thing which could not be cured, and must therefore be endured. He then made some remarks on the leading features of the war. There was no doubt that emancipation must be the result of the Northern victories. The North only claimed the right to prohibit any more slave territories. The Southern slaveholders seceded, and seized the property of the Northerners; and, if secession was to be allowed, any State could terminate its allegiance at pleasure; for, if Carolina seceded this year, Massachusetts can secede next year. Nor would it be possible to restrict secession to States, counties would also claim the right of seceding. Secession and revolutions were only justifiable when the governing power had proved itself unable to rule the people—Greece and Italy were cases in point. No government could permit secession to take place without abdicating its power. The North was determined to defend its national rights. No one could foretell the termination of the war, but one thing was certain—the result must be fatal to slavery. If the Northern government succeeded, was it prepared for the military occupation of the whole of the States? Such a state of things as this could not last, and in time they would be too glad to relax their hold on the citizens. Without the stigma of slavery, the Union would soon attain a power and greatness far exceeding that of her former greatness. The South, left to itself, would eat into itself like a canker, and at last be ruined by the overwhelming influence of slavery. (Loud cheering.)

The Rev. J. Sella Martin said he read in the Divine record of a man who left the cultivated soil of Jerusalem, and went to the city of Damascus to preach against God; but, before he reached the city, God so changed his heart that he preached in favor of Him. He was several times threatened with death, and once had to be let down from a wall in a basket. He (Mr. M.) bad before him almost the parallel of that event. A man left the Jerusalem of Britain, and went to America an Abolitionist, and he, like the Apostle Paul, had, on one occasion, to be let over a wall in a basket. But that only evoked his zeal in behalf of emancipation. He could read the epistles of George Thompson as readily as those of the Apostle Paul. He could find almost a parallel to that Moses who left the court of Pharaoh to be identified with the sufferings of his brethren, and to strike a blow against Egypt's despot. George Thompson left his long and glorious political career, and identified himself with the despised slave, and now stood amongst the number of those who had done their duty to God and man, and had not been beaten down by public opinion. Whilst the public held out their hand to welcome the black, George Thompson was left without the honor of bringing such things to pass. Mr. Thompson said that the war in America, using a perfect string of expletives, was an unnatural one. If he meant it was unnatural as evoking the most wicked designs of the heart to crush every feeling of manliness, and to violate every feeling of morality, it was unnatural. But, if they thought it was unnatural because he could not see how it came about, he would tell them that slavery for forty years had been carrying them towards it. The fact was, there had been a chronic state, where every man had been the despot to push away matrimonial alliance, or to go to the cradle, and take out the offspring of that alliance, and offer it for sale on the block. They have been compelled to work sixteen hours a day in the midst of the rice swamp. This carried off hundreds. The people of all the nations of the world have regarded the negroes of so much insignificance that they might be blotted out and not be missed. If they analysed public opinion, it would be this—the negroes are in America, and they are oppressed, and we must assist them; but, if they could be carried back to Africa, they would not be missed. No nation ever existed long that was formed like America. Almost every nation at its commencement was one people, but America, at its formation, was a heterogeneous mass, consisting of French, English, German, and Negro. The Negro could not be spared from America. He was docile, not for want of courage, but because particularly adapted for docility. Look at the girl that suckles her mistress' child, while her own child at that instant may be in want of the nourishment she is giving to another—yet she does not poison that child. Look again at the man bleeding from the lash, contented to remain with his wife and family rather than escape himself. Mr. Martin then compared the Northerner, the practical Yankee, with the Southern slaveholder, and said he had always found the Southerner had more heart than the Northerner. The Northerner looked at everything in a practical point of view. If he had a sovereign in his hand, he squeezed it so long that he made the eagle on it cry out. All they had of freedom they owed to education, and not to feeling. If a black man, with his back bleeding from the lash, were to present himself at the house of a pro-slavery man, and say, "I am helpless, and am pursued by bloodhounds," there is scarcely one of these that could resist the appeal. Mr. Martin concluded his address by saying that he should be happy to visit Wycombe again, and then more fully explain the subject.

George Thompson, Esq., made a few additional remarks, and proposed a vote of thanks to the Chairman, which was seconded by the Rev. J. S. Martin, and carried.

Lecture on Gen. Fremont. We learn that Mr. J. H. Fowler, of Cambridge, has prepared a lecture on Gen. Fremont, which he will accept invitations to deliver.

A VOICE OF THANKS.

Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Esq.:

Dear Sir—Could the friends of freedom know the effect that a good word timely spoken in behalf of the fleeing slave has upon the colored residents in this country, and the deep gratitude they feel for your many acts of kindness and your solicitude, and, above all, for that sterling, out-spoken sentiment—as true in its services to them, and in its results upon their destiny, as the needle is to the tempest-tossed mariner—I think there would be more faith in the colored people as a responsible moral element, necessary component of the anti-slavery forces, destined now and in the future to enter largely into the moral and political make-up of this continent. I say this continent, because, the importance of islands and other continents admitted, as far as it goes, whatever new-fangled theories may be afloat about our destiny as colored native Americans away from here, and out in an island any where, we, at least, realize the truth, that the masses have a fixed destiny here, and we do not believe, and do not intend, that it must always be as the substratum of the body politic.

There are certain plain land-marks by means of which we come to this conclusion, and upon which the beams of this new policy of our removal from the continent to Hayti break like Samson's withes.

I am led to this train of thought by a very noticeable, and, to us, very important paragraph in your remarks in reply to the letter of friend Hiram Wilson, in the last *Liberator*, wherein you say: "Although it is probable that the number of fugitives, seeking freedom and safety in Canada, will be somewhat diminished for the present; still, there is reason to believe that many of them will go there this winter," &c. &c.

For this gleam of the old light—this stray beam from the old beacon so well known to our people, we give you sincerest thanks. This says, as plain as English can, that the well-worn friends of the refugee and contraband are not to be turned aside, by every wind of doctrine, from the long-established custom of aiding them to settle upon this free soil, without, in their extremity, either attempting to bias their imperfectly formed judgments against Canada and America generally, or joining in the now seeking-to-be popular cry that they must leave the country because of the hatred to pursue them as the cause of the war, when the stupid among them know that the slaveholder, not the poor slave, is the cause, and that once he and his system are crushed out, the cause will have been destroyed, and America must become a desirable country for the masses.

Pointed and easily understood paragraphs as your own say plainly enough, that the Abolitionists of America, who labored and suffered long ago, do not join in the crusade against the colored people, but are right upon this question of residence on this continent for the colored men of the land. There has of late been much silence upon this point—so much, that now the new emigration scheme, about which Mr. Higginson wrote, and for which others work, is thought by many to have absorbed all the Anti-Slavery of the United States worth having.

I have often thought that there was a misapprehension somewhere of the relation in which the refugees here stand to the cause proper.

It is a debatable question with some, whether or not, after being once helped to Canada, they are any longer connected with the Anti-Slavery polity. Some are out-spoken, and say that any consideration of the fugitive in Canada is not Anti-Slavery work; others, less sincere, regard this Canada as a vast poaching-ground for negro game, from which they may get the material for experiment in the islands without loss to the cause, and certainly without loss to the experiment-makers. A few there are who are honest in believing that they would profit by removal to the British islands.

That you do not share the views of the two first, I infer from your recommendation for "local provision" in behalf of the refugees, should the contingencies of travel make it necessary. This explicit acknowledgment of it, as Anti-Slavery work, is subject of congratulation here.

The institution of slavery has despoiled the colored man of America wofully; the injury done to him intellectually, physically, morally, is not of his seeking; those, therefore, whose sympathies do not care to reach beyond your geographical boundaries, and who choose to forget his perils and the difficulties which he must encounter in his new position by reason of former deprivations in slavery, yet scruple not when here, to arouse prejudice by deprecating further emigration of fugitives and contrabands to the Canadas, clearly forfeit the right to the confidence of the colored Canadian, and must not complain, if they do not command his respect.

The fugitives in Canada, though assuming new and important political relations to this government—relations not to be trifled with by every theorizer, who, upon a flying or discursive visit, may hope to sharpen his axe upon their instability and credulity—have keen sympathies for friends and kindred left behind; their better selves remember *for ever* the friends who helped them on, and aid others with help when needed here: they divide to the last their morsel with the wayfarer when he escapes, and they gladly welcome and will welcome the many you may send the coming winter, whether to St. Catherines or this western section. They hail also every organized and responsible society for the necessary relief of the really deserving, as an earnest of the ever kind regards of long-tried friends; and your endorsement of Fugitive Aid Societies, under proper auspices and limitations, must, as I hear that the one at St. Catherines does, receive their grateful acknowledgments and fullest approbation.

MARY A. SHADD CARY.

MEETING IN MARLBORO', MASS.

At a meeting of the citizens of Marlboro' "who are in favor of a vigorous prosecution of the war against rebellion; who scout the idea of a compromise with traitors, and who religiously believe in the truth of the sublime enunciations of the Declaration of American Independence," held at the Town Hall, on Monday evening, October 28th, the following resolutions were adopted as the sense of the meeting:—

Whereas, the first act in our national existence declares that "all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness;" and

Whereas, this fundamental law has never been repealed by any authorized national act; and

Whereas, slavery was never acknowledged by the founders of the Republic as a national institution, as is manifest from the fact that neither the word slave nor slavery is introduced into the Constitution of the United States, and from the further fact that Mr. Madison, at the time of the formation of the Constitution, declared that the word slave ought not to be admitted into that instrument, lest it should give color to the idea "that man might rightfully hold property in man," thus making it clear that the authors of the Constitution considered slavery as a local and temporary institution, which was to fade out in the advancing civilization of the age; and

Whereas, the succeeding generations have proved themselves unfaithful to the liberal and grand ideas of the Fathers, and in consequence of this unfaithfulness, have permitted the Slave Power, for years past, to dictate the laws and shape the policy of the Republic to the detriment of freedom; and

Whereas, these continued encroachments of the Slave Power finally awakened the friends of free institutions to a sense of their danger, and led them to embody in their political platform the principles of the Fathers of the Revolution; and

Whereas, Abraham Lincoln was elected to the Presidency of this Republic, pledged to the policy of the founders of our government; and

Whereas, the Slave Power, impelled by a mad ambition to rule and an insane desire to extend and perpetuate the institution of slavery, conspired against the life of the Republic even before President Lincoln entered upon the duties of his office, and at the time of his inauguration stood defiant with arms in their hands in open rebellion against the Constitution and the government; and

Whereas, by the established law of nations, rebels against a government "have no rights" which that government "is bound to respect"; therefore,

Resolved, That, in the sense of this meeting, the Administration would be fully justified in using all the means within its power to put down this most unholy rebellion.

Resolved, That property in man ought not longer to be held as more sacred than property in lands, or tenements, or bales of cotton.

Resolved, That we view with utter loathing the zeal of some of our military officers in sending fugitive slaves back to their masters, without the sanction even of human law, and in direct violation of the Divine law.

Resolved, That the existence of chattel slavery in one section of this Union is this main cause of the present wicked war.

Resolved, That in civil war and insurrection, in the words of John Quincy Adams, "the military authority takes, for the time, the place of all municipal institutions, slavery among the rest. Under that state of things, so far from its being true that the States where slavery exists have the exclusive management of the subject, not only the President of the United States, but the commander of the army, has power to order the universal emancipation of the slaves."

Resolved, That while we deplore the stern necessity that requires the shedding of human blood, we yet never can willingly submit to any compromise with rebels which shall leave the next generation, from like causes, liable to calamities like those which are now inflicted upon us.

Resolved, That we hail as a sure harbinger of ultimate victory, the liberty-loving instincts which evidently inspire the masses of the people in this contest.

Resolved, That the foresight and untiring energy of Andrew, the practical wisdom and constant zeal of Wilson, the broad and comprehensive statesmanship of Sumner, as developed in his late Worcester speech, and, above all, that noble proclamation issued August 30, 1861, by Major General Fremont, justify the belief that the fire which burned in the breasts of our patriotic sires is again kindled in the hearts of their descendants.

Resolved, That we invite all loyal citizens throughout the country to co-operate with us in petitioning Congress, at its next session, to enact a law which shall confiscate and endow with freedom all the slaves in the country claimed to be owned by rebels against the government, and to set at liberty all remaining slaves by compensation to all loyal slaveholders.

HOLLIS LORING, *Chairman*.

C. M. Howe, *Secretary*.

MEETING IN VERMONT.

Agreeably to a notice previously given by several of our citizens, a mass meeting was held at the union church, in Weston, (Vermont,) on the 13th day of November, 1861, for the purpose of awakening the public mind to a realization of the great importance of rightly improving the present exigency in our national affairs, and rallying for the support of our government in its present struggle with treason and rebellion, with all the zeal and energy demanded by the crisis.

The meeting was called to order by Rev. L. S. Coburn, who, in an appropriate and forcible manner, stated the object of the meeting. The officers of the meeting were then chosen as follows, to wit:—Hon. John Wilder, President; Thomas Richardson, Vice President; Samuel Peabody, Secretary.

Prayer was offered by Rev. Moses Adams. Resolutions were reported by Rev. L. S. Coburn, Chairman of a Committee previously appointed for that purpose, recognizing the justice of the Almighty in the visitation of civil war upon our nation, and the importance of forsaking the sins which have provoked his displeasure. Expressing our sympathy with our government, and promising to sustain it in its determination to suppress existing rebellion, with our prayers, property and lives, if need be. Resolving, in the words of ex-Gov. Fletcher, before the legislature of Vermont, —"That slavery is the bitter root of our national calamities—the mother of treason and rebellion; the right arm with which treason is warring against us, and that slavery or the republic must die;" that we regard the war in which our country is now engaged, as a war between freedom and slavery, and the advocates of slavery having tendered the issue, it is the unavoidable and imperative duty of Christians and patriots to accept the issue, and give it the prominence before God and the world which rightfully belongs to it." Welcoming any act or declaration from the government, which brings freedom to the enslaved;—against compromise or truce with treason, and in favor of a vigorous prosecution of the war, until law, order, and the security of person and property is restored, and justice awarded to the chief conspirators. Expressing the earnest desire of liberty loving dwellers on the Green Mountains, that our boys who go from us as soldiers, should be employed for the service to which we cheerfully send them, viz.: to save the Republic; and that our military officers should recognize no human being, but as a freeman. Expressing the belief that we can have no guaranty of peace while slavery exists; that the emancipation of the slaves of our land has become possible, hoping for some definite and reliable measure for the abolition of slavery, as the conclusion of this great conflict for the support of the government and the Union, and acknowledging our duty, in all proper ways, of urging this measure upon the attention of our government, and urging the duty of our people to memorialize Congress, at its approaching session, to abolish slavery, as the only means of saving the nation.

The resolutions were ably advocated by P. H. Hutchinson, Esq., Joseph C. Fenn, Esq., Rev. Moses Adams, Abiel Peabody, Esq., Rev. Mr. Eastman and Rev. L. S. Coburn, of Weston, by Francis Daniels, Esq., of Grafton, Rev. L. Owen, of Londonderry, and Rev. A. M. Swain, of Manchester, and unanimously passed.

A resolution of thanks to the "Green Mountain Guards," who attended as an escort, and to the choir, who enlivened the meeting by discoursing sweet harmony, and appropriate music at intervals during the exercises. The meeting was then adjourned without day.

JOHN WILDER, *President*.

Samuel Peabody, *Secretary*.

Weston, Nov. 13, 1861.

Arrival of the San Jacinto. The U. S. steamer San Jacinto, with Messrs. Mason and Slidell on board, arrived in Boston harbor on Sunday, and the prisoners were transferred to Fort Warren. Capt. Wilkes, of the San Jacinto, was welcomed by the authorities of the city and by the people generally, with the utmost enthusiasm. Monday afternoon, Faneuil Hall was crowded to overflowing on the occasion of his formal reception, thousands pressing forward to take the gallant captain by the hand; and on Tuesday, a complimentary dinner was given him at the Revere House, by the merchants of Boston, at which speeches were made by Governor Andrew, Chief Justice Bigelow, and other distinguished gentlemen.

☞ There is a sad state of affairs in parts of Western Virginia, according to the Wheeling *Intelligencer*. In Lewis and the adjoining counties, during the last week, no less than five Union men have been shot by roving guerilla bands. In Gilmer County, the assassinations became so frequent that on the 3d, Henry H. Withers, a member of the last Wheeling Convention, gathered together seventy-five citizens, and marching upon Glenville, the headquarters of one of the bands, routed it, killing its leader, named Ferrill, and his son.

Barbarous. A despatch to the *Press* states that the dead bodies of Seymore and Taylor—two privates recently killed in a skirmish near Falls Church—were found stripped of their clothing, and their skulls smashed in, as if done by the butt of a carbine. Truly have the rebels resolved to give no quarter to the enemy. Their acts would disgrace a nation of cannibals.

THE TWENTY-EIGHTH

NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY SUBSCRIPTION ANNIVERSARY.

The time for the Annual Subscription Anniversary again draws nigh, and we look forward to it with pleasure, as the means of meeting familiar, friendly faces, and listening to earnest words of counsel and encouragement. Some say that other agencies are now in such active operation, that "the old Abolitionists," as they are called, can well afford to rest upon their oars, while others carry forward their work to its completion. We cannot view the subject in this light. Our mission is the same now that it was thirty years ago. Through many and strange changes, we have slowly but steadily advanced toward its fulfilment; but there are many indications that our work is not yet in a state to be safely left to other hands. We have been, and we must still be, a fire to warm the atmosphere of public opinion. More than a quarter of a century ago, the fire was kindled with generous zeal, and year after year it has been fed with untiring industry and patience. Not all the cold water that politicians, merchants, and ecclesiastical bodies could throw upon it has sufficed to extinguish the flame, or even to prevent it from spreading. The moral thermometer can never again fall to the old freezing point. In view of this, we thank God, and take courage. But who that observes passing events, and reflects upon their indications, can arrive at the conclusion that the fire is no longer needed?

It is true that blood and treasure are lavishly expended to put down a most wicked and sanguinary rebellion, the proclaimed purpose of which is to extend and perpetuate SLAVERY. But the government of the United States manifests, *in every possible way*, a vigilant carefulness to protect the claims of Slavery, and politicians are continually announcing that the war has nothing to do with the cause of the war. There are now very few slaveholders who condescend to profess allegiance to the government; yet, small as is the remnant of that powerful and unprincipled oligarchy, they still appear to govern the counsels of the nation. The honest expression of THE PEOPLE'S wishes is required to be suppressed, lest the utterance should prove offensive to this arrogant minority, so long accustomed to rule the majority. The people are full of generous enthusiasm for their country. If the polar star of a great idea were presented to them, they would follow it with eager courage through suffering and death. But it seems to be the aim of politicians to create a fog so dense that neither star nor sunlight shall glimmer through it to guide the millions, who are longing to be led in the right direction.

Is *this* a time to let the sacred fire smoulder on the altar of freedom? On the contrary, there has never been a time when it was more necessary to watch it with vigilance, and feed it with untiring activity.

We, Abolitionists, still have unwavering faith that "a straight line is always the shortest, in morals as well as in mathematics." Politicians are always in need of being convinced of this obvious truth; and they are peculiarly in need of it now. Let us, then, continue to work for the good old cause in every way that is consistent with our own conscientious convictions. Let us meet together, that our hearts may be cheered and our hands strengthened for whatsoever work the God of the oppressed may call upon us to do.

All those who have faith in the principles of freedom, all who believe that the effect of righteousness would be peace and security for our unhappy country, are cordially and earnestly invited to meet us at the usual time and place in Boston, in January next. [Particulars hereafter.]

Contributions, and expressions of sympathy, from friends at home or abroad, in person or by letter, will be most thankfully received; for we have great need of both at this most momentous and trying crisis.

L. Maria Child,	*Mary Willey,*
Mary May,	*Ann Rebecca Bramhall,*
Louisa Loring,	*Sarah P. Remond,*
Henrietta Sargent,	*Mary E. Stearns,*
Sarah Russell May,	*Sarah J. Nowell,*
Helen Eliza Garrison,	*Elizabeth Von Arnim,*
Anna Shaw Greene,	*Anne Langdon Alger,*
Sarah Blake Shaw,	*Eliza Apthorp,*
Caroline C. Thayer,	*Sarah Cowing,*
Abby Kelley Foster,	*Sarah H. Southwick,*
Lydia D. Parker,	*Mary Elizabeth Sargent,*
Augusta G. King,	*Sarah C. Atkinson,*
Mattie Griffith,	*Abby Francis,*
Mary Jackson,	*Mary Jane Parkman,*
Evelina A. Smith,	*Georgina Otis,*
Caroline M. Severance,	*Abby H. Stephenson,*
Elizabeth Gay,	*Abby F. Manley.*

AID FOR THE CONTRABANDS.

The following appeal deserves the attention of the charitably disposed. Contributions of old cast-off clothing which are not suitable for the soldiers, may be made available for the objects of this appeal:—

A CARD.

The undersigned, having been appointed by the American Missionary Association their agent for the collection of clothing, clothing materials and money, in aid of the "Contrabands" at Fortress Monroe, and for the support of missionaries and teachers among them, respectfully solicits such contributions from the charitable and benevolent public as they may feel disposed to offer.

There are about two thousand of these ex-slaves now at the Fortress, for whom a large amount of clothing is required, many of them being very destitute and dependent entirely upon charity, while others will need more or less assistance beyond what they receive from Government, who furnish full rations for all, and some clothing for a portion. Clothing of every description of personal wear, and bedding, is needed *immediately*, and when received will be distributed under the superintendence of the Provost Marshal, (Capt. Burleigh,) acting by the approval of the Government and the Association, the latter having the full approval and sympathy of the former in their efforts in behalf of the "Contrabands."

Packages of clothing may be sent to my address, care of Wilder & Co., 26 Water street. Donors are requested to deliver the same in Boston free of expense, and to provide funds (fifty cents per barrel) for the expenses to the Fortress; and any surplus amount will be appropriated for the education of the "Contrabands."

W. L. COAN,

Boston, Nov. 26, 1861. *Agent A. M. Association.*

INTENDED RECEPTION OF GEN. FREMONT BY THE GERMANS.

The following call has appeared in the German papers:—

JOHN C. FREMONT.

The removal of John C. Fremont has awakened an outcry of dissatisfaction among the majority of the Northern people, especially the Germans, which no ukase of the gentlemen who stand at the head of the Administration can suppress.

The chief complaints against Fremont are: Firstly, that he wishes to uproot by war *the cause* of the war; and secondly, that he has given foreigners, particularly Germans, honorable positions on his Staff. The other complaints alleged are so false or so ridiculous that it is not worth while to make any further allusion to them. Fremont has, therefore, sinned because he is for freedom, not in mere form alone, but in its real essence, and because he has thought foreigners—Germans—worthy to do battle for this end. Fremont is removed!

The German citizens of St. Louis have shown that the arbitrary decree of a weak Administration may, indeed, remove the military commander, but not the Man of the People.

The undersigned believe that the free-minded Germans of New York hold the same views. Hence, they have resolved to call together a mass meeting of Germans for the purpose of expressing the opinions of the German element in relation to Fremont.

Time and place will be publicly announced hereafter.

Fr. Kapp, Dr. Dulon, A. Sorge, Fr. Kamm, A. Willman, P. Roedel, W. Kopp, P. Koch, G. Munchot, K. Eulenberg, H. Grube, G. Friedeborn, G. Kuepper, A. Goetze, Th. Olaubensklee, Ch. Vetter.

Gen. Fremont is shortly expected in the city, and the Germans propose giving him a grand reception, with music, torches, and banners. Meetings have been held in different parts of the city, at which speeches have been made indorsing the course of Gen. Fremont. Preparations are in progress for a great public mass meeting, to take place before or after his arrival.

A Committee of eleven, consisting of Messrs. Kessman, Anfermann, Kapp, Dulon, Willman, Kopp, Roedel, Friedeborn, Goetze, Eulenberg, and Kuepper, will wait upon Gen. Fremont immediately on his arrival at the Astor House.—*New York Tribune.*

General Fremont's Removal. Nothing could possibly be more admirable in tone and temper than General Fremont's order to his troops announcing his withdrawal from their command. It is manly and patriotic, and will confirm that confidence in his character and ability which is so widely felt throughout the Western States. The order for his removal found him in the midst of preparations for battle; surrounded by troops full of faith in their leader and themselves, and eager for an opportunity to vindicate it by their acts. It was the most trying position in which a popular General and a formidable army could be placed,—but both have come out of it with conspicuous honor to themselves and the country.—*New York Times.*

The Wife of Senator Andrew Johnson Flogged by Tennessee Rebels. A Tennessee paper says that Andy Johnson is very bitter against the Secessionists. Whether he is so or not, he has certainly had enough to make him bitter. A band of the Rebels went to his house in East Tennessee, with the avowed intention of hanging him, and, not finding him at home, *they cut a small hickory withe in the woods, and scourged with it the body of his wife.* Who could wonder if the outraged husband were to raise his clenched right hand toward God's firmament, and swear to wage a war of extermination against the infernal miscreants!—*Louisville Journal, Oct. 18th.*

☞ The Norfolk *Day Book* of November 12th has a dispatch from Richmond stating that Col. Corcoran, three captains and eighteen lieutenants, all captured at Manassas, have been selected by lot to be hung as retribution for the hanging of the captain and crew of the Southern privateer Savannah. Mr. Ely drew lots for Col. Corcoran, who is now imprisoned in Charleston. In case the court at New York condemned the crew of the Savannah to death, these federal officers will be at once hung.

A Secession Lady. The Provost Guard have much trouble with the Secession ladies at Alexandria. The ladies there have no hesitation in openly proclaiming their Secession proclivities. One of them, who was called upon by a captain in Col. McLean's regiment, and remonstrated with for her violent language to one of the guard, replied that if she had her way, she would kill all of the Union troops. "But," continued she, "I never said a word to your guard—I was talking to a nigger—and I can whip the nigger who told you what I said!"—*Philadelphia Press.*

☞ The Washington correspondent of the New York *Commercial* says that the greater portion of the army sympathize with the slaves, who they know are used against them whenever the masters find an opportunity, and who never let a chance pass for ministering to the comfort of the Union troops, pointing out forage or concealed arms, and giving valuable information. Those who entered the army with "Southern Rights" ideas, are now the loudest advocates of sequestration and freedom.

OBITUARY.

Died, in Newburyport, Nov. 12th, Carrie, daughter of Philip H. and Olive Richardson, aged 21. For a number of years, Carrie has had no sympathy with the prevailing or popular religion of the country. Her religion was Humanity; consequently she was deeply interested in the progress of the Anti-Slavery, Temperance, Woman's Rights and other great enterprises, whose object was to liberate the captive, raise the fallen, comfort the sorrowing, and to benefit the human family. Her disease was such, that she was out ten days before her death. She frequently spoke of her departure as one would who was about taking a journey to meet very dear friends. She left in writing words of consolation, advice and affection to her parents, sisters and friends, and requested her sister to sing and play the same music they had so often enjoyed together, remarking that her body would be absent, but she would be with them from day to day. She was a firm believer in Spiritualism, and requested the statement to be made at the funeral service that she died a believer in liberal Christianity as taught by Theodore Parker. She said that it would be her wish that Mr. Higginson and Miss Hardinge should be present at her funeral, but, knowing the difficulty of obtaining their services, she left a request that Rev. J. E. Bruce of this city should officiate. Mr. Bruce has recently been obliged to leave his people for the reason that he would open his mouth for the dumb, and speak for the oppressed; and the fact of her request shows that her dying testimony was in favor of the old-fashioned Christianity as taught by Jesus. The remarks of Mr. Bruce were timely and very appropriate; the singing by her young friends was calculated to soothe the afflicted. At her request, she was buried in the "morning," and was followed to the Oak Hill Cemetery by a very large company of friends of both sexes. Her bodily presence is not with us, but the sweet and Christian in[illegible] of example is before us, having a calm and heav[illegible] influence on her large circle of friends, who mourn not as others who have no hope.

R.

☞ FRATERNITY LECTURES. ☜

FOURTH SERIES.

The public of Boston and vicinity are respectfully informed that the Fourth Series of FRATERNITY LECTURES continue weekly at Tremont Temple.

The lecture on Tuesday Evening, Dec. 3d, will be by FREDERICK DOUGLASS.

To be followed on successive TUESDAY EVENINGS by Lectures from the following gentlemen:—

" 10—DANIEL S. DICKINSON.
" 17—EDWIN H. CHAPIN.
" 24—EZRA H. HEYWOOD.
" 31—WILLIAM S. STUDLEY.
January 7—WENDELL PHILLIPS.

Doors to be opened at 6 1-2 o'clock. Lectures to commence at 7 1-2 o'clock, precisely.

☞ A. T. FOSS, an Agent of the American Anti-Slavery Society, will speak in

Portland,	Maine,	Sunday,	Nov. 24.
Hallowell,	"	Monday,	" 25.
Skowhegan,	"	Wednesday,	" 27.
Cornville,	"	Friday,	" 29.
Athens,	"	Sunday,	Dec. 1.
Palmyra,	"	Tuesday,	" 3.
East Pittsfield,	"	Wednesday,	" 4.
Newpor,	"	Thursday,	" 5.
Carmel,	"	Sunday,	" 8.
Etna,	"	Monday,	" 9.
Hampden Corner,	"	Tuesday,	" 10.
Bucksport,	"	Thursday,	" 12.
Orland,	"	Friday,	" 13.
Ellsworth,	"	Sunday,	" 15.

☞ A. M. POWELL will speak at Canaan, N. Y., Sunday, Dec. 8.

NOTICE.—A meeting will be held at the house of Dr. Knox, 59 Anderson street, Dec. 2d, to commemorate the death of John Brown.

☞ HENRY C. WRIGHT will hold meetings in Plymouth, Sunday, December 1st. *Subject*—"Compromise." *Text*—"What God hath put asunder, let not man put together."

☞ MERCY B. JACKSON, M. D., having had fifteen years' experience in the Homœopathic treatment of diseases, offers her professional services to the Ladies and Children of Boston and vicinity.

References.—David Thayer, M. D.; Luther Clark, M. D.; John M. Tarball, M. D., Boston. Eliphalet Clark, M. D., Portland, Me.

Rooms No. 20 Bulfinch street. Office hours from 2 to 4 P. M.

TERMS REDUCED,

AT the Round Hill Water-Cure in Northampton, Mass., to $7 and $10 per week. Open Summer and Winter. Dr. Halsted's success in the treatment of Woman's diseases is well known. The cure is speedy and reliable. Those brought on beds, even, are soon enabled to walk. Over four hundred cases of spinal diseases, paralysis and loss of the use of limbs have been restored; and numerous cures have been made of various stubborn difficulties which had lingered without help for years. For the success in treating more ordinary complaints, and the great favor given the Turkish Chemical and other Baths, see circular sent gratis.

Needing a little change, and desirous to confer as well as to receive benefit, Dr. H. will make a few professional visits, travelling expenses being paid, without charge.

Northampton, Oct. 30.

Diseases of Women and Children.

WM. SYMINGTON BROWN, M. D., and
Mrs. MARGARET B. BROWN, *Accoucheuse,*

HAVE opened an office at 274 Washington Street, Boston, and will devote special attention to the treatment of the above diseases.

Office Hours, from 10, A. M., to 4, P. M.

Boston, Oct. 4, 1861. 3m

Poetry.

For the Liberator.

THE CONFLIOT.

BY R. STEBBIN, U. S. N.

Suave mari magno turbantibus æquora ventis,
E terra magnum alterius spectare laborem.
LUCRET.

I know his ends, on every score,
To stand aloof from misery and sin;
But still, I see the further shore,
And, all unpeaceful, the tempest roar.

Our nation amazed in halcyon peace
Yes, though I hear the wide world's wail,
When open is storm the seventh seal,
With voice, lightnings, thunders, hail,
I joy to see the tyrants quail,
To hear the thunder, peal on peal!

Tremblingly, for these—and fiercely driven
Like shatter'd ships adrift at sea,
No rest to them shall we be given,
Before the thunderbolts of heaven,
Before its red artillery!

Hey, mates, half the world unite
With England, Freedom—a hopeful pair!
Let them beware of treasured spite!
Remember Bunker's Hill!
Italy's lion—Russia's Bear!

Clear up! Our God is for the right!
Our God is for the brave and free!
While for the slave He stirs his might,
And solar shall end the bloody fight,
Till smoke the temple of Justice!

Not while the blood of martyrs cries,
Like rivers shed on air the hill,
Or cities in vengeance—all the wise,
A nation, humble, potent, wise,
Prepared for God to fall or stand!

Not while the half of all our priests,
With half our seats, for blackest crime,
A dark and gloomy the very beasts,
Shall plead—and make their solemn feasts
On blood and tears, as lords on thrones!

Not—while our prisons are betrayed;
Not—while our laws return the slave;
Not—not the scaffold—not the block must's and
Not—not the gibbet—all alive!
Or dread in a bloody grave!

Boston, 15th Nov., 1861.

For the Liberator.

THESE HOPE.

In answer to "Is There Hope?" in the Liberator of Nov. 15.

There is hope—yes, there surely must be,
Through Humanity, weary and frain,
With long years of toil and the decree,
That shall nobly cease all complaint.

But that hope is not based on the truth
Of those who are worshipped as being
At the altar of Baal and self,
That their consciences are touched are gone;

Not because that Omnipotence reigns,
There is hope for a brother that pleads;
God will in his time, break the shackles
He will bind up the heart that now bleeds.

Oh! let us still hope and still pray,
That the glorious day of peace, at last,
When a voice like a trumpet may say,
"Neither nor banner all man are now free!"

Rind, (Mo.) Nov. 16, 1861. LUCIEN H. WHITTEN.

From the New York Independent.

THE WATCHERS.

BY JOHN G. WHITTIER.

Beside a stricken field I stood;
On the torn earth and grass, of weed,
Burst heavily the dew of blood.

Still in the air the battle-horse,
Snuffed the coming of the fray,
Scented the battle, and the roar
Of the hosts, and the shouting, and the
Leaned, weeping, on her olive wand.

The other's brows were scarred and hair;
Her eyes were sunken and wan;
His hands for battle-spectacles fit.

"How long!"—I knew the voice of Peace:
"Is there no mercy for the slain?
When shall the hopeless quarrel cease?
"O Lord, how long!—One human soul
Is more than all the continents scroll,
Or any flag the winds unroll.

"What price was Elizabeth's, young and brave?
How weigh the gift that Lyon gave?
Or count the cost of Winslow's grave?

"Oh brother! if thine eye can see,
And how and when and where shall be
What hope remains for thee or me?
Then Freedom shortly said: "I alone
No strife nor peace beneath the sun,
When tears rights are stolen and wan.

"I built with Eliab's trusted book;
I watched in Toussaint's cell of rock;
I walked with Kosciusko the block.

"The moor of Marston felt my tread;
Through Jersey snows the march I led;
My voice Saratoga charge spoke.

"But now, through weary day and night,
I watch a vague and sinister fight
For leave to strike one charge spoke.

"On either side my foe they vow:
One guards through love his ghastly throne,
And one through hate its foundations hew.

"Why wait we longer, modest, betrayed,
By open foes, or those afraid
To speak my coming through my aid?

"Why watch to see who win or fall?—
I shake the dust against them all;
I have done my mission—I have tried!"

"Nay," Peace implored: "yet longer wait;
The doom is near, the stake is great;
Hope is in God, and I in fate.

"Still wait and watch; the way prepare
Where I, with folded wings of prayer,
May follow, weeping and lame."

"Too late!" the stern, and voice replied;
"Too late!" its mournful echo sighed;
Its low lament in heaven died.

A rustling as of wings in flight,
An upward gleam of lessening white,
Its passed the vision, sound and sight.

Pain round me like a silver bell
Hung down the listening sky to fell
Of holy help, a sweet voice fell.

"Child hope—yes!—it is strong: "the red
Must fall, the wine-press must be trod;
But all is possible with God!"

NOVEMBER.

The mellow year is hastening to its close;
The little birds have taken wing their flight;
Their small notes twitter in the dreary blast—
That shrill pipe of death, that of early scorn;
The patient beauty of the meadows rose,
Oft with the morn's hour crystal quietly glassed,
Hangs, a pale mourner for the summer past,
And makes a little summer where it grows.
In the still sunbeam of the faint, brief day,
The dusky waters shudder as they ebbs;
The sunset leaves shatter the straggling way
Of easy brooks, which so deep banks define;
And the quiet woods, in ragged, scant array,
Wrap their old limbs with sinders by twine.

The Liberator.

IN MEMORIAM.

I have just heard of the death of our dear and honored friend, FRANCIS JACKSON. It was not unexpected, for his physical strength had long been failing. The vital forces rallied wonderfully, from time to time, a constitution naturally strong being aided by the temperate habits of his life; but the friends who were often have felt, for months past, that he would not much longer remain visibly present among them. Yet, though the thought of separation had long been familiar, the tidings oppressed me with a sense of bereavement.

Thirty years ago, I realized that I was bound to the early, uncompromising Abolitionists in hands stronger than any mere mortal hand could have wrought, and what still remains of that noble and faithful band, I say in my soul, "Behold my brothers! for whosoever shall do the will of my Father who is in heaven, the same is my brother, and sister, and mother." I said, what remains of the noble band. Alas! though I believed the departed one was the working ith us, I cannot feel otherwise than sad to see how rapidly the tried and true are falling around us. I was thinking of and grieving somebody in the surging of grain, though we know full well that there is within the gathered sheaves the germs of future life and fruitfulness.

As the evening shadows lengthen on our earthly pilgrimage, separations become more and more frequent. Every morning of the seasons, within the last ten years, has left vacant the places of some whom I was accustomed to see and hear with pleasure in our meetings. All of us in Boston cherish the memory of dear CATHERINE SARGENT, whose unpretending goodness constantly shed a mild and beautiful sunlight. Every Saturday, some poor widow in her neighborhood presented the point of some old-fashioned "Sunday dinner; her fingers were always busy making garments for poor invalids; her purse was always ready to help the needy; and her ear was open to those who were pleading for him. Almost her last words were directions concerning garments for the poor, which Death very strongly compelled her to leave unfinished. But the world knew nothing of all this. It was impossible for anyone even to be with those whom she cherished with unwearied kindness; for her spirit was at home in the Valley of Humility. She would have trembled, most sincerely, at the idea of penetration, yet few detected shams so easily, and "when within was good and true, she saw it at first sight." Her mission was to come with the world brought her into frequent communication with the conservative and the worldly; but her heart was always refreshed in the presence of evil, whatever gloss might varnish the surface, and no fog of sophistry could obscure her perception of right. Sometimes, I felt, that she was too much her great self-consciousness became unpleasant, and those who had

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GENERAL SHERMAN'S PROCLAMATION.

Among the most marvellous things of the past week of wonders was the proclamation of Gen. Sherman to the deserted fields and houses of Hilton Head and Beaufort. He addresses those infamous traitors, who had been but a few minutes previously among as murderous fire as his brethren, without cause or excuse, as fellow-citizens. Fellow-citizens of what, pray? Of the United States? Surely, if they are citizens, who are not? Who can help being citizens? How calling must be the ties that bind us together now? But perhaps it was designed for the Union-loving, also would, but could not show their love. And where were they? If there had been any, would they have been away with the traitors, rather than carry and welcome their true friends? Certainly not. If there were slaves, whose manhood rises hard to compel them to leave, even shooting down the masters, if they could not join the rebel army, and welcome it with unmistakable joy, surely the Union whites, had there been any, could have done the same. Or, if they were too cowardly, too frightened, and did not know but they would all be seized and butchered by the infernal traitors, had they loved? Did they not know as much as the slaves? Surely, no people ever heard more of the terrors of northern measures and cruelty than the slaves, and yet they were as much at the mercy and cruel lash of army. Another proclamation has since been made, assuring those traitors who left their homes, fearing that if they would come back, they should not be injured, but protected. We certainly admire this, in body and in spirit. Dupes and tools, perhaps, in the taking of that part, we admire their genius and bravery; bitter as for their cause they are, we present heartily sick of the eternal cringing and creeping of southern traitors; sure that there are not in the world, even, more traitors for a few weeks by accident, but who have been so long, and so long, and so long, that we have spared no pains and supped at no degradation to be on the side of the traitors. Well, we are glad to call these Davises, Masons, Buxawells, Rhetts, etc., highminded and honorable men. If they are high-minded and honorable, what an angel most Benedict Arnold have become by this time! It is hundreds long and applied to the extreme, to be so entirely kept up as before the business of those wretches was known. We repeat, generally speaking, if they are gone the people of the North, whose friends have been murdered, or who have been robbed, or driven, or thrust into loathsome prisons, have any sympathy with such companions, or are fairly represented by any such speeches.

In the slave land, in that district were 50,000 inhabitants who were not in arms against their country, and never had been; 30,000 who would have taken up arms for the Union, and shed their blood freely for their liberty and the government; who did so many times, and would have done so, if they had had no their assistance. Yet not one word was said to them to show that they were remembered, or appreciated their loyalty, or would welcome their brawny arms as well as the traitors' hands, or forgive them. Why this kind feeling and gracious proclamation towards the traitors, the traitors, traitors, traitors, and murderers the sun ever shone upon, (for this is what all have done them,) and this silence, this cold, mean and envious to those who show they have in their hearts the very principles we proudly boast glory in and cherish? Will it still be said that traitors and pirates are better than negros? That innocent and loyal people have been long kept up to liberty and Union hating whites? That honest and loyal Union men are to be sought out and cared for, and traitors may be courted? Also! if this be so, what can degrade so much as such a lack?

Had Gen. Sherman, as he was authorized by Secretary Cameron, unauthorizedly called upon those slaves, and assured them that their masters having abandoned the government and left their homes, they were free, and had been invited them to enter the service as soldiers of the United States, he would at once have had an army every way which has hitherto occupied the whole district, and seized upon the entire cotton crop. This, being the loaded crop of the Confederate stocks and basis of their capital, would have given a money blow to secession, and vastly strengthened our cause both at home and abroad. We are only reflecting the general feeling of the country, in the expression of our feeling that comes [illegible] The people will know [illegible] this baleful and [illegible] never rest until the [illegible] sacrifice of them, [illegible] the

LETTER OF GERRIT SMITH TO EDWIN QUOSWELL.

PETERBORO', November 27, 1861.

EDWIN CROSWELL, Esq.: *Dear Sir*,—I have just read your letter to Colonel Cochrane. It gratifies me not a little to find that your influence, which, so long as twenty, thirty, and even forty years ago, was so very potent, is given to the furtherance of his wise and timely view that is a point of vital importance to the country. You agree with the Colonel in the duty of availing ourselves of the black man's help to put down the rebels. I regret your mistake that the Abolitionists do not also agree with him. Your public declaration, that they do not, is of very injurious tendency—not to them only, but (and this is a far greater consequence) to the country, and to the sacred cause in which the whole country should be united.

You desire it to be, and to be known and felt to be, that all classes of our people stand with Colonel Cochrane in this respect. And, in your judgment, they all do, excepting the Abolitionists—or, as you phrase it, "excepting a few Abolition quarters." Your exception is not warranted by facts. From the beginning of the Rebellion until the present time, the Abolitionists, having been constantly current to their faith, have been constantly eager to secure to this end the help of black men as well as white men. I am myself an Abolitionist. Nevertheless, I have written and spoken much for the identical position taken by Colonel Cochrane.

Instead of holding up the Abolitionists as opposed to Colonel Cochrane's views, you ought to do them justice to acknowledge that, from the first, their views have been theirs also. I am not asking you to relax your opposition to their Abolition doctrines. Nowhere else, if you will, more emphatically than over. Expose to the utmost their folly in believing that the abolition of slavery would be a suitable means for routing the rebels. Only admit that, however wrong they are in other respects, they are clearly identified with these views of Colonel Cochrane.

I confess that I am only disappointed in this way. I took it for granted that our whole people would very soon be in hearty sympathy all classes in bringing in the spoiled and. The Abolitionists are. But one principle pervades all other parties in our land. If they not denying that salvation can come to my country alone through her penitence for her oppression, I, nevertheless, confess hope for such penitence in her, as she is so ashamed as to be unwilling to be saved by whatever means and means. The Rebellion is yet hope for (and even for this hope there is but too little encouragement), is that the whole North may soon rally around this position taken by Colonel Cochrane, yourself and the Abolitionists.

But you will say that the Abolitionists are in favor of abolishing slavery. Yes, I do know that. I am one of them. If you please, in their folly—my, their wickedness. I am not ashamed of it. Nevertheless, we agree from this folly and wickedness that they are not with Colonel Cochrane, when you are that they are.

I am not ashamed to confess that I am an Abolitionist. If I were, I would say that no other men are more cordially in the inward movement against the rebels, by bread on their, in proportion to their numbers, no other men have furnished more soldiers or more contributes for soldiers' families. Nevertheless, I do not that none of them have come under so much as the slightest suspicion of indulging the secession spirit, or the slightest sympathy with the cause of the rebels. I would say that Abolitionist is only another name for the intense hatred of the rebellion. Moreover, I would say that they are ever ready to join hands with all in this great national fight against rebellion. They are in no little and Abolitionists are ever ready to join with those who admirably read the New York *Herald*, the New York *Express*, the *Journal of Commerce*, and with those who feel that they cannot pray for success without having a New York Observer under their pillow. Into this hand I am as much bound to shake with the Pro-Slavery James Gordon Bennett as the Anti-Slavery Horace Greeley. The North is contending with a strong power, and, unfortunately, it is not strengthened with stronger enemies. In these circumstances, she cannot afford to be divided by miserable party prejudices and jealousies. Her enemy the must present an unbroken front. I must be willing to work with you, and you with me, for the success of our arms—for in this we can work together, our differences about Abolition, or anything else, in the contrary notwithstanding. Both you and I and Northern men may be able to tolerate their mutual differences so far as to stand shoulder to shoulder against the enemy!

I am not surprised to learn, as I do from the postscript of your letter, that Mr. Dickinson concurs with yourself and Colonel Cochrane. Months ago, I became satisfied that he was more than a partisan—that he was a patriot, and a true patriot, whom, he was not entirely saved by whatever means and at whatever expense to party or to anything else.

Happy am I to know that you, and Mr. Dickinson, and many other distinguished Democrats feel that the crisis of our country is magnified with the sense of the greatest and most critical the Democratic party. Then, too, the Abolitionists will have cause to blush for having themselves with what Democrats regard as Abolition nonsense. Then, too, merchants, manufacturers and mechanics will see that they have had an opportunity for contriving new guarantees for slavery. But, until the enemy is vanquished, let us, whatever the divisions amongst us, be one against the rebels. Until then, let us care comparatively nothing to save the party or the Union, Christians or the Church, for them or that. Until then, let our one concern be to SAVE OUR COUNTRY. That saved, and we can restore the Old Constitution or make a new one. Then, too, we shall have no need of either. That saved, there will be no need of the parties as we shall be all agreed in them. That saved, and they who regard slavery as a blessing may find themselves in circumstances more favorable than ever for making the Blessing abundant and sure.

The Abolitionists have always had the reputation of being bigoted and unreasonable. But do not these common sense and the prominent liberality which characterize them will go far to prove that they (if they did not merit this bad reputation) Look, for instance, at the admirable course of their most distinguished leaders, William Lloyd Garrison and Wendell Phillips. Ever since the bombarding of Sumter, these bold immoderate men have addressed themselves to the new duties of the new circumstances, with a practical wisdom unsurpassed by that of the most calm and conservative statesmen. No men are more intent on saving the country; and no men see more clearly the folly of trying to save it by a partial use of the means for saving it. Nor are any more free to work with any in putting down the rebellion. Glad am I to be in even the most Pro-Slavery hearts of their fellows in this work. The Garrison and Phillips school of Abolitionists have wisely suspended their influence on the Constitution, and, if ever, the other school might suspend their defiance of it. Just now, there is no time, nor place, nor cause, for men to be spared to either school for presenting its view of the Constitution. My friend Henry B. Stanton gives a very amusing account of a gathering, in the midst of the broken bones of a railroad accident, kept on arguing the Anti-Slavery character of the Constitution. Indeed, I entirely unexamined with Abolitionists of the Constitution, that, unless I know him to be the friend of the country, I set down every one, who is wasting his own time and the time of others with such talk, as the enemy of the country. I do not say that there may not be some men who think that their country would be lost, if the Constitution should be. They are more honest than enlightened. If left without a country, we would indeed be left without a Constitution. But it does not follow that we should be left without a country, were we left without a Constitution. It is not the Constitution that gave us the country, but the country that gave us the Constitution. The Constitution did not so much as give us our Government. On the contrary, our Government gave us our Constitution. We had our Government before we had our Constitution. The principle of Democracy was our Government; and the Constitution but served to point out some of the ways in which the principle should govern. The Constitution did not create the union of the American people. Tradition, not constitution, made of common tongue, fellowship in faith and fellowship in suffering did. The Constitution but enjoined ways for making an already existing union "a more perfect union."

Let us, then, have no fear that we shall be lost without a Constitution. If the country survives the war, we shall not fail to have a Constitution; and if it does not, we shall not need one. Our present Constitution may be roughly handed by the necessities of war. Parts of it may be modified, and parts utterly destroyed. It may even need to be abrogated. But if our country survives, we shall, whatever else we have a country, but we shall have a Democratic Government right of (ing. Nevertheless, we shall have survived; for wherever that principle lives and reigns will be Democratic Constitutions. It produces such, and, but for its presence, England would not cease to be England, and to have a Government, but the republication of any, however large part of that Government would be a Democratic Republican Constitution. Should she lose one Constitution, she would quickly have another; and the Constitution which would come out of the great liberty-loving heart of her people would be essentially a Free Constitution.

Are these the blessings for which we pray, this war, provided we shall have the wisdom to conquer peace? (Some we have already received, and we shall doubtless do so in time.)—among these blessings, I say, will be the restored love of country. That love was once the passion of the North. Slavery and its supporters have succeeded in making the passion give place to the worship of the Constitution; and should our Government be lost, it will be owing to this unhappy substitution. President Lincoln is a man of understanding, and of patriotic sentiments, and why he has not, ere this, ended the war, and saved the country, is simply because he is a worshiper of Constitutions, and feels that he can live and honor and serve and save the country only through the Constitution. Slavery has made him a Constitution, and in his eye, a breach made in the country; and with him the shivering prospect of a lost Constitution is so appalling, that he cannot rally the country. But the good man cannot help it; for how rare is he who is able to surmount his education! And the President is a worshiper of Constitutions, and his education hampers him at every step. With all his good will he seems to be ashamed, that he thinks the Constitution will not let him. He is capable of purpose to secure away, even in his native Kentucky, the cause of the rebellion, but he thinks that he would be those purposes by such an appeal to that reverence as a Crittenden or Clay would make in the Slave States, and, therefore, he cannot.

Miserable substitute for the love of country is this worship of a paper! Contemptible as it is, it is making more account of the salt of clothes than of the man who wears it! Yes, if the war shall have restored to our country the love of our fathers, and from this debasing, shrivelling worship to the expanding, and nourishing love of country, it will be worth all it has cost.

The one thing which, from the beginning of the war, I have strove to be, is consistent in my use of little influence can, to band together all men and women, white, red and black, in the inevitable determination, and with the resolution, that, if even though it be in the face of the certainty that the Union will be lost in the attempt, it shall be slavery, Constitution, and what not else. Nothing short of this determination can suffice to overcome the foe. It is the one determination which will—determined to wield every possible power and avail itself of every possible advantage in its behalf. Whilst our boasted high style of civilization forbids our following the example, he calls the bloody Indian, and the black man, and the black man, the fugitive slaves, he makes slaves his most effective helpers. And so determined is he, that he will spare nothing which stands in the way of his success. Slavery will be spare, if the sacrifice shall become necessary. Slavery is the enemy of our country in the North, he would unhesitatingly enumerate his slaves. A prominent member of the Government said, not long ago, that he would free the slaves if There was such pride—but it exists no longer. It is the contrary of the Government, and of the people in the North. When hard pressed by our victories, the South will (provided we shall continue so insane as to give her time) be hard pressed by our victories, and conquerable allies of her slaves by emancipating them. And, by the way, she would not fail to take into account the gathering of the world's policy by this measure. But there are persons who remind us that we are the Abolitionists who want to wear the slavery. Will never consent to give it up. Superficial thinkers are they. The cause of a quarrel is generally lost sight of in the heat of battle, and, in the heat of passion to conquer. The dog or the dollar about which men come to blows is lost sight of in the excitement with the interest of the battle: it is the blows themselves. That stage of the controversy in which the cause of the battle was the Constitution and slavery was passed months ago. The joy of her final success against our invading armies would be scarcely at all enhanced by the acknowledgment of her error.

I repeat what I have often said—one name which will not be forgotten—I mean Lincoln—I mean our country. May God move our Congress and our commanders, whilst yet it is not too late, to get the blacks on our side!

But I must stop. I thank you for your letter. I confess, still to do great good. I beg you, however, not to publish it. Nevertheless, I commend it to you, and Mr. Dickinson, and Colonel Cochrane. Because of your great influence, I wish you to see that, before this fight is through with, you will feel the need of the help of all the despised classes—the help of the Southern Unionists, Abolitionists, and not peril your country for the sake of gratifying old prejudices. Respectfully, yours,

GERRIT SMITH.

SPEECH OF GENERAL LANE, OF KANSAS, ON THE WAR.

Last Saturday forenoon, General James H. Lane, of Kansas, addressed a large audience at Tremont Temple. Notwithstanding the inclement weather, the Temple was well filled, and among the audience were many of our most prominent men.

The speaker came upon the platform soon after eleven o'clock, accompanied by several prominent Bostonian gentlemen, and was received with hearty applause.

F. W. Bird, Esq., of Walpole, called the meeting to order, and proposed the following gentlemen as officers, viz.:

Vice-Presidents—Hon. Henry Wilson, Hon. Henry Wilson, Hon. Henry Wilson,

Poetry.

HALLOWED GROUND.

BY CAMPBELL.

What's hallowed ground?—Has earth a clod
Its Maker meant should not be trod
By man, the image of his God,
Erect and free,
Unscourged by Superstition's rod
To bow the knee?

That's hallowed ground—where, mourned and missed,
The lips repose our love has kissed;—
But where's their memory's mansion? Is't
Yon church-yard's bowers?
No; in ourselves their souls exist,
A part of ours.

What hallows ground where heroes sleep?
'Tis not the sculptured piles you heap!
In dews that heavens far distant weep,
Their turf may bloom;
Or genii twine beneath the deep
Their coral tomb.

But strew his ashes to the wind
Whose sword or voice has served mankind—
And is he dead, whose glorious mind
Lifts thine on high?
To live in hearts we leave behind
Is not to die.

Is't death to fall for Freedom's right?
He's dead alone that lacks her light!
And murder sullies in Heaven's sight
The sword he draws:—
What can alone ennoble fight?
A noble cause!

Give that! and welcome War to brace
Her drums! and rend heaven's reeking space!
The colors painted face to face,
The charging cheer,
Though Death's pale horse led on the chase,
Shall still be dear!

And place our trophies where men kneel
To Heaven!—but Heaven rebukes my zeal!
The cause of truth and human weal,
O God above!
Transfer it from the sword's appeal
To peace and love!

Peace, love! the cherubim, that join
Their spread wings o'er Devotion's shrine;—
Prayers sound in vain, and temples shine
Where they are not;—
The heart alone can make divine
Religion's spot.

To incantations dost thou trust,
And pompous rites in domes august?
See moldering stones and metal's rust
Belie the vaunt,
That man can bless one pile of dust
With chime or chant.

Fair stars! are not your beings pure?
Can sin, can death your worlds obscure?
Else why so swell the thoughts at your
Aspect above?
Ye must be Heaven's that make us sure
Of heavenly love!

And in your harmony sublime
I read the doom of distant time;
That man's regenerate soul from crime
Shall yet be drawn,
And reason on his mortal clime
Immortal dawn.

What's hallowed ground? 'Tis what gives birth
To sacred thoughts in souls of worth!—
Peace! independence! truth! go forth
Earth's compassed round;
And your high priesthood shall make earth
All hallowed ground.

"ASPIRE."

BY M. F. TUPPER.

Hi[illegible]her, ever higher,—
Let the watchword be, "Aspire!"
Noble Christian youth;
Whatsoe'er be God's behest,
Try to do that duty best,
In the strength of Truth.

Let a just Ambition fire
Every motive and desire
God and Man to serve;
Man, with zeal and honor due,
God, with gratitude most true,
And all the spirit's nerve!

Let not Doubt thine efforts tire:
God will give what all require,
Raiment, home, and food;
And with these contented well,
Bid thine aspirations swell
To the Highest Good!

From the perils, deep and dire,
Of Temptation's sensual mire,
Keep thy chastened feet;
Dread, and hate, and turn away
From the lure that leads astray,
Satan's pleasure-cheat!

And, while thus a self-denier,
Stand the stalwart self-relier,—
Bravely battling on,
Though alone,—no soul alive
Ever stoutly dared to strive,
But saw the battle won!

Higher, then, and always higher,—
Let Man's motto be, "ASPIRE!"
Where'er he be,—
Holy liver! happy dier!
Earth's poor best, and Heaven's choir,
Are reserved for thee!

PRESS ON!

BY N. P. WILLIS.

We shall go forth together. There will come
Alike the day of trial unto all,
And the rude world will buffet us alike.
Temptation hath a music for all ears;
And mad Ambition trumpeteth to all;
And the ungovernable thoughts within
Will be in every bosom eloquent;—
But when the silence and the calm come on,
And the high seal of character is set,
We shall not all be similar. The flow
Of lifetime is a graduated scale,
And deeper than the vanities of power,
Or the vain pomp of glory, there is writ
A standard measuring its worth for heaven.
The pathway to the grave may be the same,
And the proud man shall tread it, and the low,
With his bowed head, shall bear him company.
Decay will make no difference, and death,
With his cold hand, shall make no difference;
And there will be no precedence of power,
In waking at the coming trump of God;
But in the temper of the invisible mind,
The godlike and undying intellect,
There are distinctions that will live in heaven,
When time is a forgotten circumstance!
The soul of man
Createth its own destiny of power;
And as the trial is intenser here,
His being hath a nobler strength in heaven.
What is its earthly victory? Press on!
For it hath tempted angels. Yet press on!
For it shall make you mighty among men;
And from the eyrie of your eagle thought
Ye shall look down on monarchs. O press on!
For the high ones and powerful shall come
To do you reverence: and the beautiful
Will know the purer language of your brow,
And read it like a talisman of love!
Press on! for it is godlike to unloose
The spirit, and forget yourself in thought;
Bending a pinion for the deeper sky,
And, in the very fetters of your flesh,
Mating with the pure essences of heaven!
Press on! "for in the grave there is no work,
And no device."—Press on! while yet ye may!

The Liberator.

KEEP IT BEFORE THE PEOPLE,

That this infernal rebellion is an inevitable and direct result of American slavery. Let no side issues for a moment divert us. By every power within human means that can be brought to bear upon the people at home, the brave soldiers abroad in the fight, and the government, through press and pulpit, blazon broad and high the verdict of a thirty years' history, that this is A SLAVEHOLDERS' REBELLION, cruel and relentless!

Of its barbarous character, there is crowded into less than a twelvemonth an amount and strength of evidence never before paralleled. The long catalogue of its crimes is but too familiar to us all. There is nothing in the country or in its relations, *except slavery*, which could have engendered this mighty strife. Diversity of interests in the sections, whether of business or religion, in the short space of eighty years, however sharp their competitions, furnishes no explanation of the mighty events which now pass before us.

All men may harmlessly shape and force the powers of external nature to do their bidding. The waves of the sea and the storm, the cataract and the red lightning, may be disrobed of their terrors at the touch of genius. Unconquerable will and the farthest stretch of human power over nature are productive of incalculable benefit to all; but no man—well or ill-born—can be vested with irresponsible power over his fellow-men without degenerating into a tyrant. This result is as inevitable as necessity itself. A few years' exercise of such power over the weak and friendless cannot fail to exhibit the evidence of this truth. Twenty or thirty years' practice will surely confirm it, and bring to view, in all their disgusting deformity, the wide extremes of the tyrant and the slave. Tyranny, ambitious and unjust, low and selfish in its aims, and bending all things to its relentless sway, it preys alike upon the individual and society. To compass its ends, it inflicts its insidious poison into both social and political life till institutions of freedom dissolve before it, or in the whirlwind of passion it sweeps away the choicest fabrics of government and society. Freeman and slave alike are but the tools of its cruel ambition. To rule or ruin is its governing motive. Peaceably if it can, forcibly if it must. It is confined to no age or country. It is visible everywhere and under all conditions, varying only in degree; and it should be among the highest duties of a good government, by force, if need be, to arrest it in its earliest exhibitions.

It is the unfortunate condition of this country, thus early in its history, to be cursed by a form of tyranny which has its root in slavery. This dreadful conflict is the result of its insolent machinations throughout the vast departments of our government. Under a professed respect for law and order in the desecrated name of "democracy," by secret and damnable plottings, it had at length all but crushed out the political life of the nation. With the army and navy crippled and dispersed by a traitorous administration, the fell doctrine of secession had well-nigh culminated in the subjugation or dismemberment of the Union; and for the first time in our history on a scale never before surpassed in wickedness, the government was to have been prostrated by a slaveholders' conspiracy to be forever held in subjection to its sway.

The people of the North, with their thoughts engrossed by matters that tell for peace, had been unmindful of the extent or designs of those who had held the reins for so many years. But when Sumter fell, the people awoke from sleep as by the "crack of doom." The bearings and magnitude of the conspiracy were soon known. Resistance and conflict were inevitable. Thirty-three millions of people, with opportunities unsurpassed in the tide of time, were not only forced into this suicidal war, but by complication of their foreign relations rendered liable at any moment to be dragged into a war with one or more of the powerful nations on the opposite side of the sea.

And yet we have among us, even while the contest thickens, and at a time when the best endeavors of the government are put forth to save us, apologists for American slavery, who cannot or will not see any necessary connection between it and this foul rebellion. Instead of loyally seconding the efforts of the patriotic, these men traitorously labor for a "peace" which, if attained, would be but the inauguration of new and interminable ills.

Let us listen to no peace that is not preceded by the utter destruction of rebellion; no peace that has not its foundations laid in the highest and broadest liberty for ALL. Let no vacillation mark the courage of the people or the policy of the government. Carry the war, if need be, to the remotest extreme of "Africa." At every step of its resistance, let the rebellion feel the dread power of the insulted and mighty North. On its head and front let the blows fall thick and fast. Overbearing in her insolence and pride, let South Carolina, the seat of secession and foremost among her recreant sisters, let this war which she precipitated upon us press the chalice to her lips. If she still resist, lay her boasted capital in the dust, and make its site as wide of discovery to the antiquary in future years as that of Babylon or Nineveh. And, finally, let slavery and secession rest forever in a common grave. W.

"REASONS FOR WITHDRAWING FROM THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH."

Such is the title of a letter (published in pamphlet form) from Rev. Hiram Mattison to Rev. James Erwin, Presiding Elder of the Rome District, Black River Conference.

For twenty-five years past, Mr. Mattison has been an able and faithful minister, connected with the Black River Conference in the State of New York. Perhaps for the whole of that time, but certainly for many years past, he has been diligent and zealous in protesting against the toleration of slaveholding in the Methodist Episcopal Church; and he was one of the most faithful of that noble minority who, at the quadrennial General Conference held last year in New York, were defeated in their attempt to purge the Northern church from the guilt of slaveholding. Though many bitter reproaches were poured upon him by those Methodists who wished still to temporize with slavery, his patience and moderation have been shown, both by his waiting thus long before withdrawal—in the hope that faithful labor might still reform the Northern Methodist Church—and by the calmness of the language in which he now sets forth that Church's guilt.

The second of the two reasons which Mr. Mattison gives for his withdrawal is the following:—

II. *There are several things in the* GOVERNMENT *and* ECONOMY *of the M. E. Church which I regard as unscriptural, and tending to ecclesiastical despotism.*

Under this head he gives six specifications, which may profitably be pondered by members of the church in question. His first and chief reason for withdrawing, however, is founded on slavery, and must be deeply interesting to every opposer of that wickedness. It is as follows:—

I. *I am not willing to take my passport for eternity from a Church in which there are* THOUSANDS OF SLAVEHOLDERS *in good and regular standing; and that, too, without rebuke either in the discipline of the Church, or by the administration.*

Even according to the lowest estimates of official apologists for Methodist slaveholding, (Drs. Stephens and Baird, for instance,) there are not less than FIVE THOUSAND SLAVEHOLDERS now in the Methodist Episcopal Church, owning thirty-five thousand slaves; but to my positive knowledge, these figures do not represent *half* the slaveholders in the Methodist Episcopal Church, nor half the slaves held by them. Nor is this all; Methodists in our "Northern Church," as some style it, in Maryland and Virginia, and Kentucky and Missouri, buy and sell slaves with impunity; and even members of Conferences are publicly known to own from two to forty slaves, without a shadow of rebuke or censure.

These facts are known to our Bishops, and Presiding Elders, and Conferences, and have been for years; and yet, instead of seeking to reform or exclude the offenders, the chief effort of the government and the periodical press of the church has been to make slaveholding respectable and Christian; and to screen the owners of and dealers in human flesh and blood from punishment and disgrace.

As a part of this process, the government of the church and the official editors, (generally committed to the same policy,) have found it necessary, by all means in their power, to resist and put down, instead of helping and honoring, all those who were toiling to expose the dark iniquity, and to purify American Methodism from this foul plague-spot or disgrace.

For such reasons only, and by such terrible means, many noble men have perished, ecclesiastically if not literally, in the struggle against Methodist slaveholding; a record of whose martyrdom still lives with God, and will fill their persecutors with dismay, in the coming day of judgment.

I am aware that corruption in a church may not always justify withdrawal from it. But when it is tolerated in its polity, and protected in its administration; and when, as in the history of the Methodist Episcopal Church, honest and persevering efforts to rid the church of slaveholders have generally resulted, not in the exclusion of a single slaveholder, but in the defaming and driving out of all earnest and persevering laborers for a non-slaveholding Christianity, there seems to be no hope that the M. E. Church will purge herself from this iniquity for years to come, if ever; or until the opportunity for so honoring Christ has passed away, by the legal abolition of slavery in these States.

Such being the state of things in the M. E. Church, my convictions being clear that to hold property in man is a sin against God, my fiftieth year being past, and my health precarious; I feel it my duty to withdraw from said church, as a solemn TESTIMONY and PROTEST against Methodist slaveholding and slave-trading; and in order that, when it shall please God to call me hence, I may take my departure for heaven, where I hope to dwell forever, "from a church having no man-stealers in its bosom, and holding no fellowship with slaveholders."

It is in no spirit of faintheartedness, nor indisposition to further labor, that Mr. Mattison takes the important step of withdrawing from a sect in which he has so long been one of the most active ministers. He gives this final testimony of withdrawal, because his former testimony of long and earnest labor for the purification of that church has been utterly unsuccessful; because, as he says—"there seems to be no hope that the Methodist Episcopal Church will purge herself from this iniquity for years to come, if ever; or until the opportunity of so honoring Christ has passed away, by the legal abolition of slavery in these States."

No one is better qualified than Mr. Mattison for judging how extensive is the present complicity of that church with slavery, and how little hope remains of its spontaneous self-purification. In 1859, after a long series of more private labors to the same end, he published an admirable pamphlet of 136 pages, entitled—"The Impending Crisis of 1860; or the present Connection of the Methodist Episcopal Church with Slavery, and Our Duty in regard to it." By this he hoped to arouse the Northern church, in the General Conference of 1860, to the utter exclusion of slaveholders, slave-traders and slave-breeders from its membership. They shamefully evaded the performance of this duty; and this most competent and trustworthy witness now testifies that among Northern Methodists there are, still, more than ten thousand slaveholders, owning more than seventy thousand slaves, and that there seems to be no hope of efficient action to remove them. It was time, indeed, that he should remove himself from membership with them.

The church claims to be "the salt of the earth and the light of the world." The government of this country, as of other countries, pretends to no high standard of religious principle, to nothing better than worldly expediency in managing its affairs. But the managers of the Methodist Episcopal Church are doing just what Abraham Lincoln and his "Republican" administration are doing, letting themselves drift with the current of events, as far as slavery is concerned, instead of making such strenuous efforts as men and Christians should do, to turn that current in the right direction. Whether or not the abolition of slavery shall come as an incidental and collateral result of the war, history must stigmatize both these bodies as having basely shrunk from the duty of open and active hostility to the worst foe of civil and religious liberty.—C. K. W.

A VOICE FROM THE WEST.

EDITOR OF LIBERATOR:

DEAR SIR—I have recently received a letter, dated Nov. 13th, from a respected minister of the Gospel in Illinois, whose name I withhold, as the publication of it might cause him some trouble there; but I have his permission to give you the following extract for insertion in your paper. It may not, in all respects, echo your own sentiments; but I trust to your usual liberality to give it expression to the public. J. P. B.

[EXTRACT.]

"In your second letter of the 7th inst., you allude to the new and discouraging obstacle to peace, resulting from the 'growing conviction that there can be no permanent peace while slavery exists; and, therefore, that the war must be declared to be for emancipation, as much as for Union.'

I think I appreciate the sagacity of the war spirit, in seizing upon this powerful element of popular and religious prejudice to carry on its selfish schemes of avarice and despotism. It is an old trick of Satan, or the spirit of evil, which our religious teachers ought to be familiar with, and, certainly, would recognize, if they were not now its self-blinded dupes.

It seems to me that the error is here. God has, for the past thirty years, been sending his prophets of liberty and humanity—saying, Let my people go, on penalty of my unquenchable wrath! Destroy slavery, or it will destroy you as a nation! But we have perseveringly refused. We have idolized the Union. Not only have the principles of moral virtue been sacrificed, in profane adoration of its supremacy, but, on its bloody altar we have immolated hecatombs of God's poor; and now God has vindicated his supremacy and the sacredness of human rights, by demolishing that Union and filling the land with carnage and war.

It is now too late for the government of the United States to destroy slavery. God will never give it that honor: it is morally incapable. Doubtless, slavery is doomed; but not by such a faithless agency. Hence the lamentable mistakes of Gerrit Smith, Lewis Tappan, William Goodell, and the amiable Jocelyn, and others good and true, in upholding the government in this war of despotism, with the vain hope that its physical necessities may convert it into a war of emancipation. It seems to me that these distinguished philanthropists have strangely lost sight of fundamental principles. Do not these gentlemen know well, that the government of the United States, in this war, does not contest the right to hold slaves, but only to be independent? In upholding the government, therefore, in this war, they are not opposing the principle of chattel slavery, but of national independence. Are they willing thus to identify themselves with the old pest of history—the principle of the 'divine right of kings'? It is only the old bloody contest of prerogative and popular rights. And I am saddened at the fearful probability, that this war is to entail upon this generation, if not on posterity, this ancient and sanguinary controversy.

When will the people learn their rights; and, learning, have the virtue to maintain them? Must our unfortunate race always chafe under the yoke of aristocratic selfishness, and priestly servility and domination?"

☞ In speaking of the hoisting the black flag by South Carolina, the Richmond correspondent of the Petersburg *Express* says:—

The spring of hope must now, with the Yankees, die upon the winter winds. Already has the black flag been hoisted upon the soil of South Carolina, and war to the knife, the knife to the hilt, and thence to the shoulder, been proclaimed by her noble sons as the only booty which Yankee hireling invaders shall receive at their hands. This is right. It is the only way to conquer a peace with a people so lost and degraded as those which compose the grand army of the rump government. We look anxiously for news from the sunny South; hopefully, prayerfully, with no misgivings. Now that the rallying cry is "no quarter to the invaders of our soil," may we not believe that the course inaugurated by South Carolina will be followed up by our whole army, and thus end this war? "So mote it be."

☞ The Washington correspondent of the New York *Tribune* says the soldiers at Beaufort and the slaves on the Island will soon be picking the ungathered cotton. The former under an order from the War Department, the latter upon the impulse of wages directed to be paid them by Gen. Sherman. It is also probable that the cultivation of the Sea Island for the next crop of cotton will be contracted for with some responsible Yankee, who will be required to employ the slaves abandoned by their masters upon the several plantations.

Selections.

SPEECH OF HON. CHARLES SUMNER.

(Concluded.)

Never in history did Rebellion assume such a front. Call their numbers 400,000 or 200,000—what you will—they far surpass any armed forces ever before martialed in rebellion; they are among the largest ever martialed in war.

And all this is in the name of slavery, and for the sake of slavery, and at the bidding of slavery. The profligate favorite of the English monarch—the famous Duke of Buckingham—was not more exclusively supreme—even according to those words by which he was exposed to the judgment of his contemporaries—

"Who rules the kingdom? The King.
Who rules the King; *The Duke.*
Who rules the Duke? The Devil."

The prevailing part here attributed to the royal favorite belongs now to slavery, which, in the rebel States, is a more than royal favorite.

Who rules the rebel States? The President.
Who rules the President? *Slavery.*
Who rules slavery? ———

The latter question I need not answer. But all must see—and nobody can deny—that slavery is the ruling idea of this Rebellion. It is slavery which martials these hosts and breathes into their embattled ranks its own barbarous fire. It is slavery which stamps its character alike upon officers and men. It is slavery which inspires all, from the general to the trumpeter. It is slavery which speaks in the word of command, and which sounds in the morning drum-beat. It is slavery which digs trenches and builds hostile forts. It is slavery which pitches its white tents and stations its sentries over against the National Capital. It is slavery which sharpens the bayonet and casts the bullet; which points the cannon and scatters the shell, blazing, bursting with death. Wherever this Rebellion shows itself—whatever form it takes—whatever thing it does—whatever it meditates—it is moved by slavery; nay, it is slavery itself, incarnate, living, acting, raging, robbing, murdering, according to the essential law of its being.

But this is not all. The Rebellion is not only ruled by slavery, but owing to the peculiar condition of the Slave States, it is for the moment, according to their boast, actually reinforced by this institution. As the fields of the South are cultivated, and labor generally is performed by slaves, the white freemen are at liberty to play the part of rebels. The slaves toil at home, while the masters work at Rebellion, and thus by a singular fatality is this doomed race actually engaged, without taking up arms, in feeding, supporting, succoring, invigorating those who are now battling for their enslavement. Full well I know that this is an element of strength only through the indulgence of our own Government; but I speak now of things as they are; and that I may not seem to go too far, I ask your attention to the testimony of a Southern journal:—

THE SLAVES AS A MILITARY ELEMENT IN THE SOUTH. The total white population of the eleven States now comprising the Confederacy is 6,000,000, and, therefore, to fill up the ranks of the proposed army, (600,000) about ten per cent. of the entire white population will be required. In any other country than our own, such a draft could not be met; but the Southern States can furnish that number of men, and still not leave the material interests of the country in a suffering condition. Those who are incapacitated for bearing arms can oversee the plantations, and *the negroes can go on undisturbed in their usual labors.* In the North, the case is different; the men who join the army of subjugation are the laborers, the producers, and the factory operatives. Nearly every man from that section, especially those from the rural districts, leaves some branch of industry to suffer during his absence. *The institution of slavery in the South alone enables her to place in the field a force much larger in proportion to her white population than the North,* or indeed any country which is dependent entirely on free labor. The institution is a tower of strength to the South, *particularly at the present crisis*, and our enemies will be likely to find that the "moral cancer," about which their orators are so fond of prating, is really *one of the most effective weapons employed against the Union by the South.* Whatever number of men may be needed for this war, we are confident our people stand ready to furnish. We are all enlisted for the war, and there must be no holding back until the independence of the South is fully acknowledged.—*Montgomery (Ala.) Advertiser.*

As the rebels have already confessed the Conspiracy which led to the Rebellion, so in this article do they openly confess the mainspring of their strength. With triumphant vaunt, they declare slavery to be the especial source of their belligerent power.

But slavery may be seen not only in what it has done for the Rebellion of which it is the indisputable head—the fountain and life—but also in what it has inflicted upon us. There is not a community—not a family—not an individual, man, woman or child—who does not feel its heavy, bloody hand. Why these mustering armies? Why this drum-beat in your peaceful streets? Why these gathering means of war? Why these swelling taxes? Why these unprecedented loans? Why this derangement of business? Why among us the suspension of the *habeas corpus*, and the prostration of all safe-guards of Freedom? Why this constant solicitude visible in all your faces? The answer is clear. Slavery is the author—the agent—the cause. The anxious hours that you pass are darkened by slavery. The *habeas corpus* and all those safe-guards of Freedom which you deplore have been prostrated by slavery. The business which you have lost has been filched by slavery. The millions of money now amassed by patriotic offerings are all snatched by slavery. The taxes now wrung out of your diminished means are all consumed by slavery. And all these gathering means of war—this drum-beat in your peaceful streets—and these mustering armies are on account of slavery, and nothing else. Do the poor feel constrained to forego their customary tea or coffee or sugar, now burthened by increased taxation? Let them pledge themselves anew against the criminal giant tax-gatherer. Does any community mourn gallant men, who, going forth joyous and proud beneath their country's flag, have been brought home cold and stiff, with its folds wrapped about them for a shroud? Let all who truly mourn the dead be aroused against slavery. Does a mother drop tears for a son in the flower of his days cut down upon the distant battle-field, which he moistens with his youthful, generous blood? Let her know that slavery dealt the deadly blow, which took at once his life and her peace.

But I hear a voice saying that all this proceeds—not from slavery—oh no! but from anti-slavery—that the Republicans who hate slavery—that the Abolitionists—are the authors of this terrible conflagration. Surely you may well suspect the sense or loyalty of him who puts forth this irrational and utterly wicked imputation. As well say that the early Christians were the authors of the Heathen enormities against which they bore their martyr testimony, and that the cross, the axe, the gridiron, and the boiling oil by which they suffered were a part of the Christian dispensation. But the early Christians were misrepresented and falsely charged with crime, even as you are. The tyrant Nero, after setting Rome on fire, and dancing at the conflagration, denounced the Christians as guilty of this wickedness. Here are the authentic words of the historian Tacitus:—

"So for the quieting of this rumor, Nero judicially charged with the crime, and punished with the most studied severities, that class, hated for their general wickedness, whom the vulgar call Christians. The originator of that name was one Christ, who, in the reign of Tiberius, suffered death by the sentence of the procurator, Pontius Pilate. The baneful superstition, thereby repressed for the time, again broke out, not only over Judea, the native soil of that mischief, but in the city also, where from every side all atrocious and abominable things collect and flourish." *Annal.* XV. 44.

The writer of these remarkable words was the wisest and most penetrating man of his generation, and he lived amidst the events which he describes. Perhaps in listening to him you may find an apology for those among us who heap upon contemporaries a similar obloquy. The Abolitionists need no defence from me. It is to their praise—destined to fill an immortal page—that from the beginning they saw the true character of slavery, and warned their country against its threatening domination. Through them the fires of Liberty have been kept alive in the United States—as Hume is constrained to confess that these same fires were kept alive in England by the Puritans, whom this great historian never praised if he could help it. And yet they are charged with this Rebellion. Can this be serious? Even at the beginning of the Republic the seeds of the Conspiracy were planted, and in 1820, and then again in 1830, it showed itself—while nearly thirty years ago Jackson denounced it, and one of its leading spirits has recently boasted that it has been gathering head for this full time, thus—not only in its distant embryo, but in its well-attested development—antedating those Abolitionists whose prophetic patriotism is now made the apology for the crime. As well—where the prudent passenger has warned the ship's crew of the fatal lee shore—arraign him for the wreck which has engulfed all; as well cry out that the philosopher who foresees the storm is responsible for the desolation that ensues, or that the astronomer, who calculates the eclipse, is the author of the darkness which covers the earth.

And now before closing, the way is prepared for me to open to you briefly the present situation, and its duties. You have seen slavery even before the Federal Union, not only a disturbing influence, but an actual bar to Union except on condition of surrender to its immoral behests. You have seen slavery at all times militant whenever any proposition was brought forward with regard to it, and more than once threatening a dissolution of the Union. You have seen slavery for many years the animating principle of a Conspiracy against the Union, while it matured its flagitious plans, and obtained the mastery of Cabinet and President. And when the Conspiracy had wickedly ripened, you have seen that it was only by concessions to slavery, that it was encountered, as by similar concessions it had from the beginning been encouraged. You now see Rebellion everywhere throughout the Slave States elevating its bloody crest, and threatening the existence of the National Government, and all in the name of slavery, while it proposes to establish a new government whose corner-stone shall be slavery.

Against this Rebellion we wage war. It is our determination, as it is our duty, to crush it; and this will be done. The region now contested by the rebels belongs to the United States by every tie of government and of right. Some of it has been bought by our money, while all of it—with its rivers, harbors and extensive coast—has become essential to our business in peace, and to our defence in war. Union is a geographical—economical—commercial—political—military—and if I may so say—even a fluvial necessity. Without Union, peace on this continent is impossible; but life without peace is impossible also.

Only by crushing this Rebellion can Union and peace be restored. Let this be seen in its reality, and who can hesitate? If this were done instantly—without further contest—then besides all the countless advantages of every kind obtained by such restoration, two especial goods will be accomplished—one political and the other moral as well as political. First, the pretended right of secession, with the whole pestilent extravagance of State Sovereignty, which has supplied the machinery for this Rebellion and afforded a delusive cover for treason, will be trampled out—never again to disturb the majestic unity of the Republic. And, secondly, the unrighteous attempt to organize a new Confederacy solely for the sake of slavery, and with slavery as its corner-stone, will be overthrown. These two pretensions, one so shocking to our reason and the other so shocking to our moral nature, will disappear forever. And with their disappearance will commence a new epoch, the beginning of a grander period. But if by any accident the Rebellion should prevail, then just in proportion to its triumph, whether through concession on our part, or through successful force on the other part, will the Union be impaired, and Peace be impossible. Therefore, in the name of the Union and for the sake of Peace are you summoned to the work.

But how shall the Rebellion be crushed? That is the question. Men, money, munitions of war, a well supplied commissariat, means of transportation; all these you have in abundance—in some particulars beyond the rebels. You have too the consciousness of a good cause, which in itself is an army. And yet thus far—until within a few days—the advantage has not been on our side. The explanation is easy. The rebels are combatting at home on their own soil, strengthened and maddened by slavery, which is to them an ally and a fanaticism. More thoroughly aroused than ourselves—more terribly in earnest—with every sinew strained to the utmost—they freely use all the resources that God and nature put into their hands; raising against us not only the whole white population, but enlisting the war-whoop of the Indians—cruising upon the sea in pirate ships to despoil our commerce, and, at one swoop, confiscating our property to the extent of hundreds of millions of dollars, while all this time their four millions of slaves undisturbed at home are freely contributing by their labor to sustain the war which without them must soon expire.

It remains for us to encounter the Rebellion calmly and surely by a force superior to its own. But to this end something more will be needed than men or money. Our battalions must be reinforced by ideas, and we must strike directly at the Origin and Mainspring of the Rebellion. I do not say now in what way or to what extent; but simply that we must strike; it may be by the system of a Massachusetts General—Butler; it may be by that of Fremont; or it may be by the grander system of John Quincy Adams. Reason and Sentiment both concur in this policy, which is only according to the most common principles of human conduct. In no way can we do so much at so little cost. To the enemy such a blow will be a terror; to good men it will be an encouragement, and to foreign nations watching this contest, it will be an earnest of something beyond a mere carnival of battle. There has been the cry "On to Richmond," and still another worse cry "On to England." Better than either is the cry, "On to Freedom." Let this be heard in the voices of your soldiers; ay—let it resound in the purposes of the Government, and victory must be ours. By this sign conquer.

It is with no little happiness that I now announce that this cry is at last adopted by the Government. You will find it in the instructions from the Secretary of War, dated War Department, Oct. 14, 1861, and addressed to the general commanding the forces which have just effected a successful landing in South Carolina. Here are the important words:—

"You will, however, in general avail yourself of the services of any persons, whether fugitives from labor or not, who may offer them to the National Government; you will employ such persons in such services as they may be fitted for; either as ordinary employés, or, if special circumstances seem to require it, in any other capacity, with such organization, in squads, companies, or otherwise, as you deem most beneficial to the service. This, however, not to mean a general arming of them for military service. You will assure all loyal masters that Congress will provide just compensation to them for the loss of the services of the persons so employed."

These words have not the positive form of a proclamation; but, analyze them, and you will find them full of meaning. First, martial law, is hereby declared; for the powers committed to the discretion of the general are derived from that law and not from the late Confiscation Act of Congress. Secondly, fugitive slaves are not to be surrendered. Thirdly, all coming within the camp are to be treated as freemen. Fourthly, they may be employed in such service as they may be fitted for. Fifthly, in squads, companies or otherwise, with the single limitation that this is not to mean "a *general* arming of them for military service." And, sixthly, compensation, through Congress, is promised to loyal masters; saying nothing of rebel masters. All this is little short of a Proclamation of Emancipation—not unlike that of old Caius Marius, when he landed on the coast of Etruria, and, according to Plutarch, proclaimed liberty to the slaves. As such I do not err when I call it the most important event of the war—the more important because it is understood to have the deliberate sanction of the President as well as of the Secretary of War, and therefore marks the policy of the Administration. That this policy should be first applied to South Carolina is just. As the great Rebellion began in this State, so should the great Remedy.

Slavery is the inveterate culprit—the transcendent criminal—the persevering traitor—the arch rebel—the open outlaw. As the less is contained in the greater, so the Rebellion is all contained in slavery. The tenderness which you show to slavery is, therefore, tenderness to the Rebellion itself. The pious caution with which you avoid harming slavery is like that ancient superstition, which made the wolf sacred among the Romans, and the crocodile sacred among the Egyptians; nor shall I hesitate to declare that every surrender of a slave by your soldiers back to bondage is an offering of human sacrifice—whose shame is too great for any army to bear. That men should still hesitate to strike at slavery is only another illustration of human weakness. The English Republicans, in their bloody contest with the Crown, hesitated for a long time to fire upon the King; but under the valiant lead of Cromwell, surrounded by his well-trained Ironsides, they banished all such scruple, and you know well the result. The king was not shot, but his head was brought to the block.

The duty which I suggest, if not urgent now, as a *military necessity, in just self-defence,* will present itself constantly on other grounds *as our armies advance in the Slave States or land on their coasts.* If it does not stare us in the face at this moment, it is because unhappily we are still everywhere on the defensive. As we begin to be successful, it must rise before us for practical decision; and you cannot avoid it. There will be slaves in your camps or within your extended lines whose condition you must determine. There will be slaves also claimed by rebels, whose continued chattelhood you will scorn to recognize. The decision of these two cases will settle the whole great question. Nor can the rebels complain. They challenge our armies to enter upon their territory in the free exercise of all the powers of war—according to which, as you well know, all private interests are subordinated to the public safety, which for the time becomes the supreme law above all other laws, and above the Constitution itself. If everywhere under the flag of the Union—in its triumphant march—Freedom is substituted for Slavery, this outrageous Rebellion will not be the first instance in history where God has turned the wickedness of man into a blessing; nor will the example of Sampson stand alone when he gathered honey out of the carcass of the dead and rotten lion.

Pardon me if I speak only in hints, and do not stop to argue or explain. Not now, at the close of an address, devoted to the Rebellion in its Origin and Mainspring, can I enter upon this great question of military duty in its details. There is another place where this discussion will be open to me. It is enough now if I indicate the simple principle which will be the natural guide of all who are really in earnest—of all whose desire to save their country is stronger than their desire to save slavery. You will strike where the blow will be most felt; nor will you miss the precious opportunity. The enemy is before you; nay, he has come out in ostentatious challenge, and his name is slavery. You can vindicate the Union only by his prostration. Slavery is the very Goliah of the Rebellion, armed with a coat of mail, with a helmet of brass upon his head, greaves of brass upon his legs, a target of brass between his shoulders, and with the staff of his spear like a weaver's beam. But a stone from a simple sling will make the giant fall upon his face to the earth.

Thank God! our Government is strong; but thus far all signs denote that it is not strong enough to save the Union, and at the same time to save slavery. One or the other must suffer; and just in proportion as you reach forth to protect slavery, do you protect this accursed Rebellion; nay, you give to it that very aid and comfort which, under our Constitution, is treason itself. Perversely and pitifully do you postpone that sure period of reconciliation, not only between the two sections—not only between the men of the North and the men of the South, but, more beautiful still, between the slave and his master, without which that true tranquillity, which we all seek, cannot be permanently assured to our country. Believe it; only through such reconciliation, under the sanction of Freedom, can you remove all occasion of contention hereafter; only in this way can you cut off the head of this great Rebellion, and at the same time extirpate that principle of Evil, which, if allowed to remain, must shoot forth in perpetual discord, if not in other rebellions; only in this way can you command that safe victory—without which this contest will be vain—which will have among its conquests Indemnity for the Past and Security for the Future—the noblest indemnity and the strongest security ever won—because founded in the redemption of a race.

Full well I know the doubts, cavils and misrepresentations to which this argument for the integrity of our Government is exposed; but I turn with confidence to the people. The heart of the people is right, and all great thoughts come from the heart. All who hate slavery and who are true to Freedom will join instinctively in this effort, paying with person, time, talent, purse. They are the minute men of this War—always ready; and yet more ready just in proportion as the War is truly inspired. They at least are sure. It only remains that others who do not share in this animosity to slavery—that merchants who study their ledgers—that bankers who study their discounts—and that politicians who study success—should see that only by a prompt and united effort against slavery can this War be brought to a speedy and triumphant close, without which merchant, banker and politician will all suffer alike. Ledger, discount and political aspiration will be of small value if the War continues its lava flood, shriveling and stifling everything but itself. Therefore, *under the spur of self-interest, if not under the necessities of self-defence,* we must act together. Humanity, too, joins in this appeal. Blood enough has been already shed—victims enough have been offered at the altar—even if you are willing to continue to slavery the tribute we are now paying of more than a million of dollars a day.

Events, too, under Providence, will be our masters. For the rebels there can be no true success. Every road for them leads to disaster. Defeat for them will be bad; but victory will be worse; for then will the North be inspired to a sublimer energy. The proposition of Emancipation which shook ancient Athens, followed close upon the disaster at Cheronœa; and the statesman who moved it afterward vindicated himself by saying that it proceeded not from him, but from Cheronœa. The Act of Congress, punishing the rebels by giving Freedom to their slaves *employed against us*—familiarly known as the Confiscation Act—passed the Senate on the morning after the disaster at Manassas. In the providence of God there are no accidents; and this seeming reverse thus helped the way to the greatest victory which can be won.

There is a classical story of a mighty hunter, whose life, in the Book of Fate, had been made to depend upon the preservation of a brand which was burning at his birth. The brand, so full of destiny, was snatched from the flames, and carefully preserved by his prudent mother. Meanwhile, the hunter became powerful and invulnerable to mortal weapons. But at length the mother, indignant at his cruelty to her own family, flung the brand upon the flames, and the hunter died. The story of that hunter, so powerful and invulnerable to mortal weapons, is now repeated in this Rebellion, and slavery is the fatal brand. Let our Government, which has thus far preserved slavery with maternal care, simply fling it upon the flames which itself has madly aroused, and the Rebellion will die at once.

Amidst all the perils which now surround us, there is one only which I dread. It is the peril which comes from some new surrender to slavery—some fresh recognition of its power—some present dalliance with its intolerable pretensions. Worse than any defeat or even the flight of an army would be such abandonment of principle. From all such peril, good Lord deliver us! And there is *one way of safety,* clear as sunlight—pleasant as the paths of Peace. Over its broad and open gate is written, simply, JUSTICE. There is victory in that word. Do justice, and you will be twice-blessed; for so you will subdue the rebel master while you elevate the slave. Do justice frankly, generously, nobly, and you will find strength instead of weakness, while all seeming responsibility will disappear in obedience to God's everlasting law. Do justice, though the Heavens fall;—but they will not fall. Every act of justice becomes a new pillar of the Universe, or it may be a new link of that

——— "golden, everlasting chain,
Whose strong embrace holds heaven and earth and main."

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"Proclaim Liberty throughout all the land, to all the inhabitants thereof."

"I lay this down as the law of nations. I say that military authority takes, for the time, the place of all municipal institutions, and SLAVERY AMONG THE REST; and that, under that state of things, so far from its being true that the States where slavery exists have the exclusive management of the subject, not only the PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, but the COMMANDER OF THE ARMY, HAS POWER TO ORDER THE UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION OF THE SLAVES. . . . From the instant that the slaveholding States become the theatre of a war, CIVIL, servile, or foreign, from that instant the war powers of CONGRESS extend to interference with the institution of slavery, IN EVERY WAY IN WHICH IT CAN BE INTERFERED WITH, from a claim of indemnity for slaves taken or destroyed, to the cession of States, burdened with slavery, to a foreign power. . . . It is a war power. I say it is a war power; and when your country is actually in war, whether it be a war of invasion or a war of insurrection, Congress has power to carry on the war, and MUST CARRY IT ON, ACCORDING TO THE LAWS OF WAR; and by the laws of war, an invaded country has all its laws and municipal institutions swept by the board, and MARTIAL POWER TAKES THE PLACE OF THEM. When two hostile armies are set in martial array, the commanders of both armies have power to emancipate all the slaves in the invaded territory."—J. Q. ADAMS.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.

Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind.

J. B. YERRINTON & SON, Printers.

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Refuge of Oppression.

SUMNER VERSUS WASHINGTON.

Mr. Charles Sumner enlightened the ignorance of the metropolis on Wednesday evening. He informed us of the causes of the war. He instructed us on the way to end the war. He wore the anti-slavery spectacles, and saw only one cause, slavery, and only one cure, emancipation. He wandered off occasionally, took off the spectacles, and saw dimly other causes; he even contradicted himself by saying that the rebellion was the result of a conspiracy, dating back to the formation of the Constitution; but his eyes were sore without the dark glasses, and he relapsed into the gloom and slavery view. He quoted Tacitus, to remind us of his classical bent of mind, and alluded to Caius Marius, but avoided the quotation from Plutarch which proved such a sore subject for him in Boston.

The speech was a failure, and fell upon the audience with great coldness. The reason was manifest. It was not an effort of frankness. *It was a labored but concealed attack on the Constitution and its framers.* Mr. Sumner did not dare in New York to speak his sentiments fully, and boldly attack Washington and the illustrious fathers. He preferred the insidious course of instilling into the minds of his audience sentiments of hatred to the Constitution, so that they might look complacently hereafter on the abolition revolution which he contemplates.

And there are other reasons why the speech was a failure. Instead of being history, it was fiction composed of detached passages of history, woven together, while the grand truths that would make against him were suppressed altogether. Instead of being a frank, open and manly Union speech, it was an elaboration of the doctrine of "No Union with Slaveholders." Instead of being the voice of a statesman, the object was the special pleading of a not very ingenious solicitor. Instead of being the argument of a substantial mind, firm in the confidence of its own right, it was the sly and untrustworthy appeal of an advocate who has committed himself to a bad cause, which he can sustain only by falsifying fact, concealing truth, substituting declamation for argument; and it leaves on the mind of the reader, a melancholy conviction that the orator may possibly have good sense enough, after all, to see through his own folly, and to be aware of his entire want of success.

We say without hesitation, that this speech of Mr. Sumner, addressed by him to a popular audience, is the elaboration of a series of ideas, which he is not so great a fool as to be willing to lay before those sensible men, in a private conversation. He knows well that the entire reasoning of his speech would be ridiculed; if he were to reduce it to the simple propositions which it goes upon, and present them to any man of ordinary common sense, as a logical argument, he would be laughed at.

He suppresses history. He ignores the fact that *the Constitution was made for a nation of Slaveholders.* That its provisions were devised to cover the possibility of slavery being as perpetual as the instrument itself. That the long labors over its provisions, the most important and the most difficult points of union in forming it, were caused by that identical expectation on the part of some of the founders, and a willingness on the part of others, to provide for just such a future. While there were men in the convention who believed and hoped that slavery would be in time eradicated, there were others who expected it to last until the end of time, and there was not a man there, who sincerely adopted the instrument as finally agreed on, that did not adopt it on the theory that slavery and the Constitution might be co-existent *ad eternitatem*. If Mr. Sumner denies this, ignores this, omits this fact, in his statesmanship, he is a child in politics. It stares him in the face whenever he reads the constitutional debates. He knows as well as Washington knew, when he set his glorious name to the instrument, that the United States of America is a Union founded not only on the principle that slavery is permissible, but on the principle that to sustain and keep alive that Union, slavery must be protected, defended, and its rights guaranteed, just so long as one State of the Union desires to preserve it, though it should be for a thousand years. Every minute provision of the instrument was a rock in the foundation of our Union.

Therefore it is that we say Mr. Sumner suppresses history, and we may add that he evinces timidity unworthy a Senator in not daring to follow his own ideas to their conclusion, and charge, as he does in his heart if he is sincere, that Washington and the founders of the Constitution began the wrong by admitting into the instrument a principle which, according to Mr. Sumner, is *per se* a cause of rebellion!

He says slavery is the cause of the rebellion, and must be eradicated if we expect a cure. Does he prove it? Here is his logic:—

"There is not a community—not a family—not an individual, man, woman or child—who does not feel its heavy, bloody hand. Why these mustering armies? Why this drum-beat in your peaceful streets? Why these gathering means of war? Why these swelling taxes? Why these unprecedented loans? Why this derangement of business? Why among us the suspension of the *habeas corpus*, and the prostration of all safeguards of Freedom? Why this constant solicitude visible in all your faces? The answer is clear. Slavery is the author—the agent—the cause. The anxious hours that you pass are darkened by slavery. The *habeas corpus*, and all those safeguards of Freedom which you cherish, have been prostrated by slavery. The business which you have lost has been filched by slavery. The millions of money now amassed by patriotic offerings are all snatched by slavery. The taxes now wrung out of your diminished means are all consumed by slavery."

But what proof is here? It is Mr. Sumner's assertion. He knows no more of the logical sequence of cause and effect than a baby, if he is serious in his views. Substitute in the foregoing quotation the word anti-slavery wherever the word slavery occurs, and you convert its falsehood into truth. But it proves nothing to assert either view. No one needs to think twice in deciding that the solar system was not the *cause* of Galileo's punishment; for the sun might remain motionless, and Galileo not be condemned. Yet Mr. Sumner has the audacity to charge that *slavery* is the *cause* of the suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus!* And he might have gone further, and argued that slavery was the cause of Charles Sumner inflicting such trash, for reason, on a New York audience!

We say that these remarks will be converted into truth by substituting anti-slavery for slavery. We repeat that the direct active cause, to which the war can be traced, is Abolitionism. The effect is as plainly connected with that cause, as any conflagration with the man who touched the match. We appeal to Washington and the dead fathers to justify the assertion. Did you, oh wise and mighty men, did you create this glorious Constitution with an element of rebellion and conspiracy in its very texture, as this modern Solon from Boston tells us, or is the rebellion the effect of reformers and disorganizers like him, who have gone up and down our streets, and have even stood in our halls of public debate, teaching that your Constitution, sealed with your blood, and sanctified by your prayers, is a covenant with hell, which you made by permitting slavery to exist?

Let the record of Washington and his great companions answer, let the history of their country answer; while Charles Sumner, puny and abashed, with all this rabble of 19th century abolition reformers, shrink into obscurity.

And what perfection of logic is exhibited by Mr. Sumner's method of casting off this charge against Abolitionists! Read his defence:—

"But I hear a voice saying that all this proceeds—not from slavery—oh no! but from anti-slavery; that the Republicans who hate slavery—that the Abolitionists—are the authors of this terrible conflagration. Surely, you may well suspect the sense or loyalty of him who puts forth this irrational and utterly wicked imputation. As well say that the early Christians were the authors of the Heathen enormities against which they bore their martyr testimony, and that the cross, the axe, the gridiron, and the boiling oil by which they suffered were a part of the Christian dispensation."

Is it possible that the man does not see the effect of his illustration on all his previous arguments? If Christianity was not the cause of the massacres of Nero, on what principle is slavery the cause of the present war? Does it shock the sensibilities of the Massachusetts statesman to have Christianity and slavery put side by side, and this question laid fairly before him? Sensibilities have nothing to do with arguments. But if Mr. Sumner were a Roman citizen in the days of the son of Agrippina, he would have danced to the music of the monster, and shouted "to the beasts," "to the beasts," when a Christian martyr was in the arena. Why? Because he would argue that Christianity must be exterminated in order to have an end of the massacres of which its existence was the obvious cause!

Would he though? Is Mr. Sumner so very impervious to reason and common sense, or is he by chance a ranting politician, to whom reason is nothing so he can catch the popular ear by sounding phrases?—*New York Journal of Commerce.*

WARD BEECHER ON EMANCIPATION.

[From the Newburyport Herald.]

Henry Ward Beecher is one of the able men of this era: he is the ablest of all his family, and that is saying much, for there is not one of them that is not above mediocrity. But Ward Beecher—and we may say the same of all the Beechers—is somewhat erratic—genius always is—and frequently on national topics we should have no sympathy with the man or his words. Ward Beecher, however, has an under stratum of common sense, which appealed to on any momentous question, brings him right. Like many other people who in years past believed themselves in the front ranks of the progressives, he finds in the midst of this revolution, that the fossils have been aroused, and are sweeping far ahead of him; and he—even Ward Beecher—is constrained to lift a warning voice to tell, not Charles Sumner and Wendell Phillips and Lloyd Garrison, that it is time to hold back, but Daniel S. Dickinson and the Hunker Democrats, who only a short year ago broke up the Democratic party because it was becoming Abolitionized, that the proposition to proclaim emancipation, in disregard of law, will end in the destruction of this Republic. We quote below from his sermon, delivered on Thanksgiving day; and commend it both to clergymen and politicians, who, seized with the prevailing mania, are whirling about in the crazy dreams of the day, without one thought of law or Constitution or national compacts, that should be binding on all—who, because the South have gone mad and rushed to rebellion, which must end in their ruin, would themselves go mad, and plunge into the boiling cauldron of violence and anarchy, to whose brink revolutions always lead:—

"Of all the advice that has been given, while it may seem to those who know not the nature of our institutions most rational, there is none that chimes more with the Northern feeling than this—to make a declaration of emancipation to settle this difficulty; and yet neither the popular impulse nor the foreign advice can be followed. *We must conduct this war by and through our institutions*, or else we must declare that our institutions have failed, and that we have reverted to original principles. There is only one or the other of these courses. The last we cannot and shall not do. We are not going to say to the world that Republican institutions have so signally failed that we must abandon them, and reëstablish other ones. No man will see that. We who boast of our Constitution, must not violate it ourselves in putting down those who violate it. *We must not by congressional legislation declare political emancipation.* I wish we could. I wish Adam had not sinned, and his posterity had not been affected; but that does not help the matter. I wish our fathers had stood out against what are called the compromises of the Constitution. Better then than now. The serpent just hatched is not half so much to be feared as the serpent full grown. Our troubles have increased with every generation, and what is the use of sighing over what can't be helped? Our fathers signed the bond, and we accepted it. *Can we afford to break it for the sake of even so magnificent a result as the emancipation of the slave?* Shall we rend the crystal instrument—the joy of the world, and our pride? It is very easy to say, 'Now it is a state of war—let us declare emancipation.' The war has not driven us out of our institutions. We are not ourselves in a state of rebellion. We cannot expect by destroying the Constitution to put down the rebellion. If any one ask me whether a law or a constitution are inferior to original principles of morality and justice, I say no; but plighted faith is itself in nature of a sacred moral principle. Our faith is given, and must be kept! When we cannot abide by our promise, then, in methods expressly provided, we must withdraw the pledge and the agreements of the Constitution, and stand apart as two separate people."

The New York *Journal of Commerce* notices this sermon of Mr. Beecher in the following terms:—

Rev. H. W. Beecher preached on Thanksgiving day to his congregation in Brooklyn. On the proposition to proclaim emancipation, in disregard of law and Constitution, he took a decided view, contrasting most favorably with the twaddle of Charles Sumner, and presenting the curious picture of a clergyman teaching sounder political doctrines than a United States Senator.

CONGRESS AND THE SLAVERY QUESTION.

From the Ohio Statesman.

The Abolition faction which assumed a threatening attitude at the time of the President's modification of Fremont's proclamation, and became more violent on his removal, is now bringing its full force and all its energies to bear upon the Administration to make the war, under cover of a "War for the Union," in reality and substantially a war for the emancipation of the Southern slaves. The question which these factionists are strenuously laboring to have settled, is not whether the Union shall be restored or preserved as it was formed in 1789; but whether slavery shall be exterminated in the Southern States, or what would probably suit them equally well, if not better, whether all governmental connection between the free and the slave States shall not be dissolved. * * * *

We allude to these things now to warn loyal Union men of the approaching storm which the Abolition disorganizers are determined to raise. The session of Congress, which commences in a few days, will probably settle the fate of the Union. If a wise, prudent, conservative and yet decided course shall be pursued, on the part of the National Legislature and the Administration, we look for a speedy restoration of the old harmony between the States and the Federal Government, and the return of the halcyon days of peace and prosperity; otherwise, we may well fear the worst.

From the Boston Courier.

We know that every step taken in the direction of emancipation, that every inflammatory address uttered to encourage such an idea, is an absolute obstacle to the very cause in which the Government of the country and the loyal people of the country are so devotedly engaged; and that just so far as sentiments of this sort are propagated in the free States, they neutralize the effect of our contributions, and paralyze the power of our arms. We know that by this means the war may be indefinitely protracted, hundreds of thousands of lives, valuable and dear to us, may be sacrificed, hundreds of millions of treasure may be poured out in vain; for a war so pursued cannot give us victory, peace, or a country.

There is nothing, therefore, more treacherous, more disloyal, more hostile to the Union, more inimical to the hopes of all true men for the future welfare of their country—at best to be reëstablished by hard struggles and a conflict of bitter sacrifices—than this new-born effort to make the overthrow of the social institutions of the South, directly or indirectly, the object of the war. Of the consequences to the interests of rebellious slave-owners, resulting inevitably from the conflict in which they have placed themselves with the Government, we have not a word to say. But those who preach up emancipation as a policy to be approved by the people, and adopted by the Government, are the worst enemies whom the Government and people have—for they degrade the noble and all-embracing objects of a grand national struggle for the maintenance of incomparable free institutions, into a petty conflict for *the impracticable freedom of inferiors and dependents;* and with not the slightest possibility of securing even this object, they at the same time betray and destroy their country.

From the Chicago Times.

WHY ABOLITIONISM IS FOR THE WAR. We suspect that Abolitionism does not feel so much assurance as it professes that the war is going to end in the destruction of slavery. The course of events, as we look at them, cannot be altogether satisfactory to it in that respect. President Lincoln stands firm for prosecuting the war legitimately, and so do all his Cabinet, so far as the public knows, save Cameron. The proclamation of Gen. Sherman in South Carolina, and that of Gen. Dix in Virginia, and the general order of Gen. Halleck in Missouri, have not the slightest odor of wool;—quite the contrary. They are, in fact, about as discouraging documents as Abolitionism has encountered in a long while. It sees in them the real policy of the Government. And this is why it keeps up, now more than ever, its everlasting din about slavery.

We are quite well satisfied with things as they stand. We are especially well satisfied with Abolitionism as it stands, for it stands upon very slippery ground.

From the Indianapolis Sentinel.

THE CRAZY ABOLITIONISTS. If we are to have emancipation, we insist that some part of the continent shall be surrendered to the Abolitionists and the negroes, and that they shall inhabit it together, and that non-intercourse shall be established between them and the white people of the United States. On these terms emancipation may be practicable. On any other it is not.

From the Cincinnati Enquirer.

To set the four million black slaves free is to unite the white South against us, and seriously divide public opinion at the North, which can never be reconciled to a proposition that would inevitably lead to terrible results, adverse to the prosperity of the whole country. Neither as a military or political measure is emancipation expedient; and we have no idea that the statesmen of the Administration will allow the crazy ultras, who are bereft of sense and discretion, to prevail. Let the President stick to the policy which dictated the proclamations of Gen. Dix in Virginia and Gen. Sherman in South Carolina, and he will have the support of the great mass of the people, who desire conservative views to prevail, and who would be disgusted to see the war for the Union turned into a crusade for negro emancipation.

THE MESSAGE.

The Message has been the subject of conversation since it was delivered. There is no doubt but that there was something like a quarrel in the Cabinet upon the nigger question, and the ultra Abolitionists are trying this evening to quarrel with the Message. Sensible people regard it as a sensible, judicious paper; but those who desire to see the war result in the emancipation of the slaves by the sword of the white men, and firebrands in the hands of the negro, do not like it. Some who have gone over to the party which is attempting to destroy President Lincoln because he will not push forward their emancipation schemes, don't like it. These, with a few impatient but well-meaning spirits,—good, thick-headed philanthropists, who imagine that the man they voted for the Presidency ought to be able to whip the Confederates and crush the rebellion by fulminating a fierce Message against the rebels,—are not satisfied with the address. But it will stand, nevertheless, as a good Presidential Message. It points out clearly the path we must travel under the Constitution, and is in itself a rebuke to the fanaticism of the band which would make this a bloody opportunity to destroy the Constitution which they secretly hate, and bring about the consummation of plans they have long cherished for the sudden and indiscriminate liberation of the slaves. It is somewhat amusing to witness the perplexity of some of these fellows, who cannot comprehend how the President could dodge the "irrepressible conflict," and avoid the everlasting negro so adroitly.—*Wash. corr. Boston Herald.*

The President not only modified the Fremont proclamation, but it has been stated and not denied, that the proclamation of Sherman was submitted to his revision. Acts are the best interpreters of the President: and as long as the theory announced in his Message is interpreted by such proclamations as those bearing the signatures of Rosecrans, Sherman, Halleck, Dix, and McClellan, the country will be assured that the Abolitionists will be kept at bay.—*Boston Post.*

Selections.

SLAVERY, OR THE TARIFF?

[Extract from a remarkably clear and discriminating article, by Auguste Laugel, in the November number of the Revue des Deux Mondes, entitled "The Causes and Characteristics of the Civil War in the United States." *Translated for the Liberator.*]

If the election of Mr. Lincoln had been attended with violence,—if the party which put him in power had attacked the laws, violated the Constitution, menaced the rights of the South,—we might hesitate in regard to the characteristics of the secession movement; but we know that never was election more regular, more constitutional. The Republican party did not threaten the South, did not announce the project of emancipating the slaves, even in the most distant future. It confined itself to asserting the authority of Congress in the territories, to restrict the servile institution to its actual limits. Besides, that party had triumphed solely through the divisions of the Democrats; the fragments of the latter party reunited might have frustrated all the plans, all the attempts of their common adversary. In these circumstances, we ask ourselves with amazement why the South was so prompt to raise the standard of revolt, while she could yet seek to profit by her long alliance with the Democrats of the North, and by the advantages which the prestige of her long predominance, the majority in the Senate, and the composition of the Supreme Court (whose members were all devoted to her interests) assured her. Can it be true that all powers, at the moment of decadence, hasten their fall by their own efforts? Or is this step, which at first seems only the product of a frantic pride, explained when we examine thoroughly the cause of the present struggle?

If we admit that this cause is slavery, we shall better understand the motives which have decided the men of the South, for slavery is an institution which can but fall if it does not enlarge; to limit it in space, is to limit it in time. This is perfectly familiar to all those who know how servile labor impoverishes, exhausts the countries delivered to it: it must be able to expand, to seek a soil ever virgin. Now the triumph of the Republicans put an end to slavery's efforts at expansion: Cuba and Mexico had to be renounced; slavery must gradually become extinct in the border States of the South, and so lose one by one its provinces without gaining new ones. Such a prospect was intolerable to those proud slave-masters, who for fifty years had given Presidents to the Union, who, while directing its policy, maintained in obedience the Democracy of the North, and returned it only contempt for all its compliance. They resolved on war.

We must be fond of arguing against evidence, to persuade ourselves that the slavery question is not the chief cause of the present crisis. In the conflict which for thirty years has been constantly deepening, and has just terminated in civil war, what question has always been growing in magnitude and ended by prevailing over all the rest, if it be not this redoubtable question of slavery? They have not read the speeches of Calhoun, Webster, Seward, Douglas, Clay, and Sumner, who think that the slavery question has only a secondary importance in American politics. They forget that all Virginia rose in arms against John Brown and his twenty-one companions. Here is another fact: who are the belligerents? On one side the free, on the other the slave States; and it is pretended that the slavery question is foreign to the war! Between the Northern and Southern States are frontier or border States, which, without being free, contain fewer slaves than the cotton States, and (strange to say!) their fidelity to the Union is precisely in inverse proportion to the number of slave-owners. Virginia, which has slaves, joins the secession movement; the western part of this State, an oasis without slaves, severed from the rest by the Alleghany chain, remains faithful to the Union and furnishes it with troops. The north of Delaware, which no longer holds slaves, scarce contains a secessionist; the south, which has a larger number of slaves, counts many adversaries of the Union. The six thousand slaves of Baltimore belong to the aristocracy of that city, and we know that this aristocracy is kept in obedience only by rigorous measures. Western Tennessee, which is devoted to slave labor, is a centre of rebellion, while eastern Tennessee, where free labor is greatly in the ascendent, sympathizes with the Union. Kentucky forms no exception to this rule; in the northern and eastern counties, where there are few slaves, there are few secessionists; in the others, where they are numerous, the people pronounce in favor of "neutrality," which is but a phase of treason. In Missouri, the line of demarcation is clearly established between free labor and slave. The Germans abhor slavery, and constitute the most faithful nucleus of the State; the anglo-saxon unionists are rather inclined to neutrality, while the slaveholders are in arms against the Union. Even in western Texas there is some sympathy for the Union, because few slaves and many Germans are to be found there. Which is preëminently the secession State? It is South Carolina, which possesses proportionately more slaves than all the rest. Will it still be said that the cause of the secessionists is not the defence of slavery? If in some minds there yet remains a doubt, let them listen next to the testimony of the Southern people themselves.

The Confederates have not taken the trouble to make extensive changes in the Constitution of the United States; they have modified it slightly, to adapt it to their new union, but only on points relating to slavery. How does Mr. Alexander H. Stephens, the Southern Vice President, express himself in this regard? "The new Constitution has put an end forever to agitation about our peculiar institutions: I refer to slavery, as it exists among us. *This question has been the immediate cause of the rupture and of the present revolution.* Jefferson, in his foresight, had predicted that this was the shoal on which the Union would founder. He was right. What was for him a conjecture, has now become a fact; but it may be doubted if he fully understood the great truth which underlies our new Constitution. For him, as for almost all the leading statesmen at the time of the establishment of the old Constitution, African slavery was a violation of the laws of nature; they thought it bad in principle, socially, morally, and politically. It was an evil which they knew not how to cure; but the general opinion among the men of that time was, that, somehow or other, the institution was destined, in the appointment of Providence, to disappear. This idea, though not expressed in the Constitution, was the predominant idea of the epoch. The Constitution, it is true, assured all necessary guarantees to the institution, so long as it should last, and we cannot justly make use of the public sentiment of that period to attack those guarantees; but that sentiment and those ideas were fundamentally erroneous: they rested on the belief in the equality of the races. There was the illusion. The new government is based on an exactly opposite idea; it has for its foundation, its corner stone, this great truth: the negro is not the equal of the white; slavery, that is, subordination to a superior race, is his natural and normal condition."

Such are the new principles which the Confederates would introduce into political law, such the dogma for which they are fighting! They do not contend against the general principles of the old Constitution, since they have accepted it as it is for themselves, without making any other important alterations than those commented upon by Mr. Stephens with such audacious clearness. Can it be said that the North and the South are two peoples essentially hostile, and that the present struggle is something analogous to a conflict of nationalities? If it were so, this enmity would be very sudden: the enmities of peoples are not exhausted upon a single question, but enter into all the manifestations of political and social life. One must have lived very little in American society to be ignorant that, before the war, the mutual relations between North and South were perfectly courteous, and that, on condition of not alluding to the irritating subject of slavery, the citizen of the North encountered on the plantations the most hospitable reception. To be sure, the political differences of the two sections had embittered the language of the press and the platform; but not yet had the American people been separated into two. Trade, intermarriage, the enterprising spirit of an active, restless race, had knit a multitude of ties between the North and the South; they worshipped the same great men; their churches were the same, and have separated only since the commencement of hostilities. To compare the sentiments which animate them to-day against each other, to the hatred of the Irish race towards the English, of Poland towards Russia, of Italy towards Austria,—is to exhibit an incapacity to penetrate the sentiments of peoples, and to extract the truth from the exaggerations of language. Where do the secessionists send their wives and children, to put them beyond reach of the contingencies of servile war? To New York, to Washington.

If the South fights neither for a peculiar political organization nor for the triumph of a nationality, is it more correct to say that she fights for economic liberty? Such, I know, is the theory adopted by those who would have it believed that the question of slavery is foreign to the war, and wish by this means to avert European sympathy from the cause of the North. We have reached a moment in history when political economy seems desirous of absorbing everything. Burke was no economist when he said: "A State should not be considered as being nothing more than a social copartnership for the traffic of pepper or coffee, of calico or tobacco, or for any other unworthy object; or an association for some petty temporary interest, which may be dissolved by the agreement of the parties. It should be regarded with more reverence, in that it is not an association which serves only the things which are useful to our animal existence, by nature transient and perishable; it is an association in the sciences, in the arts, in every virtue and perfection; an association not merely between the living, but between those who are alive, those who are dead, and those who are not yet born."

To-day, a certain school seem to find an easy solution of the rupture of the Union by the Confederate States in the fact that the Morrill tariff is contrary to their interests. To believe the most important of the British press, "the Morrill tariff assimilates the United States to the most retrograde nations in the world." M. Michel Chevalier has even compared it, in a speech delivered in England, to the ichthyosaurs, pterodactyls, and all the most monstrous animals of the antediluvian periods. I am by no means disposed to defend the Morrill tariff, although, in running it over, I did not find it more protective than the new French-English tariff. What I wish to prove is, that the tariff is not the cause of the war. In nineteen years, as many as four different tariffs have been adopted by the American Congress; the Morrill tariff was a political expedient, a sacrifice made by the Republican party to secure the votes of Pennsylvania, which in the preceding election had prevented the election of Mr. Fremont by siding with the Democratic party. I will admit that this tariff is a bad one; but the inconveniences of a system of duties in a free country which is self-governed, can only be temporary: the evils caused by secession and civil war are irreparable.

Besides, how can we allow that the South has taken up arms against the new regulations, when she had it in her power to prevent their adoption? The Republican party had a majority in the House of Representatives, but was in a minority in the Senate. The Senate could have rejected the tariff, but the secession senators, by withdrawing, voluntarily abandoned the majority to their opponents. The Southern statesmen, again, could easily have induced Mr. Buchanan to oppose the tariff with the presidential veto. Had Mr. Buchanan ever refused them anything? They took good care not to ruin the tariff; they sought to derive advantage from the feelings which it would provoke in England. If economists are disposed to sacrifice the great principle of free labor to that of free trade, they must at least renounce seeing very ardent adepts among the politicians of the Confederate States. Louisiana has always known how to get her sugar protected. The most protective tariff America ever had—that of 1842—was decided at the last moment by the votes of Messrs. Stanley and Andrews, two Southern men, and ratified by President Tyler, to-day among the secessionists. When this tariff was abolished in 1846, Mr. Stephens, the present Vice-President of the Southern Confederacy, and Mr. Robert Toombs, who has recently received a command in the army of Jefferson Davis, voted against the law. This same Toombs, who was still in the Senate as representative of Georgia, when the Morrill tariff was submitted to that assembly, voted for the new regulations. In fact, the Southern States are quite indifferent to the question of the tariff, for the simple reason that their importations are very inconsiderable. Will it be believed?—those of Charleston in 1855 were fewer than in the year 1760; they rose in 1760 to $2,662,000, and in 1855 amounted only to $1,750,000, under the rule of the very liberal economic régime that preceded the Morrill tariff. Beaufort, in South Carolina, has an excellent harbor, capable of containing as many ships as that of New York; yet it is scarcely known to foreign vessels, and Beaufort is an insignificant village, while New York is a magnificent metropolis. It is the North which stores almost all the importations. Philadelphia, which occupies only the fourth rank among the commercial cities, received in 1855 $21,963,021 worth of merchandise; the little State of Massachusetts alone exported, in 1853, $16,895,804, and imported $41,367,956. At New Orleans, the importations in 1843 reached the figure of $9,320,439, and the same year we find in the official documents, for the city of New York, the figure (ten times greater) of $94,525,141. Mobile in 1819 received from abroad only $657,147 worth of goods. General Jackson, who had repressed with so much energy the movement of South Carolina, known under the name of *nullification*, understood well that the outcries against the tariff covered a political design. "The tariff," he wrote to his friend, the Rev. Mr. Crawford of Georgia, "was only the *pretext*, and disunion and a Southern Confederacy the real object. The next pretext will be the negro or slavery question." His keen glance, notwithstanding, had only revealed to him a part of the truth: slavery was not to be, like the tariff, a simple pretext; it was to be the cause of a revolution.

THE SLAVERY QUESTION.

It has become a grave question for determination what shall be done with the slaves abandoned by their owners on the advance of our troops into Southern territory, as in the Beaufort district of South Carolina. The whole white population therein is six thousand, while the number of negroes exceeds thirty-two thousand. The panic which drove their masters in wild confusion from their homes leaves them in undisputed possession of the soil. Shall they, armed by their masters, be placed in the field to fight against us, or shall their labor be continually employed in reproducing the means for supporting the armies of rebellion?

The war into which this Government has been forced by rebellious traitors is carried on for the purpose of repossessing the property violently and treacherously seized upon by the enemies of the Government, and to reëstablish the authority and laws of the United States in the places where it is opposed or overthrown by armed insurrection and rebellion. Its purpose is to recover and defend what is justly its own.

War, even between independent nations, is made to subdue the enemy, and all that belongs to that enemy, by occupying the hostile country, and exercising dominion over all the men and things within its territory. This being true in respect to independent nations at war with each other, it follows that rebels who are laboring by force of arms to overthrow a government, justly bring upon themselves all the consequences of war, and provoke the destruction merited by the worst of crimes. That government would be false to national trust, and would justly excite the ridicule of the civilized world, that would abstain from the use of any efficient means to preserve its own existence, or to overcome a rebellious and traitorous enemy, by sparing or protecting the property of those who are waging war against it.

The principal wealth and [illegible] of the [illegible] States is a peculiar species of prop[illegible] ing of the service or labor of African slaves, or the descendants of Africans. This property has been variously estimated at the value of from $700,000,000 to $1,000,000,000.

Why should this property be exempt from the hazards and consequences of a rebellious war?

It was the boast of the leader of the rebellion, while he yet had a seat in the Senate of the United States, that the Southern States would be comparatively safe and free from the burdens of war, if it should be brought on by the contemplated rebellion, and that the boast was accompanied by the savage threat that "Northern towns and cities would become the victims of rapine and military spoil," and that "Northern men should smell Southern gunpowder and feel Southern steel." No one doubts the disposition of the rebels to carry that threat into execution. The wealth of Northern towns and cities, the produce of Northern farms, Northern workshops and manufactories, would certainly be seized, destroyed, or appropriated as military spoil. No property in the North would be spared from the hands of the rebels, and their rapine would be defended under the laws of war. While the loyal States thus have all their property and possessions at stake, are the insurgent rebels to carry on warfare against the Government in peace and security to their own property?

Reason and justice and self-preservation forbid that such should be the policy of this Government, but demand, on the contrary, that, being forced by traitors and rebels to the extremity of war, all the rights and powers of war should be exercised to bring it to a speedy end.

Those who make war against the Government, justly forfeit all rights of property, privilege, or security, derived from the Constitution and laws against which they are in armed rebellion; and as the labor and service of their slaves constitute the chief property of the rebels, such property should share the common fate of war to which they have devoted the property of loyal citizens.

While it is plain that the slave property of the South is justly subjected to all the consequences of this rebellious war, and that the Government would be untrue to its trust in not employing all the rights and powers of war to bring it to a speedy close, the details of the plan for doing so, like all other military measures, must, in a great degree, be left to be determined by particular exigencies. The disposition of other property belonging to the rebels that comes subject to our arms is governed by the circumstances of the case. The Government has no power to hold slaves, none to restrain a slave of his liberty, or to exact his services. It has a right, however, to use the voluntary service of slaves liberated by war from their rebel masters, like any other property of the rebels, in whatever mode may be most efficient for the defence of the Government, the prosecution of the war, and the suppression of the rebellion. It is as clearly a right of the Government to arm slaves, when it may become necessary, as it is to use gunpowder taken from the enemy. Whether it is expedient to do so is purely a military question. The right is unquestionable by the laws of war. The expediency must be determined by circumstances, keeping in view the great object of overcoming the rebels, reëstablishing the laws, and restoring peace to the nation.

It is vain and idle for the Government to carry on this war, or hope to maintain its existence against rebellious force, without employing all the rights and powers of war. As has been said, the right to deprive the rebels of their property in slaves and slave labor is as clear and absolute, as the right to take forage from the field, or cotton from the warehouse, or powder and arms from the magazine. To leave the enemy in the possession of such property as forage and cotton and military stores, and the means of constantly reproducing them, would be madness. It is, therefore, equal madness to leave them in peaceful and secure possession of slave property, more valuable and efficient to them for war than forage, cotton, and military stores. Such policy would be national suicide. What to do with that species of property is a question that time and circumstances will solve, and need not be anticipated further than to repeat that they cannot be held by the Government as slaves. It would be useless to keep them as prisoners of war; and self-preservation, the highest duty of a government, or of individuals, demands that they should be disposed of or employed in the most effective manner that will tend most speedily to suppress the insurrection

and restore the authority of the Government. If it shall be found that the men who have been held by the rebels as slaves are capable of bearing arms and performing efficient military service, it is the right, and may become the duty, of the Government to arm and equip them, and employ their services against the rebels, under proper military regulation, discipline and command.

But in whatever manner they may be used by the Government, it is plain that, once liberated by the rebellious act of their masters, they should never again be restored to bondage. By the master's treason and rebellion, he forfeits all right to the labor and service of his slave; and the slave of the rebellious master, by his service to the Government, becomes justly entitled to freedom and protection.

The disposition to be made of the slaves of rebels, after the close of the war, can be safely left to the wisdom and patriotism of Congress. The representatives of the people will unquestionably secure to the loyal slaveholders every right to which they are entitled under the Constitution of the country.

SIMON CAMERON.

☞ The above straight-forward and common sense view of the subject was a portion of the Report of Mr. Cameron, Secretary of War, as originally written, and sent in advance of publication to the New York *Tribune* and other journals; but not being satisfactory to our milk-and-water President, the following was substituted in its stead, most unwillingly by Mr. Cameron, as the concluding paragraph of the official document:—

"It is already a grave question what shall be done with the slaves *who are abandoned by their owners* on the advance of our troops into Southern territory, as at Beaufort District in South Carolina. The number left within our control at that point is very considerable, and similar cases will probably occur. What shall be done with them? *Can we afford to send them forward to their masters*, to be by them armed against us, or used in introducing supplies to maintain the rebellion? *Their labor may be useful to us;* withheld from the enemy, it lessens his military resources, and withholding it *has no tendency to induce the horrors of insurrection even in the rebel communities.* They constitute a military resource, and, being such, that they should not be turned over to the enemy is too plain to discuss. Why deprive him of supplies by a blockade, and voluntarily give him men to produce supplies? The disposition to be made of the slaves of rebels after the close of the war can be safely left to the wisdom and patriotism of Congress. The representatives of the people will, unquestionably, secure to the loyal slaveholders every right to which they are entitled under the Constitution of the country."

ASHAMED TO HAVE A HEART!

Yes, ashamed to acknowledge that we have a heart; ashamed to own that we are moved by the impulses and sympathies of our human nature; apologizing for a deed of justice and mercy, that we do it against our will!

The imbruting influences of slavery on the public conscience of the North are being developed in a way that must startle the world, and excite the profound wonder of the future historian who shall gather up the details of our present degradation, and search out its potent cause. The obliteration of the moral sense which has taken place in this Christian nation, has scarcely a parallel in the whole heathen world. In all ages and lands, we have seen men proud of virtue; proud of benevolence, equity, love, and compassion. However miserably they may have failed to realize in practice these noble and generous ideas, they have yielded to them their admiration, and have embalmed them in story and song for the admiration and imitation of posterity. The savage Powhatan was melted, when he saw the tear of pity in his daughter's eye, and her arms thrown around the helpless victim destined to a cruel death. Nowhere but in our boasted civilization is there to be found a state of society in which it is deemed a disgrace to pity and plead the cause of the injured. In other lands, men perpetrate injustice only when tempted by their interests; and when these cease to draw them astray, they are but too ready to claim the credit of being actuated by principle in doing right. We, on the contrary, seem indignant at the [illegible] suspicion that we allow ourselves to be controlled [illegible] in our dealings with the African race. [illegible]ging from the disclaimers which everywhere greet our ears, we must conclude that while a large portion of our fellow-citizens are willing to give colored men their liberty, they are not willing to do this on the ground of right, but only on the ground of necessity and compulsion! We find that we must either cease to treat our brother as a chattel, or else cease to be a nation; and it is only to avert the latter calamity, that we will consent to emancipation. We have said before the world that the black man has an inalienable right to liberty, and yet we will fight to the last extremity for the purpose of riveting his chains, provided we can do it without exposing our whole political edifice to annihilation. God commands us to do unto others as we would have them do unto us; and yet, as a nation, we resolve that we will disobey him, so long as we can do it and exist. Over and over have our leading journals declared that they would be in favor of abolition *as a last resort*, provided every other remedy fail. Impious, God-defying, heaven-daring resolve! Union, with a dark, damning stain, is our first choice; union, without this damning stain, our second choice. If God permit us, we will grind suffering humanity in the dust; we will overwork, scourge, torture, and deprive of their honest wages the colored race; we will not heed their groans or prayers, nor suffer our heart to heave with one sympathetic emotion for our brother man. Only in case it becomes for our own interest to relieve him from his intolerable burdens; only in case the Almighty holds back our armies from victory; only in case the bolts of Heaven fall too thick and too fast for mortal arm to resist, will we put away our oppressions, and execute impartial justice upon all. Not for the plague of the frogs or the lice, not for the hail or the locusts, will we surrender our prey; but when our first-born are taken; when every house has its dead, and it becomes certain that everything must be lost and perish, then will we hearken to the voice of the Lord, and let the oppressed go free!

Gen. Cass reiterates his hatred of abolition, and in the same breath declares that it must be adopted, for nothing else can end the war. Col. Cochrane advocates the arming of the servile population, and yet, lest he should be accused of abolitionism, he declares that it is not the happiness or misery of the slaves that influences him; he cares little what may be their future condition, if so be that the Union can be maintained; he would even allow them to be divided among loyal citizens! And yet, notwithstanding this disclaimer, his old associates, fearful that he will still be misunderstood, rush to the newspapers with their communications, to convince the public that the Colonel did not and could not mean abolition. Equally zealous have been many of these papers to [illegible] Secretary Cameron does not contemplate abolition; that it is not the love of justice and mercy, or the slightest compassion for the poor sufferers in the prison-house of bondage, that nerves his arm or warms his heart. Any man, in either of the old Democratic parties of this city, who should confess himself an abolitionist, on abolition grounds, would be immediately cast out as a traitor to his antecedents. So deeply rooted is the habit of stigmatizing and denouncing the friends of the slave, that the least suspicion of sympathy with the wrongs of black men will ensure for any of our party leaders a storm of persecution. This it is that makes public men so cowardly; so inconsistent with themselves; so timorous in letting themselves down the precipice, by the twig of necessity, into the dreaded gulf of abolition.

But let them come to our ranks in any way they choose. We are glad to see truth prevail, even though it be preached through envy and strife. Whether in pretence or in truth, let emancipation for the bondman be proclaimed in the high places of the nation, and we are content. But what a diseased state of the body politic, what a death-like stupor of the moral sense, does this indifference to the fate of the slave disclose! Take the darkest home of heathenism; take the fiercest band of robbers that ever congregated in a mountain cavern; let them see the lash applied day after day to shrinking woman's lacerated flesh; the poor creatures forced to perform their allotted tasks of severe labor, up to the very hour when the pangs of maternity seize upon them; maidens stripped for the terrible scourging; miserable fugitives torn by the dogs, and thrust, faint and bleeding, into the murderous stocks; and where is the bandit so fierce, or the heathen so brutish, that he will view the scene with complacency? Yet here in this bright land, with our Sabbaths and our Bibles, among our Fifth Avenue merchants, our delicate ladies who would not adventure the sole of their foot upon the ground, our learned doctors and expounders of the laws of Moses and of Christ, we find hard-hearted wretches who tell us it is all proper; that the black man has no rights, that he suffers no sorrows, that he feels no pains, that he endures no agonies, which a white man is under any obligation to respect! And further, that we have no right to interfere; that we have no responsibility in the case; that the Constitution gives us no authority; that the Bible clinches the master's grip on the man he has bought; that no Government, King or Congress has the right to intermeddle with this social relation, and that all we have to do is to mind our own business, and leave others to manage theirs. No right to interfere? Why, the God of our being has implanted this authority in the very instincts of our nature; any man that witnesses the assault of a ruffian on helpless humanity, maiden, wife or child, feels and knows within himself that, in the absence of a legal avenger, he is constituted the rightful protector and deliverer of that helpless one; and he is a craven wretch, a recreant to God and his race. if, having the power, he does not raise his right hand against the oppressor, and deliver the victim, even at the peril of his life. No true man, in such a position, has any need to wait for doctors and lawyers to teach him what is Heaven's high mandate; the voice within speaks instantly, and he acts without a doubt or scruple. No right, on the part of a government, to interfere for the protection of the injured! What a contemptible government must that be which has no power to do the very thing, and the only thing, for which government was created! What heresy fresh from hell are we incorporating into our political creed? Making government, which God ordained for the punishment of evil-doers, an engine of oppression, a combination of society, by which the natural instincts of humanity should be suppressed and extinguished!—*American Baptist.*

The Liberator.

No Union with Slaveholders!

BOSTON, FRIDAY, DECEMBER 13, 1861.

SEND IN THE PETITIONS!

☞ Now that Congress is in session, and various propositions have already been submitted to it on the subject, let there be no unnecessary delay in forwarding emancipation petitions to that body. Send them directly to the proper Senators and Representatives from the various States and Districts. They will, of course, go free of postage. Send them in!

THE GUILTIEST OF THE GUILTY.

There is some extenuation for the conduct of those who are born and brought up in the midst of customs, institutions and ideas, which, though at variance with sound reason and eternal rectitude, they cling to and defend as a matter of tradition, or inheritance, or personal interest. A heathen in Burmah or Hindostan is educationally such, and no surprise is felt when he is seen to resist every effort of Christendom to overthrow his cherished system of idolatry. But if any, claiming to be Christians, should interpose to vindicate his religious views, or even to apologize for them, and should join with him in denouncing and ridiculing missionary labors to subvert heathenism wherever existing, they would justly forfeit all right and title to the Christian name, and be regarded as deserving of far greater condemnation than the deluded idolator himself.

So, there is some allowance to be charitably made for those who,—born on Southern soil, and all their lives surrounded by slave institutions, and having inherited slave property which has been held and recognized as such, legally and religiously, for many generations, and suffering from the inevitable demoralization and blinding nature of such a state of society,—deem it an act of impertinence or of enmity on the part of Northern Abolitionists in seeking the overthrow of slavery, no matter by what means, or at what period however remote. But how utterly inexcusable are those in the free States, who,—loud in their professions of regard for free institutions and the rights of man, and born and educated where slavery has either been abolished or never allowed to exist,—with brazen impudence and loathsome profligacy volunteer to shield the accursed slave system from every blow aimed at it, and to cover with opprobrium those who are disinterestedly laboring to "break every yoke, and let the oppressed go free"! How glaring is their inconsistency, how palpable their hypocrisy, how gross their immorality! Surely, in the day of judgment, it shall be more tolerable for Southern slave-owners and slave-mongers than for them!

At the South, there is not a religious or secular journal that does not either connive at, apologize for, or boldly defend slavery as a rightful institution; and this, we are told, should excite no surprise, for the stream cannot rise higher than its source. Be it so: but why is it that this lamentable fact is not offset by the cheering fact, that there is not at the North a religious or secular journal that does not condemn slavery as an evil institution which ought to be banished from the land? Yet, so far is this from being true, of the hundreds of Northern newspapers there are not half a dozen that dare to avow abolition principles, or advocate the immediate emancipation of the oppressed as an act of justice too long withheld! A large majority of them, even though almost the entire body of slaveholders are in deadly rebellion against the government, are still disposed to throw safeguards around the slave system as such, and to make targets of abolitionists and abolitionism on every occasion!

This is, in the first place, a revelation of character. It shows that the conductors of such journals need only to be located in the South to become actual slave-breeders and slave-dealers; or transported to the coast of Africa, to engage in the slave trade. For, "if such things are done in the green tree, what will be done in the dry?"

It is, in the next place, demonstrative evidence that the malaria of slavery taints the whole nation; that in consequence of consenting to its existence in the South, the North has thereby become fearfully corrupted, so that "the whole head is sick, and the whole heart faint." Liberty, as an immortal principle—liberty, as the birthright of every human being—liberty, as the foundation of all righteous requirements and all democratic institutions—is scoffed at as fanaticism in its universal application, pronounced dangerous in its complete enjoyment, and made subservient to all that is selfish, mean and unprincipled. Scarcely any but "crazy Abolitionists" look upon the scarred and fettered millions in bondage as having any rights or interests of their own, or any title to be considered an equal portion of the human race, having the same essential nature, the same immortal destiny, or the same passions, feelings, desires and aspirations. The proposition to treat them no longer as brutes, but as rational and accountable beings,—to break their yokes and snap their chains asunder,—to bring them out of the house of bondage into the glorious liberty of creation, with the chance to develop their faculties and powers,—is every where scouted in the true supercilious, slaveholding spirit, branded as the most hazardous of all experiments, sneered at as the offspring of fanaticism, and made the occasion of an endless amount of pro-slavery scurrility and malevolence! At the North, generally, no more regard is paid to their claims for justice and mercy than though they were so many cattle or swine. Are any of them received as "contrabands"? It is for our accommodation, and to punish their rebel masters for what they have done to *us!* Is it proposed to declare their freedom, and to put arms into their hands? It is not at all with reference to their manhood, but to our necessities, that we may not be driven by the rebels to the wall! In case of their emancipation, it is stupidly asked, "What shall be done with them?" As if any thing were to be done, except to deal with them kindly, fairly and honestly—to give them just compensation for their labor—to give them education—to recognize their rights, and atone for past wrong!

THE SECRETS OF THE PRISON-HOUSE.

We hope, for the sake of humanity—to say nothing of our own honor or reputation as a people—that the recent account of imprisoned colored persons in Washington may, on investigation, prove untrue. The reason assigned for this imprisonment was the suspicion that nearly fifty men, all told, were guilty of this atrocious crime, viz—"they could "call no man master." Their masters had withdrawn their civilizing presence, and joined the rebel army. Of course, nothing but demoralization could ensue in the absence of such wholesome restraint and example. Mingled motives of disinterestedness could alone have actuated their humane pursuers. To save these unfortunate men from themselves, to protect society, and to hold on to this "property" for the owners till the restoration of peace, under the benign government of Jefferson Davis! Such of the Washington police as were engaged in this very considerate proceeding are surely deserving of ———

> "My ear is pained,
> My soul is sick with every day's report
> Of wrong and outrage with which earth is filled."

These touching words welled up in their power and freshness, seventy-five years ago, from the depths of one of the sweetest, tenderest and truest of natures. They are no less pertinent now.

We are all familiar with the terrible methods of persecution and destruction invented for heretics and political offenders:—dungeons, prisons, and horrid implements of torture; the persecutions of the early Christians, and the cruelties of the Inquisition. We have all heard of Judge Jeffreys, of the English, and the no less worthy Fouquier Tinville, of the French Revolution; of Haynau, the butcher; of Russian and Austrian despotism; and all this for the detection and punishment of so-called political and religious offenders. The blood curdles and the lip grows pale over this dark page of history. At such times, and in these countries, prisons were made to hold malefactors, and persons suspected of crime. In this *free* country, all over the South and at the Capital, they have an additional use, viz: to hold in their loathsome embrace the poor and innocent, the oppressed and down-trodden slave, the victim of the crimes of others!

Think of it! The foundations of this country have been shaken to their centre by a slaveholders' rebellion, never exceeded in wickedness; an army of six hundred thousand fighting men has been organized; a powerful naval armament has been evoked, as by magic, and now blocks the coast for thousands of miles; traitors in and out of the Capital have been ceaseless in their efforts to overthrow the government; the administration, throughout its departments, has spared no pains to plan and mature measures for our national safety; lynx-eyed provost marshals, and their not less vigilant subordinates, have hunted up the lurking-places, both below and above ground, of all persons tainted with suspicion of treason; forts Lafayette and Warren have swarmed to their utmost capacity with enemies of the country; nothing has been left undone, unsaid or unseen, which could damage the rights and interests of free white loyal citizens in both sections of the country; but there has been no friendly eye, word, thought or deed for these poor, unoffending persons, "guilty of skins not colored like our own," now for the first time, and seemingly by accident, found pining and sorrowing in rags and filth within the loathsome precincts of a Washington prison! Nothing in the record of this cruel rebellion exceeds this in its inhumanity. The treatment of our noble prisoners at Richmond, condemned as it is by the usages of war in all civilized countries, pales before this more atrocious crime. Traitors will pretend to a show of reason for the former; but the latter is unmitigated cruelty. O, there is a fearful responsibility resting somewhere! It is no exaggeration to say, that in no other country in the world, however despotic, could this have happened.

God grant that the secrets of this prison-house may be dragged to light, and may the authors of this crime not only be visited with condign punishment, but ample restitution made to these unfortunate victims of oppression! How this piece of iniquity could escape the notice of the proper authorities for so long time, is a thing which will not go unreflected upon.

After a twelvemonth more shall have rolled over us, we may be able, if not now, to understand the horrors of the slave system, as practised in this hitherto excruciatingly "democratic" country! Fillibustering, land stealing, Dred Scott decisions, rebellions, and many more deviltries, which have not passed unobserved by sensible people, both at home and abroad, and which, for better or worse, are yet to find their place in history, will soon be traced back by the stanchest hunkers to their true sources. We shall soon know whether we have a country worthy of salvation; whether the two hundred and fifty million of people who are to occupy our places eighty years hence are to be freemen or slaves.

W.

☞ The N. Y. *Commercial Advertiser* says on this subject:—

"Senator Wilson, who has the energy if not the strength of Hercules, has addressed himself to cleaning out one of the most noisome Augean stables existing at the capital; and, we are happy to observe, with the best possible effect. Into a dungeon, unequalled for its general unhealthiness this side of Austria, had been crammed some sixty or seventy colored fugitives, their crime being that their natural protectors had abandoned them to shift for themselves. These released bondmen not unnaturally turned their faces Northward. But they were met by the agents of greedy cormorants, termed Justices, who at Washington fatten upon the number of arrests made by them, whether of innocent persons or those guilty of breaking the law. Does not Uncle Sam foot the bill? Is not every black man pre-supposed to be a slave until he proves the contrary, as every white man is *not* assumed to be guilty before he has established his innocence? And so long as those wretched pickings from the bones of men, women and children could be had, what mattered it if these were doomed to sit, sleep and eat upon the cold pavement, or were abandoned to filth and vermin? The 'ends of justice' were *fees;* our government has always been liberal to the District, and what more could people want, unless they were in search of topics for agitation about the 'everlasting nigger'?"

Lecture of Hon. Daniel S. Dickinson. The report of this racy, vigorous and outspoken lecture, in another column, as delivered before the Mercantile Library Association, at Music Hall, on Monday evening last, was made for the *Post* by Mr. Yerrinton, from which paper we copy it. It was re-delivered on Tuesday evening, at Tremont Temple, before the "Fraternity," occupying two hours; on both occasions, the immense audiences enthusiastically cheering its most radical utterances. Mr. Dickinson has hitherto been a highly conservative Democratic politician,—the most influential member of the party in the Empire State,—and, therefore, what he now so boldly declares is deserving of special consideration. We wish Messrs. Mason and Slidell could have been present at its delivery!

Important Lectures. It will be seen, by notices in another column, that Rev. Dr. Cheever, of New York, is to deliver a lecture on Sunday evening next, at the Tremont Temple. Subject—"Shall Slavery or the Country be destroyed?" Also, that Hon. George S. Boutwell will deliver an inaugural address, at the same place, on Monday evening next, before the Emancipation League. Subject—"The Justice, Expediency and Necessity of Emancipation." Both lecturers deserve to be, and we doubt not will be, cheered by crowded houses.

☞ Senator Trumbull's proposed confiscation bill provides for the absolute forfeiture of all rebel property which is beyond the reach of judicial process; the proceeds, after paying the expenses of loyal creditors, to be applied to reimbursing loyal citizens despoiled by rebels, and the balance to pay the expenses of the war; the rebels to forfeit their slaves, who become free, the President providing for their colonization. But the President can have no rightful power to make any such proscriptive provision. Do justly by them!

LECTURE BY HON. DANIEL S. DICKINSON, OF NEW YORK.

On the invitation of the Mercantile Library Association, Hon. Daniel S. Dickinson, of New York, delivered a lecture, last Monday evening, on "The State of the Country," at the Music Hall, to a large and brilliant audience. The platform was occupied by a large number of distinguished gentlemen. Among them we noticed Hon. Edward Everett, Capt. Hudson, Hon. Marshall P. Wilder, Wendell Phillips, Esq., Justices Hoar and Allen, Richard H. Dana, Jr., Josiah Quincy, Jr., Ex-Mayor Lincoln, Franklin Haven, Esq., and several of the reverend clergy.

The Germania Band was in attendance, and their music added greatly to the pleasure of the occasion—the several airs being heartily applauded.

On the entrance of Mr. Dickinson, he was greeted with enthusiastic cheering. He was introduced to the audience by Oliver Richardson, Esq., of the Lecture Committee, in a very complimentary manner, and as he took his place upon the platform, he was received with a fresh outburst of cheers.

After an eloquent exordium on the rise and progress of the nation, under a free government—

How the conspiracy originated, said Mr. Dickinson, is of little practical moment; how it shall be put down, is of almost infinite importance, for put down the rebellion must be; and since it was not crushed in the bud as it should have been, it must be plucked up by the roots, and the confidence of the world reëstablished in the strength and perpetuity of free government. (Prolonged cheering.) It is not the case of a people conspiring against the government, but where high officers of government conspired against the people. (Applause.) The ministering spirits of the rebellion were not the ignorant, the thoughtless, or the vulgar, hurried away from their propriety by some sense of wrong, real or imaginary; but the experienced, the educated, the well-informed, to whom a generous and confiding people had committed their most sacred trusts. The train was laid with deliberate and murderous preparation, that the Union might be razed to its foundations, and scattered in fragments.

The rebellion was not inaugurated because any portion of the Free States, or their people, had been unmindful of their constitutional obligations, nor for the reformation of abuses, but it was for the purpose of realizing the romantic dreams of a new empire upon the ruins of this. In every age of the world, and with every people, a traitor has been execrated, loathed and despised by honorable men. Judas Iscariot betrayed the Savior for money, and his name has been a synonym for baseness, for nineteen centuries, though his perfidy was signalized by the redemption of fallen man. But he showed a decent regard for public opinion, and furnished an example which all traitors should copy with alacrity, for he went out and hanged himself. (Enthusiastic cheering.) As the vulture, when he stoops for prey, seizes the weak and straggling members of the flock, so the ill-omened buzzard of Secession, with the keen instincts of its nature, seized South Carolina as its lawful booty, and bore it triumphantly away. It hated the Union of our fathers, and sought to destroy it; it scorned the glorious emblem of liberty, and sought to dishonor it; it sowed rebellion, and is now gathering the harvest. Mythology informs us, that when Minerva was born, it rained gold in the island of Rhodes; and South Carolina doubtless believed, that upon the nativity of Secession, if it did not rain sovereigns, it would bring showers of genuine guineas into Charleston, not from any mint, but bearing the image and superscription of the land of Dahomey and Ashantee, beaming in their original lustre, increasing without investment, and sometimes growing yellow with re-coinage. (Loud laughter and applause.)

The loyal people of North Carolina have been plunged into the "Dismal Swamp" of Secession by her fretful, restless and conspiring politicians, but are already seeking to secede from Secession; and when they shall have cast off the incubus which has cursed them, and shall have returned to their place in the family of States, all will unite in a festive welcome to those "who were dead and are alive again, who were lost and are found." (Loud applause.) And where is old Virginia, the land of great deeds, and the mother of greater men? In attempting to tear herself from the Union, she has torn out her own vitals, and lies prostrate, dismembered and bleeding,—pitied by the compassionate, jeered by the ribald, and scorned and despised by all for the wickedness and folly which brought her to shame. In this connection, Mr. Dickinson described the desolation and ruin which Virginia had brought upon herself by the part she has taken in the rebellion, in language as truthful as strong and eloquent.

The first great practical duty before us, he continued, is to crush the rebellion which threatens us, and to vindicate the Constitution. And to do this, we must treat it as it is, not as the struggle of a political canvass, nor as a government with which we are at war, but as an overgrown, turbulent, irresponsible mob,—tossing, roaring, pillaging, murdering; generated in the fœtid hot-bed of a desperate and daring conspiracy, and governed and directed by self-elected dictators, resolved

> "Rather to reign in hell than serve in heaven."
>
> —(Applause.)

If we would have an honorable and enduring peace, we must not purchase, but conquer it, though the conflict be as protracted and bloody as that which ended on Bosworth's field, and terminated the War of the Roses. (Great applause.) There is not now, nor can there be hereafter, any peace or safety in yielding to the demands of depraved ambition. (Renewed plaudits.) We are admonished by the dictates of our holy religion—by the instincts of humanity—by the best impulses of civilization, to put forth the whole power of Government and people to destroy this rebellion—to strike it hardest where it is weakest. (Prolonged cheers.) While we should scrupulously respect the rights of the loyal, we should confiscate the property of rebellion, including its "persons held to service"—(applause)—totally, absolutely, *immediately.* (Tremendous applause.) Put them to labor in the camps, and leave to Congress to make such humane provision for them hereafter as the occasion demands. (Renewed cheering.) The recognition of Secession in any form would be the inauguration of anarchy, conferring a premium upon conspiracy, treason and its concomitants—offering a reward for rebellion. Once compromise the power and dignity of Government in the hope of cowardly conciliation, and we shall have no Government to compromise. (Applause.) Dynasty after dynasty will rise up—every State and section and city will produce its aspirants for supreme command, and causes of fancied oppression will be found wherever a desire for leadership shall commence the search.

The prime movers of the rebellion were decaying politicians—sapped by base uses, and seedy by wear and tear; Senators, Representatives and Cabinet Ministers, whose terms were drawing to a close; officers in the army and navy, who were looking for increased rank and emoluments; idlers who were seeking consequence and compensation, and bankrupts who longed for a revolution that would cancel old contracts, and give them a credit to make new ones. (Laughter and applause.) It is a contest for extermination. It is Constitution or Conspiracy; Government or Guerrilla; Law or Licentiousness. Government must crush and conquer armed rebellion by force of arms, or sink beneath its violence, a helpless, hopeless wreck, and thus perish an empire destined by Heaven to keep the lights of liberty burning during the darkness of the world. (Loud applause.) Every one must determine whether he will aid in upholding or overthrowing, for there can be no neutrals. Those who are not for, without condition or equivocation, are against. Those who are for the Union, and find apologies for the rebellion, or rejoice in the reverses of the Government, are more hurtful than open enemies, either in the Cabinet or in the field. (Cheers.) The people must stand together, with one heart and one accord, in efforts to preserve the Union. Political parties have their uses, but it is not their office to stand in array against each other when the citadel is in danger. The hope of the rebellion has rested in expected sympathy in the loyal States, and it clings to the delusion still. But if we could raise the united voice of the whole people, in a common purpose, regardless of previous political opinions and associations, or party antecedents, it would, at this time, carry more terror to the heart of rebellion, than an army of half a million with banners. (Applause.) Let no one "lay the flattering unction to his soul" that this Union can ever be divided with success or a prospect of future peace. To advocate or assent to division is to favor or consent to destruction. We are not to stay the loss of life, the effusion of blood, the oppression of taxation, or mitigate the harsh features of war, by yielding to, or tampering with rebellion. Whoever counsels division in the hope of purchasing peace, sows heresy broadcast, and will reap a harvest of delusion. "Were *I* charged with the administration of this Government," says an individual, irresolute in principle, and weak in understanding, "I would consent to the secession and independence of the Confederate States, and restore peace to our torn and bleeding and distracted country." "And so would we," respond the people, "were we as weak, irresolute, and treacherous as you are." (Loud applause.)

Although composed of numerous States, the Federal Government is one and indivisible. Not a single stone in this arch of freedom can be removed without endangering the edifice. How could we partition the glorious passages in our history as a nation, or divide the memories of the revolution, around which our souls' holiest impulses linger? The effort would be like parting the raiment of the Savior of men, and casting lots for his vesture. (Applause.) What section of the Union is so steeped in degradation that it would surrender its inheritance in Lexington and Saratoga and Yorktown? What son of Revolutionary sire would visit Bunker Hill with Government's permission, or bear a rebel passport to the tomb of Washington? Our great nation is animated by one popular heart, and when that shall cease to throb, the nation will die—die forever; when the darkness of death and night closes over it, no spark shall relume its light of life—

> "No sound shall awake it to glory again."

There are those who would compare this rebellion with the glorious American Revolution. The conception is desecration; its utterance treason against Heaven! The Revolution aimed at man's emancipation from the tyranny of man. This cowardly conspiracy seeks to raise its superstructure upon the foundation of involuntary servitude—the Revolution sought to establish for man a more enlarged freedom. Our fathers sought to release—they seek to enslave. Our fathers protected the right of property in servitude on grounds of necessity and expediency; they seek to make servitude indispensable to government. Our fathers founded a system of justice, equality and peace; they seek to subvert it for one of injustice, inequality, and military rule. The doctrine of Secession, that a State may, in withdrawing from the Union, rightfully seize and appropriate to its use all the property belonging to the Government it can find, if approved and sanctioned, would drive the highwayman from the field by its competition, destroy the pursuits of the burglar by more convenient thefts in open day, and re-enact the code of Sherwood forest, that

> "He may take who has the power,
> And he may keep who can." (Cheers.)

We must meet the emergencies of the day as our fathers met theirs. Had they trembled at the thought of blood, or been alarmed by the cry of taxation, we should this day have been the serfs and slaves and colonial dependencies of a foreign power, ruled over by foreign governors, and their decrees enforced by the bayonets of a foreign soldiery. They could have submitted to their fate without dishonor, but we cannot surrender the fruits of their bravery without sinking beneath the contempt of civilization. (Applause.) We must neither be misled nor intimidated by the imperious demands and haughty gasconades of rebellion. Tyrants, conspirators, oppressors and usurpers are as cowardly, when firmly met, as they are desperate and cruel when they hold the mastery. When the ferocious monsters who conspired for the destruction of the Union, who planned this rebellion and urged it forward, shall stand before the people in their naked and heinous deformity—not as Presidents, Judges, Senators, Generals, and Ministers of State, but as conspirators, perjurers, robbers, pirates, thieves and cut-throats—an ambulatory conspiracy, a government upon castors—an administration on horseback, like the predatory bands of the Pampas and the gorges of the Andes (laughter and applause)—when they shall see themselves as they will be seen by the masses of their own deluded States, they will call upon the rocks and mountains to hide them from the face of those they have betrayed, and defrauded, and bereaved, and left homeless. Stripped of their disguises, deposed from their mock official stations, disrobed of their stolen insignia, they must fly from the land they have desecrated and disgraced, or submit to the majesty of the laws they have offended, and terminate an ignoble career with the gibbet or the dungeon, and all the people will say, Amen! (Great cheering.)

This unnatural and ferocious war, with all its destruction and desolation, will leave some traces of utility behind—will teach us the relative rights of Government and people—of the Union and of the several States—the blessings of peace and the inflictions of war. All Governments claim a perpetuity of existence, and when that existence is imperilled, they may exert every power, even to absolute despotism, to preserve it. The necessity and utility of martial law in times like these has been established and vindicated by numerous and illustrious examples. It has seized and committed to places of confinement spies and traitors,—it has stayed the subtle and insidious poison of a pestilent and treasonable press—it has changed the project of two eminent ministers from the course of foreign to domestic missions,—(prolonged applause)—where, although their field of labor and usefulness may be circumscribed, they will be sure to find more appreciative and sympathizing audiences and congenial associates, and in their ministrations, in one respect, at least, resemble the Apostles of old—preach to spirits in prison. (Laughter and applause.)

The arrest of these conspirators by the intrepid Wilkes (enthusiastic cheering) has stirred the currents of the popular heart afresh. It will be hailed with loud acclaim by every loyal citizen of this Union, and approved by the judgment of mankind. It will be sanctioned by the requirements of international law, and vindicated by the justice of Heaven's chancery. If apologies are to be given, or disclaimers made, let them come from that nation which has violated the comity of States by attempting to shield under the ægis of her flag, and speed upon their criminal enterprise, those who were known to be engaged in efforts to destroy this great and good government, of which they were citizens, and to which they owed allegiance; and not from those who, in endeavoring to preserve the government which protects and shelters them, at most, have only copied a long list of British precedents. If this nation shall feel constrained to mourn the loss of her illustrious passengers, let her console her grief that she was permitted to retain a forfeited vessel. If censures are to be bestowed, let them rest upon the miscreant who lent himself to aid conspiracy and rebellion by smuggling its chiefest instruments away to the theatre of their mischiefs, and not on him whose fidelity and watchfulness defied the proud emblem under which they sought exemption from the consequences of their crimes. (Applause.)

The Government of the Union, assailed as it is by conspirators and traitors, appears to-day more bright and beautiful than ever, and exhibits a power and energy of which no Government on earth can boast. (Cheers.) When rebellion reared its crest, five hundred thousand armed men, every one a sovereign, leaped to their feet for the defence of the Union, without a single forced levy, and millions more stand ready for the conflict. The spirit of the people is neither bowed nor broken, but the brand of liberty, fanned by the tireless wing of the American Eagle, burns with a purer and more constant glow than ever.

In conclusion, the lecturer paid an eloquent tribute to woman for her patient endurance and lofty devotion to country. Having referred to the vow of Jeptha, and its fulfilment by the sacrifice of his daughter, he said,—Though the lofty cause of the Union demands no bloody sacrifice except upon the field of battle, our maidens may inspire us to loftier conceptions of duty, and the commission of nobler deeds, by chanting the triumphs of the faithful to the music of Christian liberty and law, of woman's resignation to the Divine behests, and of her love of country, in the spirit of the last song of the doomed and devoted—

> "Though the daughter of Salem lament,
> Be the judge and the hero unbent:
> I have fought the great battle for thee,
> And my father and country are free!
>
> Though this blood of thy giving has gushed,
> Though the spirit thou lovest is hushed,
> Let my memory still be thy pride,
> And forget not I smiled when I died."

FREDERICK DOUGLASS IN BOSTON.

The regular lecture in the Fraternity Course was delivered on Tuesday evening, Dec. 3d, by Frederick Douglass. The Fraternity is the outgrowth of the life and teachings of Theodore Parker, at once the legacy he has left to humanity, and the monument to his memory. Meet and fitting is it, then, that Frederick Douglass, the representative of the much-abused colored race, should be among the speakers that it welcomes to its platform.

At an early hour, the spacious Tremont Temple was filled to overflowing, and the welcome which the speaker received upon coming to the platform was deep and hearty.

Mr. Douglass began by thanking the audience for their presence, and the Fraternity for the invitation to speak, modestly saying he trusted more to the indulgence of his hearers than to any ability of his own. If ever a man, standing before a great audience of refined and cultivated people, has the right to their indulgence, surely he whose early years were spent in slavery, whose spelling-book was the soft sand at his feet, and who took his degree of the sign-boards over the doors, might claim such indulgence; and yet, as Frederick Douglass stood there, his form dilating with conscious power, his eye flashing, and his whole face glowing with enthusiasm, while his clear silver tones rang like a trumpet, all who saw and heard him must have felt that he was not an object of indulgence, but of admiration. His very presence gives the lie to the oft-repeated assertion that the negro is incapable of elevation, and only fit for a menial condition. The lecture, which was called "Pictures and Progress," was elegant in diction, and full of fine poetic passages, but its chief excellence consisted in a manly and fearless utterance of the great truths which underlie all poetry, and constitute the very essence of all that is heroic and beautiful in humanity; nay, which go to make up all our ideas of that Divine Nature whose throne is established in justice. He claimed for his race equal rights with their white brothers, and showed conclusively that as slavery is the cause of the war, so only freedom can put an end to the war. His logic was irresistible, and he completely swept away that net-work of sophistry which has entangled so many, catching even Henry Ward Beecher in its web, that as slavery is constitutional, therefore it cannot be abolished constitutionally. He said he trusted less to the virtue of the North than to the villany of the South, and that the government would yet be brought to a position where, instead of catching fugitive slaves, it would arm them.

But it is not in a lecture such as this that Frederick Douglass shows his greatest power—that he is really himself. At the close of the meeting at Tremont Temple, he went directly to Rev. Mr. Grimes's church, on Southac street, which was packed to its utmost capacity to receive him. Here the exuberance of his nature found expression in the glowing imagery of his imaginative race; his wit and drollery were inimitable; and his rollicking good humor, blended with a vein of pathos, took all hearts captive.

A. F. R.

COLORED YOUTH IN BOSTON SCHOOLS.

At the meeting of the Boston School Committee, on Tuesday last, Charles W. Slack, Chairman of the Everett School, embodied in his quarterly report the following allusion to the colored children of this city in the public schools. It will be remembered that Mr. Slack submitted the report and bill to the Legislature of 1855, by which "separate schools" were abolished in this State:—

"Six years have elapsed since the Legislature abrogated the last distinction which this State has made in the education of her children—the separate colored school; and though Boston was the last to come under the sway of this advancing idea, she seems destined to be the first to bestow an appreciative meed upon the deserving colored child. Within this period, a new generation of colored youth has risen to receive the great boon of impartial school education; and it has been witnessed with satisfaction, that a colored girl of the Bowdoin School was designated, two years since, a prominent medal scholar, and that one of the brightest of the graduates of the Phillips School, a colored boy, was received with commendation into the English High School at the annual examination, the same year. Elsewhere, with gradual but steady progress, this race is reaching forward for the highest prizes of academic honor. In the Everett School, there are some six or eight of these children. A recent gathering in the hall of the school-house showed, on one side of the room, a white slave girl, ransomed a few years since, through the efforts of a Massachusetts Senator, and on the other, a sable daughter of one of the isles of the Southern Ocean, while between were youth of almost every nation and clime—Celt and Teuton, African and Asiatic—in happy emulation with the children of our more favored Anglo-Saxon race. That they were taught without prejudice, each stimulated by a proper competition with the other, and all cordially welcomed to the advantages of our inestimable system, it is not necessary that I should here assert."

MUNICIPAL ELECTION.

The annual choice of municipal officers took place in this city on Monday last, and Boston again disgraced herself by the re-election of her mob-inciting and lawless Mayor, Joseph M. Wightman—he receiving 6765 votes, and Edward S. Tobey, Esq. 5795—Wightman's plurality being 970, although his relative loss, compared with last year's vote, is upwards of 2000, which affords some satisfaction, at least. When the result was ascertained, the partisans of the Mayor gathered at the City Hall, and clamored for his appearance. He soon came out on the balcony, and made a meanly characteristic harangue, in the course of which he said—

"Your suffrages have stamped the seal of disapprobation upon the vile slanders and falsehoods of the Abolition press, which has tried to destroy, by poison and malice, that which they could not accomplish by any other means."

The "Abolition" press here referred to, means the *Daily Advertiser*, the *Transcript*, and the *Traveller!* Abolition, forsooth! What impudence and slang! As to the charge made against the Mayor by those journals, of extravagance in the use of the city funds by sundry "junketings," &c., and of misdirection of certain charitable donations, (intended for our own sick and wounded soldiers,) for the benefit of the rebel prisoners at Fort Warren, we had nothing to say. Our issue was of a wholly different nature—relating exclusively to his infamous conduct last December and January, in regard to freedom of speech and the safety of public meetings—an issue which none of the papers alluded to had the courage to refer to at all, probably thinking it politic not to do so.

CONFISCATION OF SLAVES.

EDITOR LIBERATOR:

Will you or any good lawyer please inform the reader how the act of Congress for the confiscation of slaves actually engaged in rebellious service can to any material extent be operative, when the ownership and every identical act of such slaves, under such a vague law, must be proved? To instance: Who threw up the embankments and fortifications around Charleston harbor from which issued the first shot to shatter our national flag, and which served to thwart any effort to relieve the handful of brave and faithful men who would fain defend that flag of the well tried ship "Union," even to the point of starvation, rather than trust themselves to so leaky and treacherous a craft as a "Southern Confederacy"? Who amassed the extensive earthy battlements in the face of Fort Pickens, with the same designs to baffle and destroy its defenders? Who dug the trenches and threw up the three or four miles of masked batteries between Fairfax and Manassas, to say nothing of Vienna, Big Bethel and the line of the Potomac, which have repelled our troops. It is a fact not to be denied, that this immense labor, for the most part, was performed by *slaves*. One of the first persons who escaped from the enemy into our ranks at the battle of Bull Run was a slave, who informed that there were whole regiments of slaves engaged behind the batteries in loading and manning the guns, in waiting upon and supplying the enemy with food and water, and in doing all the laborious drudgery, while the enemy were thus relieved and husbanding their strength to perform more effectually the nicer stratagems of warfare, and without which slave labor the enemy could not have been so well drilled and prepared for war.

Now, it is but the conclusion of common sense, that if we cannot reach the enemy, we cannot take the *identical* slaves employed in the aforesaid service, and in the mean time, they (the slaves) will or may be employed in the same kind of rebellious labor in hundreds or thousands of different places. The same slaves that to day are engaged in building a fort or mounting a gun, may to-morrow be engaged in the "loyal" service of hoeing corn or adding to the material power of "King Cotton," at whose sovereign command we from the beginning have been threatened, "England is to break the blockade." If raising food and cotton for the rebels, while they are drilling, is regarded as "loyal" service, and we know that there may be seasons when even *these* may be employed in rebellious work, how are they to be taken in the very act? Who is to inform the government and prove the time—the work—their identity and their ownership—whether they have been forced into such service from Union-loving masters, or whether they belong to genuine, "Simon-Pure" rebels?

How is the Federal Government ever to assort and select out the slaves who have performed the work which has thus far proved an obstacle, if not the very means of defeat, to our armies? and how are we to know and point out the individual slaves and their masters, whether they are loyal men or not, who are now at this very hour employed in making forts and defences in Virginia, on the Atlantic and Gulf coast, and along the Mississippi from the Ohio to the Balize, and directly and indirectly in rebellious works, as in foundries, workshops, etc., throughout the entire South? For the risk or fear of freeing *one* slave belonging to *one* loyal master, who has *at no time* been engaged in rebellious work, (as raising cotton, wheat and hemp, *even for rebels*, is not deemed rebellious, though the ability of a rebel to live without food and raiment has not as yet been proved,) are we not only not to meddle with, but *by force of our arms* to keep in the bonds of slavery *nine* slaves belonging to *nine* rebellious masters, who at this very moment may be, or who at some time or other may have been used in rebellious labor, either directly or indirectly? Before we could reach and catch and prove such slaves as are only engaged in specific acts to the aid of rebellion, their appointed evil work for our destruction may all be done, and they hypocritically be directed to seemingly loyal business; and thus the present law of confiscation, where and when it would be of any advantage to our cause, would fatally remain a dead letter!

The fact of it is, the rebels (and those who are not rebels in slavedom are "like angels' visits, few and far between") are most earnestly and desperately united to break up this government, on the principle of "rule or ruin," and it should be deemed necessary to throw out of the way every obstacle (whether it may be a stone wall or a slave) to our earliest and most certain success, and by so doing, with the least sacrifice of precious lives and property. We are fighting an enemy that is pursuing and will continue to pursue an ambuscade, Indian mode of warfare, behind bushes, trees and entrenchments, and in all their conduct are not one whit less, but even more savage, as instanced by their firing hospitals and murdering our wounded men, the burning and sawing apart of railroad bridges to precipitate into one common destruction men, women and children, and most barbarously lynching peaceable citizens, who will not unite in their Satanic cause. And are we to prolong a war with such an enemy (who have heretofore been the sole aggressors, and who burgliariously began the war merely because their evil course was checked) by the strictest and most scrupulous observance of every technicality of law, while the same traitorous enemy, in practising such a mode of warfare, scruples not to violate every constitutional and humane law to effectuate the ruin of the benign government which has ever acted the part of a careful paternal protector on every side of their vast domain? And by the careful guardianship of a certain *sacred* "institution," on the touch not and perhaps taste not policy, are we compelled to send forth our young men in still greater myriads to bring these remorseless rebels into subjection to the laws, while at the same time they are using this same "sacred institution" to subserve their base purposes to overcome us?

If, then, the present slave confiscation act is practically a nonentity, and slavery is an *obstacle* in the way of our armies in extinguishing this causeless rebellion, and of the final preservation of this Republic, by which as one nation we have prospered beyond all others, is not the Frémont policy, both in a military and political point of view, of the confiscation of *all* slaves of *all* rebels, the least that should be adopted; and if there should be such a "misfortune" as the inclusion of the slaves of tried and proved loyal men, that they should be paid for? The burden of proof certainly rests far easier on the loyal master than for our side to prove the ownership and to trace out the specific acts of rebellious labor of individual slaves. Then again, in a civilized and humane point of view, will there not be a rather better phase? for as the acts of Congress now stand, as proclaimed by the President, rebel masters are allowed the priority to hold property in human beings (not actually caught in rebellious labor) over and above that of "all goods, chattels, wares and merchandise, whether coming from or going into the disloyal States, and whether belonging to rebellious or loyal owners, and all ships and vessels belonging in whole or in part to any citizen or inhabitant of any of said States, found at sea or in any part of the United States, as the same will be forfeited to the United States." In accordance with this law, vessels in whole or part belonging to the seceded States, engaged in the most peaceful and loyal business, as for instance, the bringing coal from Philadelphia or salt from Cadiz to our Northern ports, are confiscated. This will do very well if human chattels are placed on the same footing, at any rate, as far as relates to openly confessed and plotting rebels; for to make slaves exceptional to the general rule is, in a mere moral point of view, practically making slaves more soulless than ships or cattle, and in a military point of view, the severe lessons of Fort Sumter, Vienna, Big Bethel, Pensacola and Bull Run, (which were surely "most potent arguments,") remain unheeded and profitless, with the probability to be followed, as our armies march into the intricate South, by still severer experiences of a similar sort, when encountering the ever hidden and entrenched mode of warfare of the rebels, who will be aided as with *active allies* by at least a half million of the four millions of slaves, without any essential measures of prevention or protest on our part, but, on the contrary, apparently with the most complacent encouragement and consent. Therefore we say again, EVERY OBSTACLE should be cleared away, to the early and most complete overthrow of a most unprovoked, unscrupulous, unmerciful rebellion for the overthrow of the most precious and sacred rights of man, as have been fully tested and proved by their enjoyment for a period of eighty years, and to the envy and aspiration of all observant nations.

GENERAL OBSERVER.

THE CAUSE OF THE WAR.

MR. EDITOR:

Questioning, lately, certain persons of every political complexion, and degree of intelligence, whom I chanced to meet with, as to what, in their opinion, was the cause and meaning of the present war, what its probable results would be, &c., I received, in the way of reply, every conceivable reason running up and down the scale of sense and nonsense, and in a manner

"From grave to gay, from lively to severe."

Answering, as each questioner did, from his own stand-point, I was the recipient of a greater variety of opinion than I could conveniently digest. I noticed, however, they all possessed in common this singular trait—indefiniteness; indeed, in this respect alone was there any similarity, the only sense in which they resembled each other. Thinking upon so unusual a circumstance with regard to what, as individuals, we have and hold such decided opinions, and, as we fondly trust, such well-established views, the mystery seemed all the deeper and darker that none were able to determine, with any measure of success, what Government really purposes to do. Can you, my dear sir, inform me whether the "powers that be" have been acting upon any settled line of policy—and, if so, what it is?

What do the people know as to the real intentions of the administration in regard to this war? Do the Cabinet see their way, as to the removal of the cause of it? Is it known, by anybody, whether they have any clearly defined plan of procedure, commensurate with the spirit of the age and the demands of the times? What does government mean to do with the subject of slavery? Is it not evident they intend to disturb it as little as possible—virtually to let it alone, if the people will permit it?

My faith in the future, in a general sense, is unlimited; in another and a special sense, it rests upon the efforts put forth by man in the present. Hence, I do not consider the cause of the slave so hopeful to-day as some of your correspondents, nor do I see that cause for rejoicing which many of the more prominent friends of freedom have publicly expressed. I read the signs of the times somewhat differently. If our soldiers are not to go into winter quarters, as has been semi-officially announced, and if it is fully determined to break the back of this rebellion before many more weeks roll away, will not the Union be likely to remain as it is, or rather as it has heretofore? Even if not so, the way will be again open for reconciliation and further compromise—and the golden opportunity of settling, or hastening the settlement of this paramount question of the age, the only practical subject for constant consideration by our people, will be again indefinitely postponed; and again will our hearts be made sick by having our hopes again deferred. If such is to be our experience, after so favorable a combination of circumstances as this war has developed, each in turn tending to facilitate affairs, and bring events to a most desirable crisis; if, after the very object of all our toiling is within our reach, we decline to put forth and pluck the ripened fruit; if, when the blessed boon of Freedom seeks admittance to our dwellings, we deliberately refuse her entrance; when the greatest of national blessings is vouchsafed to us, and we go out of our way to avoid accepting it; if, when the path to Peace, and the right-of-way to Justice is open to us, and we perversely refuse to walk therein; if, after all our windings, wanderings, journeyings, we are permitted to enter the Promised Land, and yet idolatrously turn aside; if we continue to insult the very favors of Providence, as it were—trampling upon our heaven-bestowed principles—we justly deserve to become a warning to all other nations, and God himself ought never to forgive us!

While the cause of the slave will necessarily receive a mighty impetus, growing out of our present difficulties, the fruition of the friends of freedom, I fear, will be delayed till another rising of the tide.

I look in vain for any vital earnestness on the part of President Lincoln and his Cabinet to wage this war for the maintenance of a principle; on the contrary, their public proclamations, private professions, and only rallying-cry, has been merely—to preserve the Union intact—and everybody knows what this means.

Notwithstanding the feeling is daily increasing, on the part of the Federal army, everywhere, in favor of emancipation, and the miraculous conversion of well-known zealous Conservatives, Democrats, Hunkers, *et id omne genus*, in New England, in the Middle and Western States—together with the official instruction from the War Department—I fear the friends of freedom, anti-slavery men everywhere, are doomed to bitter disappointment. I cannot, perhaps, satisfactorily say why—I can only record my impressions and convictions, and let them stand as a warning. May my fears prove groundless!

Boston, Dec. 2, 1861. G. A. B.

WHAT WILL THE END BE?

MR. EDITOR:

When the country was startled by the report of the fall of Fort Sumter, seven months ago, with the sense of indignation came also a secret joy, that the wanton and unprovoked attack had rendered all further compromise impossible. It seemed to me that the North, aroused from its lethargy of three-quarters of a century's growth, and awakened to a sense of the diabolical schemes of the slaveholding conspirators, would demand of its leaders to strike a death-blow to the prime cause of the gigantic rebellion: but spring lengthened into summer without any decisive blow being struck. Then I said, When Congress assembles, it will lose no time in abolishing slavery. But Congress met, and adjourned; summer passed, and autumn came; and now autumn is almost gone, and still nothing has been done towards closing the war, by adopting the only means that can ever end it. Still fugitives are sent back, despite the action of Congress; and the administration seems inclined to turn the whole grand army into a posse for catching and returning slaves. So far the public action has retrograded, instead of advancing. Up to date, the greatest anxiety of the President and Cabinet seems to have been, how to preserve slavery intact; and any injury which has been done to the institution, or any benefit extended to individual slaves, has been done contrary to the wishes of the administration, or at least without its orders. In all this truckling and political huckstering there would be no gleam of hope, were it not manifest that slowly, hesitatingly and unwillingly the administration was yielding to the demands of the people; and that the people were becoming educated by the atrocious spirit of slavery, which this war is rapidly evolving. But there is hope for the slave, and for the country, in the growing sentiment of anti-slavery throughout the North. There is abundant reason to rejoice when such men as Dickinson and Cochrane so far recognize the humanity of the colored race as to propose to arm them. And yet the utterances of such men are but straws to show which way the wind blows. Thousands and tens of thousands of men, who one year ago had decided pro-slavery feelings, mummies of the Bell Everett party, and hyenas of the Breckinridge party, men who cared nothing about slavery, and men who believed it to be a "divine institution," now say, "Let slavery perish!" "Wipe it out!" The masses care not how much Seward longs for the White House, or what principle of humanity he is ready to sacrifice to attain the object of his ambition, they love their country, and mean that it shall be saved. They hate slavery for the crimes it is committing against the country, and mean that it shall die. Wo to the aspirant who comes between slavery and the people; he will be ground to powder. An aspiring Cabinet may remove those who come between it and the object of its hopes; it will not be the first time in history that men have been hurled into oblivion by the very means by which they thought to raise themselves to glory and power. We know that the popular heart beats true for freedom by the shock of pain and indignation that ran through the length and breadth of the land upon the modification of Fremont's proclamation, and his subsequent removal. It matters not whether he had expended money lavishly or not, or that he has chosen some officers that the administration do not consider suitable; the popular mind associates his removal with the modification of his proclamation, and the deeds he did for Freedom.

Whether the Government intends it or not, the developments of the times hasten the doom of the demon, slavery; and the inevitable result must be its entire overthrow. The Christian sentiments of the civilized world demand it; all the dictates of humanity demand it; the terrible necessities of this nation, rent in sunder, demand it; and the people are rapidly coming to demand it. All these combined forces cannot be withstood. Such an end will be glorious. Such an end will amply repay those who have striven against slavery for thirty years; and, too, it will repay those who are fighting against it now. When the foul vampyre, which, for seventy years, has been drawing the life-blood of this nation, shall be killed, the people will do justice to those who, for thirty years, have stood on the watch-towers and warned them of their danger; then they will admit that, though hating the blood-stained Constitution, and sternly rebuking every villanous administration, and detesting the Government in all its relations to the colored race, the Abolitionists loved the country better than they all. M. L. WHITTEN.

Etna, (Me.) Nov. 17, 1861.

TRIBUTE OF RESPECT.

WORCESTER, Dec. 7, 1861.

At a meeting of the Anti-Slavery and Temperance Society, the following resolutions were passed:

Whereas, by the will of an all-wise Providence, FRANCIS JACKSON of Boston, a devoted friend of the slave and the oppressed, one of Freedom's noblest champions, whose door was ever open to the fleeing fugitive, and whose purse was never closed upon the poor, has been removed from among the living to a rest from his labors—to his rewards, richer than man can bestow; therefore,

Resolved, That this Society most deeply sympathize with the friends of humanity, freedom and equality, in the loss of one of their most devoted advocates.

Resolved, That for his untiring devotions, his ready pen, his willing voice, his fortune and his life—all of which he freely gave in defence of the rights of his fellow-man—he is deserving of a reward so great that none can repay.

Voted, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to the family of the deceased, and also to the *Daily Spy*, (Worcester,) for publication.

Per order, ISAAC MASON, *President.*
A. E. PERRY, *Sec'y.*

CONGRESSIONAL PROCEEDINGS.

In the U. S. Senate, on Monday last—

Mr. Sumner presented several petitions from citizens of Rhode Island and Vermont, calling on Congress under the war power to legislate on the subject of the emancipation of the slaves of rebels.

Mr. Collamer presented several petitions of the same character.

The President of the Senate also presented a petition from citizens of Wisconsin of the same character. All the petitions were referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. Sumner presented a resolution, that all memorials and papers on the files of the Senate, relating to the recognition of Liberia and Hayti, be taken from the files, and referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs. Agreed to.

Mr. Clark offered a resolution requesting the Marshal of the District to inform the Senate by what authority he keeps slaves of the District in Jail because they are refractory. Agreed to.

On motion of Mr. Fessenden, it was resolved that the Committee on the District of Columbia be requested to report the number of fugitive slaves that have been confined in the Government jail in Washington, during the last one and a half years, by whom claimed, whether any of these fugitives have been returned to their claimants, by what authority, and to whom, and also specifying what number, if any, have been returned—since the order of Secretary Seward in reference to alleged fugitives, to whom and by whom delivered.

In the House of Representatives—

Mr. Lovejoy, of Illinois, introduced the following joint resolution:—

Resolved, That the Secretary of War be requested to revoke the first section of the general order dated Nov. 26th, 1861, of Major General Halleck, commanding the Western division of the army.

The section alluded to in the above resolution is as follows:—"As it has been represented that information of the number of our army and condition of our affairs has been conveyed to the enemy by means of fugitive slaves who have been allowed to enter the lines, therefore, in order to remedy the evil, no such persons shall hereafter be permitted to enter the lines of the army, and any now within them shall be excluded therefrom."

Mr. Cox, of Ohio, moved to lay the resolution on the table, which was disagreed to, yeas 63, nays 68.

Mr. Lovejoy then moved the previous question.

Mr. Olin, of New York, moved that the House adjourn. Lost by a large majority.

Mr. Lansing, of New York, offered a substitute, characterizing the order of Gen. Halleck as inhuman and cruel, and respectfully requests the President to direct Gen. Halleck to recall said order, and cause him (Halleck) to conform to the practice in other departments of the army.

Mr. Lovejoy accepted the substitute, and the subject was postponed.

A bill was offered repealing acts and parts of acts authorizing the commitment of negroes as runaways, and being sold to pay expenses, &c., and to punish for such practices.

A bill confiscating the property of rebels, and liberating and colonizing their slaves, was referred to the Military Committee.

A bill abolishing slavery in the District of Columbia was referred.

The traitor John C. Breckinridge has been expelled from the Senate—yeas 36, nays none.

☞ Mr. Stevens, of Penn., has modified his resolution so as to read that there can be no solid and permanent Union so long as slavery exists, and that all slaves be proclaimed free, full compensation to be made to loyal masters.

☞ Gov. Moore, of Louisiana, reviewed on the 24th ult. a force of 28,000 soldiers, among whom were 1400 fine colored men. Just think of a Northern Governor reviewing a regiment of colored Unionists! It would be denounced as "abolitionism" *here.* It is the sole prerogative of the rebels to employ colored men. Sambo may in the rebel ranks shoot down *our* soldiers, but he must not be permitted to shoot down theirs. There's logic for you! This is pursuing folly for the sake of being foolish.—*Salem Observer.*

☞ The Richmond *Enquirer* contains an advertisement for three hundred negro men—slaves or freemen—to be employed in the construction of military roads for the use of the army of the Potomac. Twenty dollars per month, and one ration per day, are offered to each man.

☞ Thirty-one "contrabands" have arrived in Washington. Many of them were women and children, and were brought over from Mathias Point by Col. Graham during his recent reconnoissance. The men among them were employed as laborers. These slaves had been deserted by their masters, and were in a destitute condition when discovered by our troops.

☞ John Tyler's house, near Hampton, Va., which is large and well built, now comfortably shelters a large number of contraband negroes. That house was never put to such good uses before.

EXCITEMENT IN ROCKPORT, MASS.

A correspondent (says the Boston *Herald*) writing from Rockport, informs us that on Sunday evening last, the notorious Parker Pillsbury was allowed the use of the Church to deliver a lecture therein, although the permission was objectionable to a large portion of the congregation. The excitement attending the delivery of the lecture is described by our correspondent, as follows:—

"The speaker began his remarks in the usual style. He had said but little, however, and was finishing an appeal to 'fathers and brothers on the Potomac's shore, exposed to the shot and bombs of the enemy,' when a *fire-ball* was thrown directly through the window, breaking the glass in its passage, and falling into a pew; and though at first it caused some alarm, under the soothing influence of the speaker, it soon subsided. Soon after a peculiar 'fiz' was heard, and a light wreath of smoke began to ascend, when some one exclaimed, 'A bomb!' Instantly a stampede took place, women, men and boys struggling to gain the doors, and a scene of the wildest terror was enacted. One person jumped on to the offensive article, crowding it together, when a small quantity of powder exploded, filling the church with smoke and a very peculiar odor, not to be described.

This, of course, did not do much towards making things agreeable, but as the audience was not over-delicate, they managed to hear him out. Some damage was done to the church in the shape of pew doors unhinged, &c., but nothing of much account. A kerosene lamp was broken, doing some damage, which, with bruises and contusions, made up the list of damages. The audience was small, or the rush would have been attended with serious results. The affair is very unfortunate for this Society, as it has disaffected a large number of parishioners, some of whom commenced on Monday morning to strip their pews of cushions and books. There was probably no riot intended, but all through the day an uneasy feeling prevailed, which showed that there needed but a slight provocation to bring one on."

☞ The Anti-Slavery cause and its advocates have had, from the beginning till now, naturally and instinctively arrayed against them the low, abandoned, lawless and cowardly—to their praise and credit. The time is coming when "the notorious Parker Pillsbury" will be remembered with honor, and classed among the truest of patriots and best of citizens.

THE SLAVE TRADE PENALTY.

It must be a cause of rejoicing in every truly Christian heart that we have now a government under which this vile traffic is meeting a check, and those engaged in it beginning to taste its due penalties. A trial of Capt. Gordon, of the slaver Erie, has been sometime pending in New York. It has resulted in his conviction, and agreeably to the provisions of the law, he is sentenced to be hung.

Judge Nelson made a very impressive address in announcing the verdict. After recounting the horrors of the middle passage, and picturing the crimes flowing from the traffic, he thus concludes the sentence:—

"As you are soon to pass into the presence of that God of the black man as well as the white man who is no respecter of persons, do not indulge for a moment the thought that He hears with indifference the cry of the humblest of his children. Do not imagine that because others shared in the guilt of this enterprise, yours is thereby diminished; but remember the awful admonition of your Bible—'Though hand join in hand, the wicked shall not go unpunished.' Turn your thoughts toward Him who alone can pardon, and who is not deaf to the supplications of those who seek His mercy. It remains only to pronounce the sentence which the law affixes to your crime, which is, that you be taken back to the City Prison, whence you were brought, and remain there until Friday, the seventh day of February next, and then and there, the place of execution, between the hours of twelve o'clock at noon and three o'clock in the afternoon on that day, you be hanged by the neck until you are dead, and may the Lord have mercy upon your soul."

Another case has been before the court in this State. A man by the name of Samuel P. Skinner, has been for some time past working in this business in New Bedford, either on his own hook, or playing into the hands of one Oaksmith, of New York. We are glad to know that his career is stopped at last. Having been convicted of fitting out the "Margaret Scott," of which he was owner, as a slaver, he was brought up on Friday before Judge Clifford, of the U. S. Court, for sentence. A motion for arrest of judgment was argued and overruled, and sentence of $1000 fine, and five years imprisonment in Taunton jail, was imposed.—*Christian Register.*

LETTER TO GENERAL M'CLELLAN FROM WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

No More Slave-Catching for Rebels—Confiscation Practically Illustrated—Negro-Hunters to be Punished.

The following order has been issued from the State Department:—

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, Dec. 4, 1861.

To Major-General George B. McClellan, Washington:

GENERAL: I am directed by the President to call your attention to the following subject: Persons claimed to be held to service or labor under the laws of the State of Virginia, and actually employed in hostile service against the Government of the United States, frequently escape from the lines of the enemy's forces, and are received within the lines of the army of the Potomac. This Department understands that such persons, afterward coming into the City of Washington, are liable to be arrested by the City Police, upon the presumption arising from color, that they are fugitives from service or labor, by the fourth section of the act of Congress, approved August 6, 1861, entitled an act to confiscate property used for insurrectionary purposes, such hostile employment is made a full and sufficient answer to any further claim to service or labor. Persons thus employed and escaping are received into the military protection of the United States, and their arrest as fugitives from labor or service should be immediately followed by the military arrest of the parties making the seizure.

Copies of this communication will be sent to the Mayor of the City of Washington, and to the Marshal of the District of Columbia, that any collision between the military and civil authorities may be avoided.

I am, General, your very obedient servant,
WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

REBEL HATRED. The following letter from a celebrated Kentucky character exhibits the fiendish hatred of a rebel:—

"ABINGTON, Va., Oct. 2, 1861. *My Dear Wife,*—I have left you and our children in the land of the despot; but God grant that I may soon be able to make the Union men of Kentucky feel the edge of my knife. From this day I hold every Union traitor as my enemy, and from him I scorn to receive quarter, and to him I will never grant my soul in death; for they are cowards and villains enough. Brother Henry and I arrived here without hindrance. I have had chills all the way, but I hope to live to kill forty Yankees for every chill that I ever had. I learn that Hardee is still in the Arkansas lines inactive, and if it proves to be true, I will tender my resignation and go immediately to Kentucky. I hope that I will do my duty as a rebel and a freeman. Since I saw the Union men of Kentucky I intend to begin the work of murder in earnest, and if ever I spare one of them, may hell be my portion. I want to see Union blood flow deep enough for my horse to swim in.

Your husband, JAMES BLACKBURN."

ANTI-SLAVERY MEETING IN LENOX, OHIO. The adjourned meeting on Friday last was well attended, and a very interesting discussion was had upon the form of a petition for the abolition of slavery. The question at issue was, whether a compensation should be proposed for emancipated slaves, or that unconditional emancipation be asked for. After a very full and earnest discussion, the following form of petition was decided upon, and adopted by an almost unanimous vote of the meeting:—

PETITION.

To the Congress of the United States:

The undersigned, citizens of Ashtabula county, State of Ohio,

Believing that slavery is the original and real cause of the present rebellion, and that the country can have no reliable peace so long as slavery exists, respectfully petition your honorable body immediately to institute measures for the speedy termination of slavery throughout the country.

And whereas, the whole colored population are to become sharers with us in the liberties and rights for which we are contending, we ask you to have able-bodied colored men received as volunteers to aid us in arms, in crushing this wicked rebellion and restoring peace to our land.

☞ Col. Turchin, of the 19th Illinois, at Elizabethtown, Ky., is in command of a brigade composed of his own regiment, the 18th Ohio, and the 37th Indiana. A member of the 37th, writing of their march through Elizabethtown, says:—

"A venerable daughter of Ham was so enchanted with the music and the appearance of the troops that, pacing up and down, she cleared a space of about ten feet, by swinging her arms, shouting, 'Dar comes de Unionists! Bress de Lord for de Unionists! I jes knows de Unionists 's gwine to gain de day! Glory to de Lord!' Everybody laughed, but I said within myself, 'Dinah, you're a twitting on facts.'"

THE REJECTED STONE, OR INSURRECTION *vs.* RESURRECTION IN AMERICA, by a native of Virginia, (Walker, Wise & Co., Boston; James Miller, New York,) is the title of a very able and trenchant pamphlet—perhaps the best, on the whole, which the war has brought forth—advocating the overthrow of slavery as the only legitimate or possible mode of ending the present cruel and sanguinary war. Its chapters have piquant headings. It is copiously illustrated by classical references, bits of history, anecdotes of biography, Scripture allusions, gems from all literature; and it keeps the *morale* of the question clear of cotton-bags, money-tills, and caucuses. The ground taken by the writer will seem to be extreme, to many; but time and reverses, and the grand march of thought, are effecting numerous and rapid conversions; and the time is not far distant when the great American people will tolerate no more delay or faltering, but will demand that a death-blow, full and final, shall be struck, not only at this rebellion, but at all future possible rebellions, by prostrating to the earth that pestilent tree from which this poison of treason has been distilled. The pamphlet will everywhere be read with eager interest, as coming from a son of the "Old Dominion."—*N. Y. Christian Inquirer.*

FREMONT'S BODY-GUARD. A correspondent of the *New School Presbyterian* writes respecting the Body-Guard of Fremont, who routed the rebels at Springfield, Mo., as follows:—

"This corps is composed of the *elite* of the land; and it contains young men from nearly all the Northern States, East and West. Seven of them are from Virginia; and almost a whole company of them came from Kentucky. I have been with them daily for about three months past, and a more orderly, sober and excellent set of young men I have seldom seen. Many of them are members of Christian churches, and sprung from choice families. A great portion of them are well educated, cultivated and promising young men. They have spent days and nights, the past three months, in fatiguing drills on foot and horseback. And their late glorious success is only the fair meed of merit in themselves and their accomplished officers."

HENRY WINTER DAVIS ON THE WAR. This gentleman gave a lecture, in Brooklyn, on Tuesday evening last, when he ventilated his views on the war. In the course of his remarks he alluded, in sneering tones, to the deeds of manumission signed by John C. Fremont. This was greeted with applause, hisses, and a few cries of "Shame." Then a voice in the audience called out for "Three cheers for John C. Fremont," which were given with a heartiness which apparently somewhat surprised Mr. Davis. He believed that ample power had been given Government to deal with the rebellion in any emergency that had or might arise, without transcending the Constitution.

SERVED 'EM RIGHT. We refer to the two deputy marshals and one slave hunter, who caught a colored man near Delaware City, Kansas, on the 9th ult., and attempted to return him to his rebel owner in Platte county, Missouri. Having secured their prey, the trio crossed the river, but had scarcely reached the Missouri shore when they were set upon by a party of armed Secessionists, who exclaimed—"Shoot the d—d Jayhawkers!" Tableau: A volley fired by the Missourians; slave catcher receives a charge of buckshot in his breast and face; deputy marshals run away, and are pursued by Missourians, whose horses unfortunately get mired in a quick-sand; colored party breaks for the river, and swims across. "Shoot the d—d Jayhawkers!"—*Chicago Tribune.*

EMANCIPATION LEAGUE. A society has just been established in this city under this title, the object of which is declared to be in the Constitution, "to urge upon the people and the government emancipation of the slaves as a measure of justice and as a military necessity; it being the shortest, cheapest, and least bloody path to permanent peace, and the only way of maintaining the integrity of the nation." The funds of the League are to be expended under the direction of an Executive Board, "for the promotion of this object by publications, lectures, circulars, petitions to Congress, and other such means as they may deem proper and useful." The officers will be chosen as soon as a reasonable number of names are signed to the constitution. A similar society has lately been organized in New York, and the movement, unless frustrated by events, seems likely to attain considerable importance.—*Boston Traveller.*

☞ There are two remarkable instances of the character of our Northern troops that are worth noticing, which have recently come under observation, in regard to the troops sent South with the great expedition. This first is the fact that there were sent to New York from Port Royal 15,000 letters, being, on an average, one letter to each soldier. We venture to say that in no army of the world is there such a degree of intelligence and social and intellectual refinement, as in the hosts of freedom gathered from the Northern States. The other fact, as creditable to their hearts as the former is to their heads, is that they have already been paid $300,000, and have sent home to their wives and children more than two-thirds of this sum. With such men, intelligent and loving, never forgetting the ties which bind them to their homes in the Northern States, who can doubt of the final issue of the great question now in process of solution?—*N. Y. Tribune.*

WESTERN VIRGINIA. The Convention of Western Virginia has taken steps toward making that a free State. On the day the Convention met, the Wheeling *Intelligencer* said:—

"We do not wish to be connected any longer with the miserable one-idea negro policy that has cursed us all the days of our lives thus far. That policy is always arrogant, selfish and absorbing. It hangs upon the steps of progress, and hobbles both its feet. We have had enough of it. We have had a sore experience. Let us not repeat the folly. Let us have a natural State."

☞ The Wilmington (Del.) *State Journal*, after referring to the movement in Maryland to abolish slavery, adds:—

"People of Delaware, how much longer will you be content to linger in the deadly shadow which slavery throws athwart your path to greatness and prosperity? How much longer will you permit the barbarous relic to hang like a millstone around your necks to drag you down to shame and reproach, when a single blow would hurl it from your presence, and raise our noble little State up to an equality of power and influence with her free sisters of the North?"

☞ A correspondent of the Philadelphia *Inquirer*, writing from Fort Monroe, says:—

"Several hundred contrabands were to-day supplied with winter quarters near the Fortress. An immense frame building was erected, and the interior partitioned off in the manner of a steamboat cabin, with rough white pine berths. Ebony and chocolate-colored men and women took possession of these amidst a most terrible clatter. Each man shouldered his bed of straw husks, and marched through the door with the air of a hero, no doubt thanking the Government for having been so careful in providing accommodations.

Upwards of eighteen hundred contrabands are located in the neighborhood of Hampton. They receive rations from the Government, and do work in return. They are as happy, careless and easy as though all their life accustomed to the scenes of the present day. The houses which they occupy are in a miserable condition, and the health of the inmates is said not to be all that could be desired."

☞ The annual report of the Phillips School, Boston, mentions a bequest from the late Charles F. Hovey, of a complete set of the Encyclopædia Britannica to the library of said School.

☞ The Charleston *Mercury* says Gen. Ripley has ordered every pound of cotton likely to fall into the hands of the enemy to be burned.

☞ S. P. Sewell, a Yankee school teacher at Memphis, Tenn., has been arrested by the committee of safety as a person inimical to the South.

OBITUARY.

Died, in Coventry, (R. I.) Nov. 10th, after a lingering illness, CALEB KILTON, in the 81st year of his age. He was a pioneer in the Anti-Slavery movement—was a member of the Convention which organized the Rhode Island Anti-Slavery Society in February, 1836, and was one of the directors. He was one of the fifteen subscribers to the *Liberator* in his vicinity about that time, and at his death was one of the three that continued their subscriptions through the storm of 1840, and subsequent political and ecclesiastical trials. His faith was never shaken in the righteousness of the cause, nor in the fidelity by which it was conducted. Many of the Anti-Slavery agents and lecturers will long remember the Kilton family, which consisted, a few years ago, of the deceased and his six maiden sisters, all Abolitionists of the right stamp. They have been dropping away, one after the other, nearly in the order of their ages, until the two younger are all that remain.

P. C.

☞ MERCY B. JACKSON, M. D., has removed to 695 Washington street, 2d door North of Warren. Particular attention paid to Diseases of Women and Children. *References.*—Luther Clark, M. D.; David Thayer, M. D. Office hours from 2 to 4, P. M.

THE TWENTY EIGHTH

NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY SUBSCRIPTION ANNIVERSARY.

The time for the ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION ANNIVERSARY again draws nigh, and we look forward to it with pleasure, as the means of meeting familiar, friendly faces, and listening to earnest words of counsel and encouragement. Some say that other agencies are now in such active operation, that "the old Abolitionists," as they are called, can well afford to rest upon their oars, while others carry forward their work to its completion. We cannot view the subject in this light. Our mission is the same now that it was thirty years ago. Through many and strange changes, we have slowly but steadily advanced toward its fulfilment; but there are many indications that our work is not yet in a state to be safely left to other hands. We have been, and we must still be, a fire to warm the atmosphere of public opinion. More than a quarter of a century ago, the fire was kindled with generous zeal, and year after year it has been fed with untiring industry and patience. Not all the cold water that politicians, merchants, and ecclesiastical bodies could throw upon it has sufficed to extinguish the flame, or even to prevent it from spreading. The moral thermometer can never again fall to the old freezing point. In view of this, we thank God, and take courage. But who that observes passing events, and reflects upon their indications, can arrive at the conclusion that the fire is no longer needed?

It is true that blood and treasure are lavishly expended to put down a most wicked and sanguinary rebellion, the proclaimed purpose of which is to extend and perpetuate SLAVERY. But the government of the United States manifests, in every possible way, a vigilant carefulness to protect the claims of Slavery, and politicians are continually announcing that the war has nothing to do with the cause of the war. There are now very few slaveholders who condescend to profess allegiance to the government; yet, small as is the remnant of that powerful and unprincipled oligarchy, they still appear to govern the counsels of the nation. The honest expression of THE PEOPLE'S wishes is required to be suppressed, lest the utterance should prove offensive to this arrogant minority, so long accustomed to rule the majority. The people are full of generous enthusiasm for their country. If the polar star of a great idea were presented to them, they would follow it with eager courage through suffering and death. But it seems to be the aim of politicians to create a fog so dense that neither star nor sunlight shall glimmer through it to guide the millions, who are longing to be led in the right direction.

Is *this* a time to let the sacred fire smoulder on the altar of freedom? On the contrary, there has never been a time when it was more necessary to watch it with vigilance, and feed it with untiring activity.

We, Abolitionists, still have unwavering faith that "a straight line is always the shortest, in morals as well as in mathematics." Politicians are always in need of being convinced of this obvious truth; and they are peculiarly in need of it now. Let us, then, continue to work for the good old cause in every way that is consistent with our own conscientious convictions. Let us meet together, that our hearts may be cheered and our hands strengthened for whatsoever work the God of the oppressed may call upon us to do.

All those who have faith in the principles of freedom, all who believe that the effect of righteousness would be peace and security for our unhappy country, are cordially and earnestly invited to meet us at the usual time and place in Boston, in January next. [Particulars hereafter.]

Contributions, and expressions of sympathy, from friends at home or abroad, in person or by letter, will be most thankfully received; for we have great need of both at this most momentous and trying crisis.

L. Maria Child,	*Mary Willey,*
Mary May,	*Ann Rebecca Bramhall,*
Louisa Loring,	*Sarah P. Remond,*
Henrietta Sargent,	*Mary F. Stearns,*
Sarah Russell May,	*Sarah J. Nowell,*
Helen Eliza Garrison,	*Elizabeth Von Arnim,*
Anna Shaw Greene,	*Anne Langdon Alger,*
Sarah Blake Shaw,	*Eliza Apthorp,*
Caroline C. Thayer,	*Sarah Cowing,*
Abby Kelley Foster,	*Sarah H. Southwick,*
Lydia D. Parker,	*Mary Elizabeth Sargent,*
Augusta G. King,	*Sarah C. Atkinson,*
Mattie Griffith,	*Abby Francis,*
Mary Jackson,	*Mary Jane Parkman,*
Evelina A. Smith,	*Georgina Otis,*
Caroline M. Severance,	*Abby H. Stephenson,*
Elizabeth Gay,	*Abby F. Manley,*
	Katherine Earle Farnum.

☞ A. T. FOSS, an Agent of the American Anti-Slavery Society, will speak in

Orland,	Maine,	Friday,	Dec. 13.
Ellsworth,	"	Sunday,	" 15.

☞ AARON M. POWELL, an Agent of the American Anti-Slavery Society, will speak at

Greenfield,	Ulster Co., N. Y.,		Friday,	Dec. 13.
Ellenville,	"	"	Sunday,	" 15.
Bomowack,	"	"	Monday,	" 16.
Milton,	"	"	Friday,	" 20.
Poughkeepsie,	"	"	Sunday,	" 22.

☞ NOTICE.—The Essex Co. Anti-Slavery Society will hold its quarterly meeting in the Silsbee Street Chapel, Lynn, on next Sunday afternoon and evening, (Dec. 15th,) commencing at 2 o'clock in the afternoon, and at half-past 6 o'clock in the evening.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, PARKER PILLSBURY, C. L. REMOND and others are expected to take part in the meeting. Let there be a cheering attendance.

C. LENOX REMOND, *President.*
LYDIA M. TENNY, *Sec'y.*

☞ SOUTH DANVERS AND DANVERS.—PARKER PILLSBURY and CHARLES L. REMOND will address meetings in South Danvers, on Monday evening next, 16th inst., at the Town Hall; and on Wednesday evening, 18th inst., at the Town Hall in Danvers. Subject: The War—Its Mysteries, and their Interpretations.

Meetings to commence at 7 o'clock.

☞ WM. LLOYD GARRISON will address the citizens of MILFORD, (Mass.) in the Town Hall, on Slavery and the War, on Friday evening, Dec. 13th.

☞ REV. DR. GEORGE B. CHEEVER, of New York, will preach at Tremont Temple, next Sunday evening, at half-past 7 o'clock. Subject: "Shall Slavery or the Country be destroyed?"

☞ EMANCIPATION LEAGUE.—Hon. GEORGE S. BOUTWELL will deliver the Inaugural Address before the Emancipation League, in Tremont Temple, on MONDAY EVENING, Dec. 16th, upon "The Justice, Expediency and Necessity of EMANCIPATION."

The doors will be open at half-past 6 o'clock. The Address will commence at half-past 7 o'clock.

The public are invited to attend.

PRIVATE TUITION.

IT having been deemed advisable to suspend, temporarily, the Hopedale Home School at the expiration of the present term, announcement is hereby made, that Mrs. A. B. HAYWOOD, one of the Principals, will be pleased to receive a few Young Ladies into her family for Instruction in the *English, Branches, French, Drawing and Painting*, and *Music.* The term will commence on WEDNESDAY, Jan. 1, 1862, and continue FIFTEEN WEEKS.

For particulars, please address

ABBIE B. HAYWOOD.

Hopedale, Milford, Mass., Dec. 10, 1861.

Diseases of Women and Children.

WM. SYMINGTON BROWN, M. D., and
MRS. MARGARET B. BROWN, *Accoucheuse,*

HAVE opened an office at 274 Washington Street, Boston, and will devote special attention to the treatment of the above diseases.

Office Hours, from 10, A. M., to 4, P. M.

Boston, Oct. 4, 1861. 3m

Poetry.

For the Liberator.

TO THE MEMORY OF FRANCIS JACKSON.

"Oh! thy gentle smile of greeting,
Who again shall see?
Who, amidst the solemn meeting,
Gaze again on thee?
Who, when peril gathers o'er us,
Wear so calm a brow?
Who, with evil men before us,
So serene as thou?"

Passing away are the loved and the trusted,
Passing away to the spirit-land;
Earnest and faithful, with courage unfaltering,
How *can* they be spared from the noble band?

From that band who, 'gainst falsehood and wrong contending,
In the contest for freedom have still led the van,
And boldly proclaimed, while the nation derided,
The right of the vassal his manhood to claim:

But, alas! all unheeded the voice of their warning!
Our people believed not—they loosed not the chains—
Till now we are plunged in the red sea of carnage,
And the demon of war stalks abroad o'er our plains.

And now, when all earnest and true souls are needed,
To strive 'gainst the wrong, and the right to defend,
We shall miss thee, our brother, so brave and true-hearted,
Who wast ever the weak ones' defender and friend.

We shall miss thee: but sadly, more sadly, *he*'ll mourn thee,
Thy brother, the bondman, who, fleeing for life,
Ever trusted in thee as a faithful protector,
When traitors betrayed him, and danger was rife.

And when in that land where the Lion of England
From our Eagle's strong talons has rescued the slave—
Where the man-hunter, baffled, in vain seeks his victim,
And the flag of Britannia for Freedom doth wave—

They shall hear the sad tidings, the tears of true sorrow
Will fall to thy memory, thou friend of their race!
And ne'er from their hearts, while the life-pulse is beating,
Will time, change, or distance, thine image efface.

Then, farewell to thee, brother! though no more we behold thee,
Or tread the rough paths of the world by thy side,
Yet we feel that thy spirit even now may be with us,
Since 'twas only the earth-form, the mortal, that died.

November, 1861. CARRIE.

For the Liberator.

LINES,

Written 2d Dec., 1859, on the Execution of John Brown.

Oh, day of doom! oh, day of fears!
Oh, day of wailing and of tears!
Day when th' oppressor's lawless band
Shall execute his dire command;
Day when justice—right—have fled,
And Freedom, wailing, bows her head!
Day when the ruthless man of blood
Triumphant stands amid the flood
Of prayers, and sighs, and stifled groans,
Uprising in a thousand tones,
Which love and sympathy unite,
To recognize the common right
Which God hath given full and free—
The right of all to liberty!
Oh, day of gloom! oh, day of wrath!
Long will thy shade obscure the path
Of that tyrannic, evil power,
Which triumphs now, but for an hour!
Long will the page of history mourn
Thy solemn, sad, unblest return!
Long will the martyred hero's name
Flash on the eye with vivid flame,
And light a fire in every breast,
Ever to blaze till it find rest
In freedom for the poor oppressed!—
And strife, and woe, and wild commotion,
Fierce billows on life's stormy ocean,
[illegible] the sun of peace
[illegible] strife and turmoil cease!
[illegible] day of darkness and of woe!
When widow's tears, and orphans', flow;
Day of sorrow and of dread,
When bleeding hearts mourn for the dead;
Day of wrath and day of fears;
Day worthy of a nation's tears;
Day of strife, and day of gloom,
We leave thee to thy well-earned doom!

Ellsworth, Me. S. R. D.

For the Liberator.

LINES TO R. HINCHOLIFFE,

In answer to "Is there Hope?"

Sweet bard! there's hope for liberty!
Thy own great heart must feel it;
The Muse, so dearly lov'd by thee,
Must to thy soul reveal it.

Poetic souls God's prophets are,
The watchmen on the tower;
They look into the future far—
Discern "the coming hour."*

The blackness of Oppression's night
Is past—there comes the morning:
Behold the streaks of ruddy light!
Fair Freedom's day is dawning!

Then strike again thy tuneful lyre,
And sing in lofty numbers;
Let this grand truth thy soul inspire—
God's justice never slumbers!

G. N. ADAMS.

*"The Coming Hour," a poem by Mr. Hincholiffe, recited at an Anti-Slavery meeting in Reading. Will the author send it to the *Liberator*?

From the New York Independent.

TO CHARLES SUMNER.

We thank thee, Sumner! Thou hast spoken the word
God gave to thy safe keeping; thou hast set
Life, Death, before the nation; thou hast hurled
Thy single pebble, plucked from Truth's pure stream,
Into the forehead of a Giant Wrong,
And he doth reel and tremble. Men may doubt,
But the keen Sword of Right shall finish well
Thy brave beginning.
Courage, then, true soul!
Not vainly hast thou spoken; angels heard,
And shook from their glad harps a gush of joy
That the *One Word* was uttered in men's ears,
The "Open Sesame" by which alone
True Freedom and true Peace might enter in,
Making earth like to heaven.
Then bide thy time;—
What thou hast spoken as 't were in the ear,
Shall be proclaimed on housetops. God locks up,
In his safe garner, every seed of Truth,
Until the time shall come to cast it forth,
Saying, "Be fruitful, multiply, and fill
The broad earth till it shouts its 'harvest-home.'"
His purposes are sure; who works with Him
Need fear no failure. By my hopes of heaven,
I'd rather speak one word for Truth and Right,
That God shall hear and treasure up for use
In working out his purposes of good,
Than clutch the title-deed that should insure
A kingdom to my keeping!—so, in faith,
I speak my simple word, and, fearing not,
Commit it to His hands, whom I do serve.
And thus it is, O friend, that I have dared
To send thee greeting and this word of cheer.
God bless thee, Sumner! and all souls like thine,
Working serene and patient in His cause;
God give thee of the fruit of thine own hands,
And let thine own works praise thee in the gates
Of the new city, whose foundation-stones
Thy hands are laying, though men see it not.

Fitchburg, Mass. CAROLINE A. MASON.

ON SLAVE HUNTING.

General Hunter delivers up runaway nigs,
But confiscates a cow, mule, or grunter:
He had better be cautious in running such rigs,
Or he 'll soon get the name of—"*Slave Hunter!*"

The Liberator.

REPENTANCE ALONE CAN SAVE US.

Extracts from an impressive and faithful discourse preached in the Church of the Messiah, Syracuse, N. Y., on the National Fast Day, by Rev. SAMUEL J. MAY, from the following texts:—

ACTS I. 37.—Men and brethren, what shall we do to be saved? Repent.

ISAIAH LVIII. 6.—Loose the bands of wickedness, undo the heavy burdens, let the oppressed go free, break every yoke.

* * * * * *

I have not the slightest expectation, *now the spell of peace is broken*, that it will ever be permanently restored between the slaveholding and non-slaveholding communities in this country, until this root of bitterness is extirpated; this fountain of discord dried up; this cause of war removed—*slavery abolished.* I dare not pray or wish peace should be restored upon any other condition. For, if it were, like "the dog to his vomit, or the sow to her wallowing," we should return to our iniquity, trampling upon the dearest rights, outraging the tenderest feelings of humanity. Then would the petty tyrants of the South rivet still stronger the chains upon their bondmen. Then would the Northerners bend again, and perhaps lower still, in *compromises* with the slaveholders; and the devoted friends and persistent advocates of human rights—of impartial liberty—would be more relentlessly persecuted than ever at the North, as well as at the South. No! no! Now that the leading slave States, notwithstanding the long forbearance, the mistaken indulgence, the criminal acquiescence, the too many and too great concessions of the free States, have, in their madness, *taken the sword*, (because they could not make the Republic wholly subservient to them,) *let them perish by the sword*, until they repent, quench the evil spirit—the fratricidal, parricidal passion, that has seized them; and agree to renounce that system of iniquity which has so long corrupted them and us; agree to abolish that "peculiar institution," for the sake of which they have sacrificed truth, honor, their plighted faith, and now seem eager to overturn our glorious Republic, the hope of the civilized world.

But the slaveholders will never see the necessity of abolishing slavery, so long as the General Government of the loyal States continues to uphold it for them. They will never feel the enormity of the sin of holding man as property, so long as our Republican Administration persists in treating it as the most sacred of all species of property—to be exempted even from that disposition which the necessities of war require us to make of men and things. How can we reasonably hope that victory will declare for our Northern armies, so long as they drive from their protection the wretched beings who fly to them from the despotism of the petty tyrants that have banded themselves together to overthrow our Republic; or, so long as they scornfully repulse the aid of the willing hearts and stalwart limbs of those men, who must needs feel the greatest interest in making our whole country a land of freedom? What is there to be hoped, so long as the administrators of our government persist in paying more deference to the demands of the oppressors than to the rights of the oppressed; persist in showing more respect to an alleged compact, from which the rebels themselves have exonerated us by their wanton violation of it, than to the Higher Law, the Royal Law of Him who devised and established the *Constitution of Man*, upon every part of which slavery commits the most flagrant outrages? How can any one expect that our government should carry on this war successfully against the hosts of rebels and traitors that have risen up against her, if she persists in "relying upon one hand—her *white hand*," alone, and refuses to use the other because it happens to be more or less colored? Nay, (for this is not the extent of her infatuation,) how can our government succeed in this war, so long as she is madly wasting half the strength of the one hand, on which she chooses to rely, in holding down the other hand that is struggling to give her its aid?

Away with this tremendous blunder! this suicidal policy! Let our rulers gladly avail themselves of the dread necessities of war, to do that for all the colored population in the land, bound as well as free, which they have not felt themselves authorized to do, in time of peace, under the Constitution, as it has been generally interpreted, and from the first administered. Let them now honestly and fearlessly recognize the rights of all men, black not less than white, especially their right to recover and maintain their liberties. Let them proclaim that this war, which has been forced upon our nation by that Southern oligarchy which we have too long vainly endeavored to conciliate by compromises and concessions,—this war, which exonerates us from all civil obligations to those who have waged it,—this war, which is the offspring of that evil spirit we have cherished in our bosom; let them proclaim that this war shall be a conflict for freedom, for humanity—a war for the re-establishment of these United States upon the generous and deep foundations laid in the Declaration of Independence and the preamble to the Constitution—a war for the reconstruction of our Federal Union upon the glorious evangelical principles which Washington, Jefferson, Adams, Franklin and their illustrious contemporary co-patriots, South as well as North, loved, and meant should be the basis of our political fabric. Let our rulers now proclaim that we are for *Liberty*, and not for *Slavery*; declare our abhorrence of those pseudo-democratic, anti-christian, inhuman assumptions which have obviously controlled the legislation of our Republic for more than forty years; prejudiced the decisions of our Supreme Court; insinuated themselves into the interpretation of the Constitution; and at last plunged us into the horrors of civil war. Now is the day and now the hour for the re-declaration of the rights of man. Let the love of liberty be the test by which our friends shall be known. Better that all, in every State, who favor slavery, should now be driven over to the rebels, and the true lovers of impartial liberty, of every complexion, should come to our side, than that this conflict of irreconcilable principles should be hushed up; some new compromise between sin and holiness (noon-day light and mid-night darkness) be devised; and this war ended without the removal of its cause. Such a peace would be nothing better than a plaster upon a festering ulcer that would ere long burst out again with greater virulence. This must not be a war merely to restore our Republic to the condition it was in at the close of the last administration,—a body politic rotten to its very core, and covered all over with wounds, and bruises, and putrifying sores,—but it must be a war for the restoration of our nation to the condition it was in when it came from the hands of our fathers, instinct with that life and love of freedom which they infused into it, to be developed in accordance with that almost divine plan which they sketched out and ever kept before them as their ideal of a true human government. It was justly the admiration of the world. Oh! what a delusion, what infatuation, what fatuity was that which induced them, for any consideration, to allow the leaven of slavery, however covertly, however little it then seemed, to be lodged in the midst of the large measures of civil and religious liberty which they had provided for the whole people! We live to see and deplore their vital mistake. We have lived to see that little leaven gradually but surely permeating the whole lump—the poison of slavery pervading every member of our body politic. Yes, we have lived to see our proud Republic, which had vaunted itself the home of the free, the asylum of the oppressed, standing before the civilized world pledged to uphold the most cruel system of slavery that humanity has ever groaned under; and subjected in every department of the Federal Government to the predominance of the master spirits of this lowest form of despotism.

Surely, we have only too great reason for humbling ourselves as a nation before God, and hiding our head from the civilized world for very shame. If the principles avowed by us had not been so exalted, if our professions had not been so lofty, nor our boasting so loud, our unfaithfulness would have been less signal, and our present predicament would not be so mortifying.

It is not, however, so much what men may think of us—how the world regards us—that we should especially consider and care for to-day, or any day, as *how we appear in the sight of Almighty God*; for, my countrymen! we *are* just what we *appear* to Him to be. When, therefore, we reflect that He is the impartial Father of the whole human family, that he is no respecter of persons, and regardeth not the rich more than the poor, we are overwhelmed by the consciousness that the course our nation has pursued, and the attitude in which she has stood in relation to the inalienable rights of man, must have been, in His sight, the most unworthy, the basest, that can be charged upon any nation that has ever had a place upon the earth. For it was precisely in behalf of those rights that the people of these then British Colonies arose in unison against that mighty power. It was in the inspiration of that generous faith in man as well as God—set forth in their Declaration—that our fathers dared, in their human weakness, to defy and encounter the mightiest nation of earth. It was the sympathy and assistance which their Declaration called out from the civilized nations of Europe, (not excepting a weighty portion even of the mother country,) that cheered and sustained them through their long, unequal contest; and it is the boon of American Liberty, so dearly purchased, so generously proffered to all men, (without an intimated exception,) that has brought the oppressed and the stinted of every land, by hundreds of thousands, to people our almost unlimited domains, and now generously give up their limbs and their lives in defence of this "Home of the Free."

How glaring, then, is the inconsistency, how passing all words of condemnation is the wrong of which, from the beginning, our Republic has been increasingly guilty, in that she then consented to the continued enslavement of four hundred thousand, and now holds more than four millions of the children of men in a subjection more entire, more debasing, than has ever been endured in any age of the world, in any part of the earth. Genius of America! Spirit of Freedom! Angel of the Declaration! how art thou fallen! "O, Lucifer, son of the morning, how art thou fallen from heaven! Hell from beneath is moved for thee, to meet thee at thy coming! The tyrants of the earth cry out to thee, Aha! aha! thou art become like unto us!" Yes, as it respects the colored population of the land, our government has been the most ruthless, cruel of tyrants. And the God of the oppressed has come down to avenge them.

It were impious, it were atheistical to presume, that we could be permitted to go on in such wickedness with impunity forever, without some signal manifestation of the divine displeasure. God has never left us without warning of the coming day of wrath. From the beginning He hath spoken, and all along to the present day hath He repeated his admonitions by men who were moved by his spirit of impartial liberty. The wisest and best men of the Revolution protested, warned, entreated. Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Patrick Henry, Professor Tucker, all of Virginia; Dr. Buchanan of Maryland, Pinckney of South Carolina, and others, uttered words that now seem prophetic of what we witness and deplore. And at the North, the men most eminent for their wisdom, philanthropy and patriotism—Franklin, Adams, King among the civilians, Stiles, Edwards and Hopkins among the clergy, testified of the wickedness of slavery, and foretold the evil, the ruin it would bring upon our nation. But more than all, for the last thirty years, a voice has been resounding throughout the land—a voice that has thrilled the nation from centre to circumference—a voice as imperative, if not as highly authorized, as that of Moses, a voice crying in the ears of all the people, "Break every yoke! let the oppressed go free!"

But, alas! the evil spirits of pride, prejudice, avarice and political partyism have prevailed. We "have killed the prophets, and stoned them that have been sent unto us: and, behold," now are we given up to a civil war—the most terrible punishment that could be inflicted upon a nation. The ministers of religion who should have taught the people better have been recreant to God and Humanity; and the churches of our Lord have harbored and sanctified the iniquity which they were unitedly bound to expel from the land. They had the power, if they had had the will to do this. Moral, religious, ecclesiastical means were in their hands, which, duly plied, would long since have removed "the peculiar institution"—"the sum of all villanies" from our land, and have brought the oppressors and the oppressed to live together as employers and employed, in mutual regard for each other's welfare. But, alas! those who should have been fellow-laborers with our Lord have worked assiduously for "the enemy of all righteousness." Nothing in the history of our nation is more true than that "*the American Church has been the bulwark of American Slavery.*" Until a few years ago, as Dr. Albert Barnes then declared, "there was no power out of the Church that could have sustained slavery, if it had not been upheld by the Church." Fearful is the responsibility for the present state of our country that rests upon the ministers and professors of Christianity. Our ambitious politicians and reckless demagogues are not more to blame.

The Almighty Father hath waited long and patiently for us to repent, and avert the natural consequences of our national wickedness. But we have allowed the day of grace to pass unimproved. The day of judgment has come. The hand of retribution is now upon us. The infliction may be terribly severe.

Repentance is still the only condition upon which this calamity can be entirely removed from us. Fighting alone, however mighty may be our armies, however skilful and brave their commanders, and successful their conflicts, fighting alone, without repentance, cannot, will not save our nation. For although we should put down this rebellion, and punish condignly the instigators of it, yet, if we repent not of the sin which has impelled them to this impious undertaking, our worst enemy will still be left in our midst to work us mischief continually. We must exterminate the root, or the bitter, poisonous fruits will continue to drop over the land, and spread disease and death.

Even repentance will not now avert from us the horrors of civil war. It can only shorten the day of their continuance, and lessen some of their enormities. The loss of tens of thousands of lives; the maimed bodies, ruined health, depraved morals of hundreds of thousands more, and the destruction of an inestimable amount of property are now inevitable. But if we now "repent, and do works meet for repentance," all these sacrifices will not be for nought. If now we "loose the bands of wickedness, if we undo the heavy burdens, let the oppressed go free, and break every yoke," we shall receive an accession of strength that will enable us soon to overwhelm our rebellious enemies. The tens of thousands of colored men now bond or free, who would rush to the standard of the Union, if allowed so to do, would bring with them not only powerful limbs, impassioned hearts, and bodies inured to exposure and privation, but physical systems (many of them) acclimated in the Southern States, and withal a familiar acquaintance with the parts of the country that have been, and are likely to be, the seat of the war. Such men in our armies would render service inestimable; services that would soon decide the contest in favor of the rights of all men; services which, if our commanders do not appropriate them, will in the last extremity be appropriated by the rebels, and made to turn the fortune of this war against the complicated, inexplicable "cause" which our Government would fain persuade us is all we are fighting for. * * *

I am not a prophet, nor the son of a prophet, but I am sure the course I have now marked out is plainly indicated by a wisdom far higher and a benevolence far purer than my own. Our nation must repent of the sin of slavery—must abolish slavery, or perish.

From the Cleveland (Ohio) Leader.

THE REMARKS OF REV. GEORGE GORDON TO THE U. S. COURT.

Below we publish the remarks to the U. S. Court of Rev. George Gordon, principal of the Iberia College, who was tried for "obstructing the process" of the Fugitive Slave Law in that place. Mr. Gordon was convicted and sentenced to a fine of $300 and six months' imprisonment in Cleveland jail! That he does not respect and will not obey the Fugitive Slave Law, Mr. Gordon frankly admits, but the severity of the sentence is beyond all reason. It is a pure act of cruelty and vindictiveness upon the part of the presiding Judge, for it rested with him to determine the amount of fine and imprisonment. He could as well, so far as compliance with the law is concerned, have given Mr. Gordon twenty-four hours' as six months' confinement. At a time when the life of the country is assailed by the slave power, the people are not ready to look with leniency upon any servile or extra-judicial bowing down to worship the god of slavery:—

YOUR HONOR: Some things in my situation would seem to commend silence. The form of a trial has been passed—my counsel has been heard in a defence of marked ability—and a verdict of guilty has been brought in by the jury. Nothing, therefore, remains for me but to receive the sentence and endure it to the bitter end. I cannot say anything that will modify or mitigate its severity. Yet I stand before the court in the full consciousness of rectitude, without any sense of guilt or abasement. I utter no apologies, make no confessions. Why, then, do I stand branded as a criminal before the court, and yet enjoy feelings of innate rectitude? Two reasons contain the answer. First, the principal witness in this prosecution has given a testimony in some points utterly false, in others immensely exaggerated. This put me in a false position before the jury. Had I received a new trial, as was requested, much of this false impression could have been removed. The second reason is, that my conduct was guided by *the express will of God as revealed in the Scriptures*, a standard clearly opposed to the fugitive slave enactments, and not recognized by this tribunal.

The two slave hunters were neither threatened with hanging or shooting, or if they were, I never heard of it, till testified by them in court. The statement is a mere fabrication—even the raw material manufactured. My arrival on the ground was not ten minutes before the whole thing was over. One of our colored young men had twice been shot at, and wounded by them, or part of their company. One claimed as a slave had been seized and violently dragged away. Under all this provocation the company acted. When I arrived, I was told they had received a few stripes. Some ten or fifteen more were laid on, whilst I was present and with my consent. The men begged forbearance, and the matter ceased. I handed no one a stick with directions to lay on more—told no one to suppress my name—struck no one myself—nor did I administer an oath to any. I did stand by with consent, whilst ten, perhaps fifteen, lashes were laid on. I did not know whether they were slaveholders, marshals, deputies or assistants, and it is but candid to say, I did not care. I then told one of them that the chastisement he had received had been inflicted by some of the best men in the community, men who would not hurt a hair of his head, but protect him to the fullest extent in any decent business. But that slave catching we could not tolerate. His reply was, "This will be a lesson to me. I knew it was a mean business when I went into it, but thought I could not well help it. I will go home and resign my office, and never do so again." Had I consented to one-half the severity, or been capable of consenting to it, as testified by the deputy, I would despise myself, and merit the reprobation of all good men. Neither the false testimony of the witness, nor the point given it in the bitter pleadings of the attorney, will be believed by any who know me. What I did do, I thought then, and still think, was fully right. For the chastisement inflicted on these slave-catchers, I was not on trial. That belonged to the jurisdiction of another court. I am convicted of "obstructing process" in the hands of a United States Deputy Marshal, in his attempt to capture and return to bondage a fugitive slave. That act was towards a judicial kidnapper, armed with the authority of a wicked and diabolical statute. By the law of the Almighty, the slaveholder was capitally punished. The law given amid the lightnings of Sinai was, "He that stealeth a man, and selleth him, or if he be found in his hand, he shall surely be put to death." Three forms of the crime are named: kidnapping, slave-trading and slaveholding. In other capital offences the sentence was, he shall die—but in this, he shall surely be put to death.

All slavery begins with some form of man-stealing, and retains its essential element in its forms of descent or transmission. Men can neither buy nor inherit a better title than the pretended owner has to sell or bequeath. A hundred sales of a stolen horse don't make the title good; nor can that of a stolen man be better. Then, can a marshal or deputy, acting for a slaveholder to reclaim a stolen man, be less guilty? Is he not by the same law an official kidnapper? If God required the parent transgressor to be put to death, is it sinful and a crime to give his proxy a few stripes? Was it not merited by these men, when they were trying their utmost to drag back their victim to perhaps two hundred lashes and life-long bondage? Job was declared by his Maker to be "a perfect and upright man, one who feared God and eschewed evil"—the best on earth in his day. Yet the good man says, "The cause that I knew not I searched out, and I brake the jaws of the wicked, and plucked the spoil out of his teeth." Did we do anything more severe?

Again, by the Psalmist, God says, "Deliver the poor and needy, rid them out of the hands of the wicked." And again he says, "Thou shalt not return to his master the servant that is escaped from his master unto thee." To the same purport is all that class of texts by which we are commanded "to feed the hungry, clothe the naked, hide the outcast, betray not him that wandereth." Now, by all these, and uncounted texts not quoted, what the fugitive slave enactment requires is expressly forbidden, and is therefore null and without moral force.

And again, by the best law authority, it has no legal force. From Blackstone, who declares that "all laws derive their force from the laws of nature, and those which do not are accounted no laws," to the noble New England judge, who refused to give up the fugitive to his claimant, until he would bring "a bill of sale from the Almighty himself," the best authorities speak one language. What force, then, has the fugitive enactment? Simply the force of muscle, handcuffs, bowie knives and pistols, used in its execution. Compliance with such a statute is crime. "We must obey God rather than men."

Civil Government with its legitimate powers (only) is of God. He exercises it through the people. Their voice is in theory, and should be in fact, the voice of God. Hence every enactment that contradicts the Divine will is without either moral or legal authority, and can only be carried out by brute force. All the constitutions ever made, and all the oaths ever administered, can give it no higher authority. Can anything be plainer than this? Or anything more absurd than its opposite? Has not Jehovah a right to govern the world he made, and the people he placed on it? Ought He not to do it? Is it not His duty? Can He confer on men a right to violate at pleasure His own law? Does he give any legislative or judicial body power to absolve the individual from obedience to His will, and make it his duty to observe their enactments? Will he bow to acts of wickedness because the majority decree them? If so, the prophets were fools, the apostles nullifiers, and Christian martyrs madmen. If so, Christianity in its first principles is treason, and Jehovah's claim to rule the world intensified presumption! The truth is, that all this ridicule of the "higher law" by drivelling politicians and knavish hunkers is sheer hold atheism. It makes majorities omnipotent, and sinks their Maker into nothing. But whilst I claim to have acted in conformity with the will of God, I utterly deny that I violated, either the letter or spirit of a single article of the Constitution. That it don't name a slave all agree. That its framers kept out deliberately every word or phrase that might express the condition of a slave, is matter of history.

It speaks of a "person owing service"—but a slave is not a "person" in the language of (so-called) Southern laws, but a "chattel," or a thing. Neither can he well owe much to the man who has robbed him of life-long wages. It speaks of returning persons to those to whom "labor is due"; but nothing was due the slaveholder by the laws of Israel's God, except the labor it took to stone him to death; and nothing is now due five-sixths, perhaps nineteen-twentieths, of the slaveholders of this land, even in public opinion, except the amount of shot or shell required to kill or capture them. I therefore stand before you clear of any violation of the Constitution, or constitutional law. If the people don't believe this now, they soon will.

But again: If the framers of the Constitution had a right to make the compromises claimed, and if they actually had made them, still, the frequent, flagrant, and outrageous violations by the South would long since have cancelled our obligations. It is a common principle of justice, morals, and perhaps of law, that where the conditions of a contract are broken by one party, they are of no binding force on the other. Now, the slaveholders have violently and persistently trampled down every provision of the Constitution, and the laws of Congress under it, whenever their interests, inclinations, or passions, led them to desire it. Who can number the Northern citizens who have been mobbed, maltreated and abused, from the Hon. Mr. Hoar to the last sentinel stealthily shot! And finally, these violations by slaveholders have gone to seed, in the most diabolical rebellion the world has ever seen. And now, sir, after our public property has been plundered to the amount of millions, our forts and arsenals seized, our flag insulted and struck down, and our soldiers slain on a hundred battle-fields, by slaveholders and the slave power, this court is dealing out its sentence on my head, because I "resisted process" in the hands of these minions, when they were trying to drag back a defenceless man to cheerless and returnless bondage. Imprisonment, fines and costs, which for a time will remove my liberty, and sweep away my little property, and reduce me to the lowest poverty, are to fall upon me for performing this duty to God and humanity.

But I shall be told the meeting that did this was a mob. I deny it. Whenever a government steps out of its legitimate business, and instead of protecting human rights, crushes them out, *it becomes the mob power.* Truth and equity, and the revealed will of God, all proclaim it such. It will also be said, good order cannot be maintained without obedience to existing enactments. I answer, all these can be secured without slaveholders or slave-hunters; and then, good men will not come in collision with the courts.

But the slave power still rules, and I must suffer. Then be it so. "The beginning of the end has come." Though slavery yet rules, it is only in the death throes, and last contractions of its mighty heart. The iron logic of events is changing public sentiment, and few look on slave-catching as anything but a mean and infamous business. The slaveholder himself despises the man who catches his fugitive. He looks on him as he does his bloodhound—calls him up, and scents him on the track—doles out to him his reward—and then looks on him with utter contempt.

A few words more, and I shall have done. In the charge to the jury, I cast no reflections on the Court. In so far as I had ability to judge, it was fair and candid. My counsel made an able, eloquent, and manly defence. Though I was put in a very untrue position before the jury, still I think they need not, and know they ought not, to have convicted me. Some of them will not retain the remembrance of the act among their cherished memories.

We are all passing to another tribunal, where the fugitive enactment will be at a discount. To have "resisted process" in the hands of a judicial kidnapper will not there be regarded as a crime. The blessing of the Judge will fall upon such as fed him when hungry, took him in when a stranger, and visited him in prison; and all this he will acknowledge to have been done to him—if done to his poor. To another class he will say, "Inasmuch as ye did not these things unto the least of my brethren, ye did them not unto me." If Grandson Marten be a Christian, the so-called crime for which I am now to be sentenced is for resisting an attempt to drag back Christ himself to the crucifixion of perpetual slavery, in the person of his chattelized representative. If he was not a Christian, still it was resistance to the crime of reducing God's image to a slave, and crushing out his aspirations to be a man.

And now, sir, apart from the defence of the rectitude of my conduct, I have no favors to crave—no mercy to implore. I stand erect, in conscious integrity and manhood. My house has ever been a home for the fleeing fugitive, and shall be so still. If my dwelling be reduced to a cabin, he shall be welcome to a corner. All the devils in hell, and slave-catchers out of hell, shall not close my door against him. I cannot repress the hope that, in this line of persecutions, I may be the last victim of the Slave Power. Whether this be so or not, I wish when "all that's mortal" of your humble prisoner shall be in its last resting-place, it may be with truth written on my grave-stone, "Here lie the remains of one who in life was faithful to God's poor."

ANOTHER POUND OF FLESH WEIGHED OUT.

The Cleveland *Leader* of Saturday brings us intelligence of the conviction of Rev. GEORGE GORDON, Principal of Iberia College, in Morrow county, of resisting the Fugitive Slave Law, and his sentence by Judge WILSON to a fine of three hundred dollars and six months' imprisonment. It will be a matter of astonishment to many to learn that a man is to be punished to the extent of the law, for violating the Fugitive Slave Act at this time. But such is the fact—damning and disgraceful as it is. About two years ago, a gang of U. S. Marshals went to Iberia in search of a fugitive slave, whom they failed to find. Some of the sympathizers with the fugitive, however, administered a little wholesome chastisement to the marshals, and sent them away. Mr. GORDON was knowing to these facts, but took no part in what was done. He was made a mark of by Marshal JOHNSON and his hounds, as a suitable subject for punishment. But he kept out of the way till after LINCOLN's election, supposing that no prosecution would be attempted in the midst of our death-struggle with slavery. But we had in the Republican ranks a Marshal mean enough to do the dirty work of Judge WILSON; and a District Attorney, who had the right to enter a *nolle* and dismiss the case at any time, was ready to do this dirtiest of all jobs. Mr. GORDON was accordingly brought to trial, found guilty of violating a statute that would disgrace hell itself, and sentenced to suffer the full vengeance of the infernal power, into whose hands he had fallen!

On this case we make no more comments. Language is a failure in expressing a just idea of it. From the Judge no more was expected. He was infamous already by the Oberlin case. But for ROBERT F. PAYNE, the District Attorney, we have a record to make. He was once a loud-mouthed, anti-slavery man, and has enjoyed the confidence of such men. He could have let Mr. GORDON off perfectly free; but he has prosecuted him to the extent of the law. We will not disgrace Judas Iscariot by a comparison; for he was pressed by fear and temptation. But BOB PAYNE betrays the right for nothing, and from the love of the foul and loathsome service, crowns himself with an infamy that will distinguish him in the regions of the damned.

Let no man name him henceforth but for execration and cursing.—*Ashtabula Sentinel.*

A VISIT TO WASHINGTON JAIL.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 2, 1861.

To the Editor of the Boston Journal:

The weather not being suitable for a gallop to the pickets of the army to-day, I have improved the opportunity to visit the Washington jail, to take a look at the slaves now lodged there, who have been taken up by the District of Columbia police. I ask your readers to accompany me, for there is someting of interest to be seen. I do not mean by that, that the jail itself is an interesting place; far from it. Much has been said about the Washington jail—about its ill-arranged rooms, the want of all accommodations, the absence of everything that can give comfort to those incarcerated; but draw the picture as terrific as language can make it, and you will not greatly exaggerate it. The jailer informed me that a gentleman from France, who has visited the prisons of Europe under a government commission, after passing through the wards a few days since, remarked that he had seen but one meaner jail, and that was in Austria. Efforts are making to have it demolished, and a new one built. It is to be hoped that it will be done, for the present one is a disgrace to the country.

The building, as many of your readers are aware, stands on the lot north-east of the city hall. The ground is damp, and in rainy seasons or in long storms the moisture hangs in drops upon the walls, oozing from the bricks as if the edifice itself was in pain, or severely exercised. Passing through a gate into a yard surrounded by a close board fence, we enter the jailer's rooms. It is the hour for dinner, and the stewards are carrying up rations to the two hundred inmates who are peeping at us through the iron bars. If your readers accompany me, they must leave all fastidiousness behind, for already we are in a close, stifled, fetid, feverish, malarious atmosphere. The breeze freshly blowing to-day does not find its way through the narrow passages. The building has been lately whitewashed, the jailer remarks, but it grows dirty very quick. It is not, however, to see the building, but the fifty or more of its inmates, and to talk with them for the enlightenment of the *Journal* readers, that we have come.

CONTRABANDS.

Ascending the stone stairway to the third story of the building, entering a dark corridor and passing along a few steps, we came to a room about twelve or fifteen feet square. Here are about twenty colored men. They are still at their dinner of boiled beef and corn cake. Here is one old man sitting on the stone floor, silent and sorrowful. He has committed no crime. Around, standing, sitting or lying are the others, of all shades of color from jet black to the Caucasian hue, the Anglo-Saxon hair and contour of features. They are from ten to fifty years of age. Some are dressed decently, others are in rags. One bright fellow of twenty has on a pair of trowsers only, and tries to keep himself warm by drawing around him a tattered blanket. A little fellow ten years old is all in rags. There is no chair or bed in the room. They must stand, or sit, or lie upon the brick and granite floor. There is no mattress or bedding; each has his little bundle of rags, and that is all. It is no exaggerated picture, but a plain statement in simple language. There is nothing for their comfort, nothing for their convenience. They look up inquiringly as I enter the room, as if to make out the object of my visit. They are not criminals. They are not all slaves. Why then are they here? I will answer the inquiry by writing out a few notes taken from the lips of the men, and corroborated by the jailer, who, from all I can see, is a kind-hearted man.

MEMORANDA.

James Munro. Sixteen years old. A bright, intelligent boy. Owned by Captain Dunnington. Captain Dunnington was captain of the Capital police during Buchanan's administration. Left Washington for Virginia in April last. Is now commanding one of the rebel batteries on the Potomac. A letter written by him was published in one of the Richmond papers last week. When he went away, he left James behind. James has committed no crime. He was arrested by the city police because he had no master. He has been in jail five months. He is a good, well-behaved boy, the jailer says.

Charles Jackson. From Fairfax county. Owned by William Dulin, now under arrest by the Federal authorities. Lived in the vicinity of Fairfax Court House. About fifty years old. When the army advanced to Falls Church, his wife and children were sold, and sent South. He fled to the Union lines, came into Washington, was arrested by the police, and has been in jail nearly three months. He is sick; cannot eat the prison fare. He came to the jailer, and begged that he would do something to help him out. It was touching to hear him. After pleading with the jailer, he turned to me and said, "Ye see, sir, when they sold my wife and children, it broke me all up. My mind is almost gone. I don't expect to live long, but I don't want to die here." He has committed no crime. He was around the city, and the police arrested him, presuming him to be a runaway slave.

George Washington. Owned by Benjamin Walker, of Oak Grove, Orange county, about 80 miles from Richmond. His master is a Secessionist. He ran away once last year, reached Washington, was arrested, lodged in this jail, and was taken back by his master. He says liberty is sweet to him. Has been here eight months. He don't want to go back.

——— *Curtis.* A free negro of Alexandria. Has committed no crime. Was in Washington, and was arrested by the police on the supposition that he had been a slave. Has no one to pay his jail fees.

William Call. Twenty-one years old; from Northumberland county. His master is Thomas E. Harding, a Secessionist. He was a hand on a Massachusetts schooner plying on the Potomac. Was in Washington, and taken up by the police on the presumption that he was a slave.

Robert Paine. An intelligent man; owned by George Silkman, near Occoquan Mills. His master is in the rebel army. He took a boat on the Occoquan, and sailed to Washington. He was employed on the fortifications. He boarded in Georgetown. Worked forty days at $1 25 per day. *Government owes him for fourteen days' labor.* He was arrested one night by the Georgetown police, and has been in jail ten weeks. He has committed no crime. The jailer speaks highly of him. All of the negroes respect him.

——— ———. A little boy in rags; ten years old. Lived near Miner's hill. Was arrested by our pickets, in company with others, brought to Washington, and put in jail by the police.

John H. Parker, of Alexandria. Owned by Daniel Howe, who is in the rebel army. Came up to Washington; was employed in the government stables, in the first ward, at $1 a day; worked one month; was arrested by the police because he was a slave; has committed no crime; the government still owes him.

Charles ———, from near Mount Vernon. His master is in the rebel army. Came to Washington; worked for the railroad company at $1 per day; was arrested by the police ten days ago, while at work, on the presumption that he had been a slave; is not charged with any crime.

These are all from Virginia, and there are ten or fifteen more from the same State. About thirty are from Maryland. I give the memoranda as noted down on the spot. It is the declaration of the negroes—whether true or not I have no means of knowing. It is certain, however, that no crimes are charged against them. They are imprisoned because negroes about town without a master always have been dealt with in that manner. The police, when the slaves have been reclaimed, have been sure of their pay, or if they were sold, their pay came from the auctioneer. I cannot dwell upon the scenes I witnessed within the walls of that prison. When they saw me making notes, they imagined that I was doing something for their deliverance, and with eagerness they crowded round me, saying, "Please put down my name, sir," "I do want to get out, sir," and similar expressions. They followed me into the passage, gazed at me through the grated door, and when I said "Good by, boys," there came a chorus of "Good byes" and "God bless yous" through the bolted door.

I had not dreamed that there were such inmates within the walls of that jail. It was only to-day that I was informed of it. Well-informed gentlemen of Washington were ignorant of the fact, as I have this evening ascertained. When I called upon the deputy marshal for permission to visit the jail, he assured me that there were no negroes from Virginia there, but that they were all from Maryland, and I believe that he was sincere in his belief.

There is need of immediate action by Congress in this matter. The whole thing must be investigated.

Since writing the above, I have laid the matter before a Senator, who expresses his astonishment at the state of things. Your readers may rest assured that the Washington police will have a thorough overhauling. It cannot be that this government will permit such outrages upon humanity.

CARLETON.

COTTON, COFFEE AND SUGAR IN LIBERIA. A colored man named Anderson, formerly a slave in Delaware, but now a planter in Liberia, is on a visit to New York for the purpose of selling his cotton, sugar and coffee. The *Evening Post* says:—

"The samples of Liberian cotton which he exhibits compare favorably with the best qualities of the Southern article, and he has received favorable offers for the purchase of all the stock procurable in Liberia. The coffee is also of an excellent quality; the bean large, the crop raised at a low price, and the yield very abundant. The best index of the market value of this coffee is the price obtained for it, which is twenty-five cents per pound by the quantity. Mr. Anderson has also about one hundred acres of sugar-cane under cultivation, and has brought with him some 25,000 pounds, the qualities of which range from good to prime, selling for eight to eight and a half cents per pound. The experiments in the manufacture of syrups and molasses have been equally satisfactory.

"Mr. Anderson emigrated to Liberia some years since. He has had remarkable success in his agricultural enterprises, and makes strong representations of the capacity of Liberia for the culture of those staples which formerly came from the South. He states that the climate and soil are admirably adapted to the growth of coffee, cotton and sugar, that labor is cheap, and the resources of the country abundant."

☞ It is true that a slave ferried our soldiers to the Maryland side in a skiff on the dreary night after the Edward's Ferry repulse. If, instead of befriending our men, he had been "used against us"—that is, had stabbed each one he found—he might have been set free.

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☞ The following gentlemen constitute the Financial Committee, but are not responsible for any debts of the paper, viz:—FRANCIS JACKSON, EDMUND QUINCY, EDMUND JACKSON, and WENDELL PHILLIPS.

"Proclaim Liberty throughout all the land, to all the inhabitants thereof."

"I lay this down as the law of nations. I say that military authority takes, for the time, the place of all municipal institutions, and SLAVERY AMONG THE REST; and that, under that state of things, so far from its being true that the States where slavery exists have the exclusive management of the subject, not only the PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, but the COMMANDER OF THE ARMY, HAS POWER TO ORDER THE UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION OF THE SLAVES. . . . From the instant that the slaveholding States become the theatre of a war, CIVIL, servile, or foreign, from that instant the war powers of CONGRESS extend to interference with the institution of slavery, IN EVERY WAY IN WHICH IT CAN BE INTERFERED WITH, from a claim of indemnity for slaves taken or destroyed, to the cession of States, burdened with slavery, to a foreign power. . . . It is a war power. I say it is a war power; and when your country is actually in war, whether it be a war of invasion or a war of insurrection, Congress has power to carry on the war, and MUST CARRY IT ON, ACCORDING TO THE LAWS OF WAR; and by the laws of war, an invaded country has all its laws and municipal institutions swept by the board, and MARTIAL POWER TAKES THE PLACE OF THEM. When two hostile armies are set in martial array, the commanders of both armies have power to emancipate all the slaves in the invaded territory."—J. Q. ADAMS.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor. | Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind. | J. B. YERRINTON & SON, Printers.

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Refuge of Oppression.

THE EMANCIPATION LEAGUE.

We have declined to publish among our advertisements a notice of an Address to be delivered by Ex-Gov. Boutwell, before a certain body of persons calling themselves "The Emancipation League." Not long since, we called special attention to this set of associates, and urged the formation of a UNION LEAGUE, the necessity for which becomes every moment more apparent. We do not know that this refusal to publish an advertisement, in the way of business, or that its publication, would have any effect upon such as constitute the "League" in question. But we keep it out, as we would any pestiferous announcement, not choosing to receive the wages of iniquity, since we look upon the whole project with unutterable dislike. And we will not aid it, even by the sanction of a formal publication under protest, because we feel a sober, deliberate, resolved hostility to it, and mean to resist it with all the powers at our command. For this "League" is nothing more nor less than a scheme of Disunion. Mr. Boutwell does not expect to emancipate the slaves; but to push the theory of emancipation, which is an impossibility, up to the point which shall make the complete division of the States unavoidable and final. And thus, while the colored race would be doomed to perpetual bondage, and slavery be deprived of all alleviating influences which could result from intercourse between the slave States and the free, in Union,—The North and the South would be doomed to perpetual border strife and open war, and to all the renewed horrors of barbarous times.

Such is the scheme of the "Emancipation League," and a slight anticipation of the results of its successful organization and operation. To this end, fire-brained zealots and political demagogues, in Congress and out, are wreaking on the country the foam of their frothy madness. To this end, New England has been secretly stirred up by the busy emissaries of the "League," and we doubt not a goodly number of weak-minded men and women are already engaged in it. But we shall know better when we get the address of Ex-Gov. Boutwell, what mischievous and yet shallow speculations they have allowed themselves to indulge in. Comparatively weak in numbers and influence, we know they must be; and that they will appear still weaker, whenever the array of their forces is put to the test. It will then be seen which are the traitors in this country, and which the true men. We do not yet know what help they expect from Congress; but we cannot help feeling that Congress itself stands on slippery ground, if it presumes to give countenance to their designs in the face of an outraged and indignant people. Of the spirit of the army we can judge by the declaration of Mr. Stevens of Penn., confirmed also from other quarters, that Gen. McClellan would not fight, on the basis of Mr. Cameron's original Report. He ought not to and could not, if he is a friend of the Constitution and the Union. We know well that there are plenty of those high in command near him, who fully agree with him. Yet we do not fear the "Emancipation League." We fear anarchy, confusion, the necessity for military interposition, everything which converts a country which might be so peaceable, into a scene of disorder and lawless confusion. But we know that there are men enough in New England alone, of its best and bravest, and not yet in arms, able to arrest and avert the plans of these evil-disposed men, and to turn to folly all the device of the "Emancipation League."—*Boston Courier.*

It occurs to us, that some one of the comparatively few members of Congress who are fit to be in it should meet the whole series of fantastic propositions now before that body in relation to slavery, by asking for the passage of a resolution, namely—

"That each and every State of this Union shall be entirely free to the residence and citizenship of all enfranchised negroes, anything in the Constitution and laws of such State to the contrary notwithstanding."

At present, as is suggested by our correspondent, certain States at the East would be overburdened with this sort of population, since Pennsylvania will not have them, nor Ohio, Illinois, Wisconsin, or even *Kansas*. In all these States, we think, and perhaps in others, laws are in force excluding negroes from equal privileges, and in some of them even from residence. It is plain that nothing could be more unjust than to liberate the slaves, and subject States in which no such laws exist to such an invasion of pauper population. No, let us have it equal, if at all. To be sure, Congress would have no right to pass any such resolution or act, should it assume that shape; but no more has it to pass the other propositions before it, affecting this subject. In fact, emancipation is the stump, against which the wheels of government have now stuck hard; and there they will stick, until it is completely got over and left behind. Then, and not till then, the pathway will be clear.—*Boston Courier.*

SUSTAIN THE PRESIDENT. It is beginning to be time for the conservative men in the country to demonstrate their adherence to the conservatism of President Lincoln. Already, for a week, the Abolitionists have been filling the air with their war cries. Petitions for abolition, slave armings, and all sorts of philonegroism have been poured in on Congress. The President seems to be left in the midst of the storm to sustain himself. We are told that there is a conservative majority in Congress. Perhaps it is designed to let the gale blow itself out. But the country should make its voice heard. New York City could send a petition with the names of 50,000 voters at least, and we think it safe to say, with 65,000, against the pet schemes of the Abolitionists. We have said that the President might one day find his firmest supporters in the Democrats. The day seems to be at hand. Conservative Republicans and Democrats must rally to the support of the President, the Constitution and the Union. It may be desirable to have some Union meetings in New York, and express the sentiments of the loyal people of this city on the side of the old Constitution.—*N. Y. Jour. Com.*

☞ The noble stand taken by President Lincoln, in regard to the abolition proclamation of Fremont, has done much to discomfort the Abolitionists, and engender in the public mind of the North such sentiments as alone can save the Republic from utter ruin and destruction. We long to see the day once more when the Abolition element will be repudiated by all parties, and the finger of scorn pointed at them by all who love peace, order and good will among the different sections of the confederacy.

Could these pests of the country, with the leaders of the rebellion, all being traitors alike, be buried in one common grave, the people, both North and South, would rejoice at it.—*Brookside (Ind.) Republican.*

☞ That the blacks are the fundamental cause of the rebellion is a point that needs no discussion. Of that crime they are certainly not the *guilty* authors. Their masters and the Abolitionists of the North are. If any shipment be made to Africa, it should be of these two classes of firebrands—especially of the latter. They are real traitors to the Constitution. Had they minded their natural vocations, the country would now be in peace. Our ethnological chicaners should take this just view of the case. Let them advocate the shipment to Africa of the Abolitionists, and they will do a public good. As they are now proceeding, they are proclaiming their own foolishness.—*Boston Pilot.*

GARRISON'S LIBERATOR, last week, was tremendously severe on Mr. Lincoln and his Message, as we might expect from a paper that carries the motto—"The United States Constitution is a covenant with death, and an agreement with hell." It says the Message is weak and common-place to a pitiable degree—feeble, rambling, and ridiculous as a State paper. Of the President personally it says—"Everybody says Mr. Lincoln is an honest man; but it is equally certain that he is very weak in the joints, and wholly unqualified to lead or inspire." In regard to his colonization, it coolly suggests that President Lincoln may colonize himself if he chooses, but it is an impertinent act, on his part, to propose the getting rid of those who are as good as himself.

This is as much as we could expect from that source in relation to Mr. Lincoln. They have assumed that Mr. Lincoln held to their views in relation to slavery, viz.—that a negro was "as good as himself." This is the abolition idea; but they have mistaken their man; they mistook him when they voted for him; and it is impossible that he should sympathize with them while in power.—*Newburyport Herald.*

MORE MISCHIEF AFLOAT. Michief is still afloat in Congress. Senator Hale, of New Hampshire, as if there were not already sufficient food for excitement and exasperation, is making an effort to abolish the Supreme Court. Nobody but himself will vote for it, but the mere introduction of such a measure will be used with effect at the South, to show that the Constitution is thrown aside, and anarchy rules in our national councils. In the House, Mr. Lovejoy, of Illinois, proposed, and very nearly carried through, a resolution requesting the Secretary of War to revoke the order of Gen. Halleck, commander in Missouri, excluding negroes from his lines, and the Senate has actually decided, by an almost unanimous vote, to go into a general inquisition of military catastrophes and blunders of the war. Worse disasters than those of Bull Run and Ball's Bluff await the national cause, if there is not a check to these insane proceedings in Congress. It will not require more than three months of this stuff to demoralize and scatter the volunteer armies of the Union.—*Springfield (Mass.) Repub.*

ATROCIOUS. The resolutions of Mr. Stevens, introduced into the House on the first day of the session, after resolving that the "President be requested to declare free, and direct our Generals and officers in command to offer freedom to *all* slaves who shall leave their masters," conclude as follows:

"*And be it further Resolved,* That the United States pledge the faith of the nation to make full and fair compensation to all loyal citizens, who are and shall remain active in supporting the Union, for all the loss they may sustain by virtue of this resolution."

We have no language with which to express our abhorrence of the injustice which is contemplated by these resolutions. They do not propose to emancipate the slaves of rebels alone, but *all* slaves, *those of loyal men,* and not only to do this, but to induce them to leave their loyal masters by offers of freedom. How will these resolutions, if passed, be received in Maryland, Kentucky, Eastern and Western Virginia, North Carolina, East Tennessee, and Missouri? Will men continue loyal to a Government which entices their property away from them, and refers them to the slow and doubtful generosity of Congress for compensation? Will they continue Unionists if these resolutions pass? We dare not hope it. To us it seems as if Mr. Stevens and his abolition confederates are determined to make it the interest of every man south of Mason and Dixon's line to oppose the Government. They say to him, "When we pass these resolutions, we will strip you of your property, and let you look to Congress for your compensation; but if you take sides with Jeff. Davis, and help him to drive our troops back to the free States, he will protect you in your property, and you will be able to keep it." Thus the passage of these resolutions will be death to Unionism in the border States. We pray to God they will not pass. If they do pass, and the President shall obey them, we shall lose all hope of the preservation of the integrity of the Union.—*Chicago Times.*

☞ Mr. Thaddeus Stevens, who, we infer, is not a very wise man, talks of "stripping the epaulettes from the shoulders of the commanding Generals"—an expression *generalized,* we take it, to avoid individual application. Certainly, he is not so wise as the Roman officer, who replied to his Emperor, that *he did not care to argue with a person who commanded twenty legions.* The fact is, Congress had better behave itself. Nothing could be more ridiculous, nothing more indecent than the conduct of some of its forth-putting members, in rushing headlong after one and another outrageous proposition, on the first days of the session, even before the Message was delivered. If they regard their constitutional duties, attend to whatever properly belongs to them, and then quietly adjourn, they may do much to promote the legitimate objects of the government, and to retain the necessary public respect for the several bodies of which they are members. But if they should attempt to carry out any of the silly and mischievous propositions referred to, nothing is more likely than that they will make Congress contemptible—that their resolutions and their acts on these points will be totally disregarded, and that they will soon see the difference between those who have, and those who have not, *the twenty legions* at their command. Still, we apprehend nothing of the sort—for we have a President who means to stand by the Union; and by such a President the army and the people will faithfully stand.—*Boston Courier.*

Every army officer has a right to throw up his commission. And if Senators make officers' opinions against the impolicy and the folly of creating negro regiments of soldiers to march side by side with Americans, Irishmen, and Germans, the test as proposed, there is scarcely a General in the army who will stand it—not even Gen. Banks, we suspect. Bayonets, even, think! But, if the Senators make the test, from all we can hear, the President of the United States will overrule them, and recommission such officers as stand up for their color, their race, their breed—as the superior race of the negro.—*New York Express.*

Selections.

FREMONT DEMONSTRATION.

The Germans of Cincinnati turned out in large numbers on Saturday night last to attend a meeting held at Turner Hall, for the purpose of expressing sympathy with Gen. Fremont, in the course lately pursued towards him by the Administration. The meeting was called to order by Dr. A. Bauer. Frederick Werner was appointed Secretary. Judge Stallo and the Rev. Mr. Eisenlohr addressed the assemblage in the German, and Rev. M. D. Conway in the English language. A series of resolutions in German, censuring the Administration for the supersedure of Gen. Fremont, were passed. Mr. Conway spoke as follows:—

Judge Stallo has alluded to me as a Virginian who can answer for the South. I certainly have lived there long enough, and felt the heavy hand of slavery enough, to know that this Government is not strong enough to preserve the Union and African slavery also. And whilst this Administration is now bending itself to that impossible and undesirable work, the people will be in this conflict like Issachar of old, a strong ass crouching between two burdens; between an imbecile Administration on the one hand, and a gigantic rebellion on the other. Both, Issachar *cannot* bear; and such an assembly inspires me with the hope that he will not much longer crouch, but bravely bear on to the "goodly rest and pleasant land," with the burthen of liberty on his shoulders—no longer a strong ass for the Government to crush with its wretched pro-slavery pack, but a strong man with the blood which defied George III. throbbing in his heart.

Now that the standard of LIBERTY has been unfurled by Fremont over the contending parties—a higher standard than stars and stripes, or stars and bars—how wretched and despicable appear the standards raised by the pigmy Generals who have gone out warm from the wing of the Administration!

What think you, my countrymen, of Sherman taking our young men from the classic shades of our colleges, and from their free homes, and offering them to the "proud and hospitable citizens of the Sovereign State of South Carolina" as the patrol of their negroes! What think you of Dix, down in Wise's district, proclaiming that his army is under strict orders to guard slavery even to the treasonable extent of refusing to take into their lines—whether belonging to traitors "or any other man"—those black corn producers and earth-work builders! If a man sends a barrel of corn to Virginia, he is imprisoned: the man who sends there the hands which produce 10,000 barrels of corn is Major General of the U. S. Army!

Can you imagine a lower depth than this? All depths are possible with this Administration. The one who comes out and proclaims latest from that glorious Republican circle at the White House, always gets a little lower than the rest. So here came "Young Lochnivar" Halleck out of the West—the mysterious Halleck. The country argued itself unknown by knowing nothing of and never having heard a word from Halleck. In breathless suspense we listen for the first utterance of him sent out to replace the nation's darling hero. At last, Halleck breaks the mystical silence. Halleck pronounces. In fact, he "proclaims." His first word is a lie—his second, an order for his men to deliberately betray the country. If there is any man who does not know it to be a mean, malignant lie to say that fugitive slaves have been spies against us, he should be placed, soon as possible, in the Asylum for Idiots at South Boston. The meanness of the lie appears infernal by the side of the salvation of Sturgis's brigade, in that very State, by a fugitive slave's information, and the blunder of M'Dowell upon batteries of whose existence he was ignorant—and ignorant simply because he refused fugitives an entrance within his lines. But his second word is treasonable, for it commands his soldiers to send out to the enemy alleged spies and foes of the country. Either Halleck knows he lies when he accuses the fugitives, or else he should be hung as a traitor for sending from his lines, unarrested, alleged and charged spies against the United States. Suppose Wigfall and Prior should seek Halleck's lines in disguise, and he should say, "I misdoubt ye are spies; return to your homes, gentlemen," would he not be hung as an abettor of treason? He would certainly be hung; only our President dislikes to hang traitors, lest it might occasion them some personal inconvenience.

This, then, Americans! is the infamous, sneaking, crawling policy which replaces the electric watchword sounded by Fremont for this great nation. The idea our Government has of fidelity is a Chinese fidelity. A missionary tells us that his coat being patched on the elbow, torn under the arm, and with a big grease-spot on it, he desired another; but wishing it made after the same pattern, he took the old coat and the new cloth to the Chinese tailor. In a week the tailor brought him the new coat, but what was his horror to find that the pattern of the old one had been so faithfully copied that the new one had a patch ingeniously made on the elbow, and a tare under the arm, and a big grease-spot that must have taken an hour in making on the fine, new cloth! Such is the Government's idea of restoring this Union. The South having forced the nation to put on a new coat, this grand Cabinet cross their legs, take their goose, and aim to bring us the new coat with the patch, the tare and the grease-spot, because of which it was that we needed a new one, because of which we elected Lincoln instead of Breckinridge or Douglas!

Mr. Conway then proceeded to show that a military conquest over the South, preserving slavery, would be a subjugation of ourselves as much as the South. From thenceforth the country must leave the peaceful progress of its destiny to sit and hold the rebellious States—turning into a military Government, doing nothing but watching the monster whose soul is slavery, and see that it doesn't poke its ugly head out again, and coil about our States again.

He concluded by assuring the Germans that many thousand native Americans were appreciating their devotion to liberty, and would join them when the hour came to root up, whatever be the obstacle, the root of bitterness in our land. The policy of the Administration will be swept away, or else the Administration itself, just so soon as the real truth is apprehended in all its full powers, that it is only the interest of a pitiful 350,000 of our people—this number of slaveholders—who, after keeping us in hot water for 85 years, now precipitate us in civil war; and that it is only because of the servility which fears to touch the impudent claims of that handful to scourge and own men and women, which makes civil war possible. A decree that this Government ignores the relation of slavery, ends the war. There is no army in the South but a home-guard from that moment.

One thing the war will teach, that slavery ends in military despotism; that liberty ends in equality to all, black or white. The moment which decides between the two has arrived to this nation.

MORAL CHARACTER OF THE REBELS.

One of the most remarkable effects of this rebellion is seen in the loss of moral character among the rebels. Men who, in the private relations of life, are gentlemen who have a high sense of honor, who have maintained an unsullied character, by the rebellion seem to have been torn from their former moorings, clothed with a panoply of fiction, and sent to sea upon the uncertainties of civil war. Oaths of allegiance have been violated with impunity, property has been seized as the robber would take his spoils at midnight; sacred trusts put in officers of the United States have not only been abandoned, but have been used to destroy the power of the Government which conferred the trusts; the most unblushing falsehoods have been perpetrated to deceive the Southern mind and influence Southern sentiment, and this, too, not by the smaller satellites of rebellion alone, but by its boasted chivalric leaders; the hospital and green sash of the surgeon have not been respected by the bullets of the enemy; pickets are shot down as by the hands of the assassin, in complete violation of the rules of civilized warfare; picket guards have met, exchanged courtesies, and pledged the faith of soldiers that the practice should be discontinued, and immediately upon parting, that pledge has been violated; Virginia has been dragooned into secession, and all the powers of State sovereignty seized and used for secession purposes before the act establishing secession has been completed; the soil of Kentucky has been invaded, and they have attempted to force the Government of the Confederate States upon the people against their consent, while pretending to act upon the fundamental principles of the right of self-government in doing this act of invasion and tyranny. With secession, all distinctions between right and wrong, between honor and dishonor, between public fidelity and private virtue, are confused and confounded. Those sentiments of honor between man and man, of fidelity to important trusts, have been abandoned, and the will to accomplish the destruction of the Government has seized the whole man, destroyed his moral faculties, and sent him headlong to his ruin. Secession can be nothing less than a monomania, an insanity, or else why could all those principles of civilized warfare, of honor among enemies, principles that the savages will respect, be so utterly abandoned by masses and the leaders of the movement alike? The policy is worse than Machiavellian, it is savage. History furnishes no greater parallel of villainous duplicity, save in the persistent falsehoods of Philip the Second, of Spain, and the Duke of Parma, his minister to Elizabeth of England, who, while he was preparing his armada to invade England, protested, and protested again, that he had no intentions of hostility to England, but desired peace. It looks too much like a war of petty revenge against the prosperity of the North, like a determination to stab at all vulnerable points that prosperous friend whom she chooses to make an enemy, and whom she knows she cannot conquer. Secession by this abandonment of moral character cannot hope to succeed, can hope to gain nothing save the execration of mankind. An honorable enemy we must respect, although we deny the right of his cause. To raise this war into the dignity of a civilized civil war, the Confederates must recognize the dictates of their better reason, or their possible success will be purchased at the price of all honor, or their defeat embittered by the most abject humiliation and remorse.—*Boston Post.*

SERVILE REVOLT IN SOUTH CAROLINA.

We are permitted (says the Philadelphia *Inquirer* of Nov. 30th) to copy the following letter, written to a lady in this city, from a relative in Charleston, South Carolina. The statements made therein may be relied upon as an accurate description of affairs in that city at the present time:—

CHARLESTON, S. C., Nov. 23, 1861.

* * * Disguise the truth as we may, all thinking men here feel their position peculiarly unsafe; and those who are surrounded by female relatives have their anxiety increased a thousand fold. We do not fear for the clash of contending armies, though that is sufficiently terrible to excite much apprehension; but even amid the carnage of war, the veriest boor within the armies would respect women; though traitors try to teach us that the Northern war-cry is "Beauty and Booty," but we do dread lest at midnight the fearful sounds of servile insurrection shall salute our ears. You know the negroes are far superior in number to the whites, and now that so many are absent in the army, their majority is greatly increased. If they rise, we are in their power. Do you know what that means? Remember the history of all servile insurrections, and recall the horrors enacted by the race whom oppression has helped to brutalize. Of course, the masters would fight desperately; but how could the small number of male whites defend their helpless wives and daughters against a tenfold force of maddened slaves, whose strength and ferocity are well known?

No general insurrection has taken place, though several revolts have been attempted; *two quite recently, and in these cases whole families were murdered before the slaves were subdued.* Then came retaliation of the most fearful character. At any time when servants assail or murder white persons, speedy and severe punishment is administered; but now they do not wait for the action of the law; Lynch law prevails. In these revolts, which occurred in the interior of the State, most of the servants who participated were either shot in the conflict or as soon as captured, and *two of them were burned to death.*

To say they were *burned to death* seems a simple sentence, devoid of any special horror; but the scene as described to me by a witness was too dreadful for mortal eyes. Imagine the poor wretches, red with the blood of their masters, cowering in the hands of those from whom they need not look for pity; not even for time to repent of deeds which exclude them from hope hereafter. They are dogged and defiant towards their captors, until their doom is pronounced—a fate of which they have a special horror.

Dragged to the place of execution, within sight of their own houses, surrounded by their fellow-servants, who are compelled to witness the sight, they are bound to strong trees, with great heaps of pine knots piled close around their persons. Directly the torch is applied, and the inflammable pine bursts into a vivid flame. When the blaze reaches the bodies, and the sensitive flesh peels and crackles, their cries are too fearful to be heard by human ears. Nor is the torment soon over. The flames scorch the upper part of the bodies, producing exquisite agony, but slowly burn into the vitals, until the wretched sufferers go to judgment, with all their crimes upon their heads.

I undertook to say, the apprehension of servile insurrection lost its power when, as time passed, all seemed peaceful; so we easily fell back into dreams of security until these events aroused us to watchfulness. *This news is suppressed as far as possible, and kept entirely from the papers,* for the negroes hear what is published if they do not read it, and such examples might produce disastrous consequences."

TRIBUTE OF MR. SUMNER TO THE MEMORY OF HON. E. D. BAKER.

In the U. S. Senate, on the 11th inst. Hon. Charles Sumner paid the following eloquent tribute to the memory of the late Senator Baker, of Oregon, who fell at the fatal battle of Ball's Bluff:—

MR. PRESIDENT—The Senator to whom to-day we say Farewell, was generous in funeral homage to others. More than once he held great companies in rapt attention while he did honor to the dead. Over the coffin of Broderick be proclaimed the dying utterance of this early victim, and gave to it the fiery wings of his own eloquence. "They have killed me because I was opposed to the extension of slavery and a corrupt Administration," said the dying man, and as the impassioned orator repeated these words, his own soul was knit in sympathy with the dead, and thus at once he endeared himself to the friends of freedom, even at a distance.

"Who would not sing for Lycidas? He knew
Himself to sing and build the lofty rhyme."

There are two forms of eminent talent which are kindred in their effects—each producing an instant present impression—each holding crowds in suspense, and each kindling enthusiastic admiration: I mean that of the orator, and of the soldier. Each of these when successful wins immediate honor, and reads his praise in a nation's eyes. Baker was orator and soldier. To him belongs the rare renown of this double character. Perhaps he carried into war something of the confidence inspired by the conscious sway of great multitudes—as he surely brought into speech something of the ardor of war. Call him, if you please, the Prince Rupert of battle, he was also the Prince Rupert of debate. His success in life attests not only his own remarkable genius, but the benign hospitality of our institutions. Born on a foreign soil, he was to our country only a stepson; but were he now alive, I doubt not that he would gratefully declare that the country was never to him an ungentle stepmother. The child of a weaver, he was brought while yet in tender years to Philadelphia, where he soon lost his father by death. His earliest days were passed at the loom rather than at school; and yet from this beginning, he achieved the highest posts of trust and honor, being at the same time Senator and General. It was the boast of Pericles, in his Funeral Oration at the Ceramicus over the dead who had fallen in battle, that the Athenians were ready to communicate to all the advantages which they enjoyed—that they did not exclude the stranger from their walls—and that Athens was a city open to the Human Family. The same boast may be repeated by us, with better reason, as we commemorate our dead fallen in battle. From Philadelphia, the weaver's orphan was carried to the West, where he grew with the growth of that surprising region. He was one of its children, and his own manhood was closely associated with its powerful progress. The honors of the Bar and of Congress soon were his. But his impatient temper led him from these paths into the Mexican war, where he gallantly took the place of Shields, torn with wounds and almost dead at Cerro Gordo. But the great West, beginning to teem with population, did not satisfy his ambition, and he repaired to California. The child, whose infancy was rocked on the waves of the Atlantic—whose manhood was formed in the broad and open expanse of the prairies—now sought a home on the shores of the Pacific, saying in spirit—

"No pent up Utica contracts our powers;
But the whole boundless continent is ours.'

There again his genius was promptly recognized. A new State, which had just taken a place in the Union, sent him as her Senator, and Oregon first became truly known to us on this floor by his eloquent lips.

In the Senate he at once took the place of orator. His voice was not full or sonorous, but it was sharp and clear. It was penetrating rather than commanding, and yet when touched by his ardent nature, it became sympathetic and even musical. His countenance, body and gesture, all shared the unconscious inspiration of his voice—and he went on, master of his audience, master also of himself. All his faculties were completely at his command. Ideas, illustrations, words, seemed to come unbidden, and to range themselves in harmonious forms, as in the walls of ancient Thebes each stone took its proper place of its own accord, moved only by the music of a lyre. His fame as a speaker was so conspicuous, even before he appeared among us, that it was sometimes supposed he might lack those solid powers, without which the oratorical faculty itself can exercise only a transient influence. But his speech on this floor in reply to a slaveholding conspirator—now an open rebel—showed that his matter was as good as his manner, and that, while he was a master of fence, he was also a master of ordnance. His controversy was graceful, sharp, and flashing, like a scimetar; but his argument was powerful and sweeping like a battery. You have not forgotten that speech. Perhaps the argument against the sophism of Secession was never better arranged and combined, or more simply popularized for the general apprehension. A generation had passed since that traiterous absurdity, the fit cover of conspiracy, had been exposed. It had shrunk for a while into darkness—driven back by the massive logic of Daniel Webster, and the honest sense of Andrew Jackson.

"————the times have been
That when the brains were out, the man would die,
And there an end; but now they rise again."

As the pretension showed itself anew, our orator undertook again to expose it. How thoroughly he did this—now with historic and now with forensic skill—while his whole effort was elevated by a charming, ever-ready eloquence, which itself was aroused to new power by the interruptions which he encountered—all this is present to your minds. That speech passed at once into the permanent literature of the country, while it gave to its author an assured position in this body. Another speech showed him in a different character. It was his instant reply to the Kentucky Senator—not yet expelled from this body. The occasion was peculiar. A Senator, with treason in his heart if not on his lips, had just taken his seat. Our departed Senator, who had entered the chamber direct from his camp, rose at once to reply. He began simply and calmly; but as he proceeded, his fervid soul broke forth in words of surpassing power. As on the former occasion he had presented the well-ripened fruits of study, so now he spoke with the spontaneous utterance of his own natural and exuberant eloquence, meeting the polished traitor at every point with weapons keener and brighter than his own. Not content with the brilliant opportunities of this chamber, he accepted a commission in the army, and vaulted from the Senate to the saddle, as he had already vaulted from Illinois to California. With a zeal that never tired, after recruiting men, drawn by the attraction of his name, in New York, Philadelphia, and elsewhere, he held his brigade in camp near the Capitol, so that he passed easily from one to the other, and thus alternated between the duties of a Senator and a General. His latter career was short, though shining. At a disastrous encounter near Ball's Bluff he fell, pierced by nine balls. That brain, which had been the seat and organ of such subtle power, swaying great assemblies, and giving to this child of obscurity place and command among his fellow-men, was now rudely shattered by lead, and that bosom which had throbbed so bravely was rent by numerous wounds. He died with his face to the foe, and he died so instantly that he passed without pain from the service of his country to the service of his God. It is sweet and becoming to die for one's country. Such a death, sudden, but not unprepared for, is the crown of the patriot soldier's life.

But the question is painfully asked, who was the author of this tragedy, now filling the Senate Chamber, as it has already filled the country, with mourning? There is a strong desire to hold some body responsible for a disaster where so many perished so unprofitably. But we need not appoint committees to study testimony in order to know precisely who took this precious life. The great criminal is easily detected.—The guns, the balls, and the men that fired them, are of little importance. It is the Power behind them all, saying—"The State—it is I"—which took this precious life; and this Power is Slavery. The nine balls which slew our departed brother came from Slavery. Every gaping wound of his lacerated bosom testifies against Slavery. Every drop of his generous blood cries out from the ground against Slavery. To hold others responsible is to hold the humble agent and to dismiss the giant principal. Nor shall we do great service if we merely criticise some local blunder, while we leave untouched that fatal inactivity through which the weakness of the rebellion is changed into strength, and the strength of our armies is changed into weakness.

Let not our grief be a hollow pageant; let it not spend itself in funeral pomp. It must become a motive and an impulse to patriot action. But patriotism itself, that commanding charity, embracing so many other charities, is only a name, and nothing else, unless you resolve that slavery, the barbarous enemy of our country, the irreconcilable foe of our Union, the violator of the Constitution, the disturber of our peace, the vampire of our national life, sucking its best blood, the assassin of our children, and the murderer of our dead Senator, shall be overturned. The just Avenger is at hand, with weapon of celestial temper. Let it be drawn. Until this is done, the patriot, discerning clearly the secret of our weakness, can only say sorrowfully—

"Bleed, bleed, [illegible] country!
Great tyranny, lay th[illegible] basis sure,
For goodness dares not check thee!"

GERRIT SMITH ON THE PRESIDENT AND HIS MESSAGE.

The Message is marked with the characteristic sincerity and patriotism of the President. Nevertheless, its treatment of the question of slavery—of the great and all-controlling question in the war—is such as to confirm my apprehension that the country is lost. With all his desire to save it, he has never yet welcomed, if indeed he has ever yet conceived, the idea of saving it at whatever cost. The saving of the Constitution, and of all the rights enjoyed under it, and especially those which the nation has ever conceded to slaveholders, is essential to his conception of a saved country. But could we come out of this war with nothing left to us but our territorial limits, and a handful of survivors still cherishing the principles of democracy, and still breathing the spirit of equal rights, we should, in my esteem, come out of it with a saved country. Meagre and naked as would be such a result in the eyes of our conservative President, I would, nevertheless, count it above all price, and would, if needful, sacrifice all else to secure it. If, as I so strongly fear, a lost country will be our share in the fruits of this contest, it will be owing to nothing so much as the unrelaxed purpose of the President to save along with the country, and at whatever hazard to the country, things which are not among its essential and eternal parts, but only among its temporary and changeful arrangements. In other words, to this unrelaxed purpose to save all will be owing the loss of all.

Another thing in the President very deeply to be regretted is, that he has never seemed to be sensible of the great perils of his country. How else can we account for his indifference and his opposition to measures so manifestly indispensable to its salvation? Whilst millions of his countrymen are entirely confident that either slavery or the Union must go down in this war, he sees no difficulty in preserving both; and persistingly cherishes his policy and shapes his plans to preserve both. I have never seen a phrenological chart of his head; but I have no doubt that his veneration is large and his destructiveness small. He would keep all things precisely as they are. He would have the fugitive slave sent back to the very spot he came from, and into exactly his former relations. He would not allow one line or letter of the Constitution to be disturbed by the necessities of war. If, in ordinary times, he might make the very best of Presidents, nevertheless now, when a mighty and relentless Rebellion is threatening the nation with overthrow, such a President will make the overthrow sure unless he be radically changed or sternly overruled. Who can read the Message, and see with what twattle and trash the President has filled the space which should have been devoted to such great words on the great question in conducting the war as would have met the demands of the hour—who, I say, can do so without feeling that the President is not the man for the hour? Were he that man, he would not be expending words, last of all kind words, upon that utterly atheistic topic of "homes for white men." Were he that man, his talk now would not be of "colonization." It would not be of expelling our friends from the country, but rather of arming them that they might help us expel our foes. Black friends no more than white friends can we spare just now from the country. In the right time and circumstances, colonization is a good thing; but it is not an adequate cure for the ills we are now suffering. How impertinent and arrogant is this everlasting inquiry on the part of the whites as to what they shall do with the blacks! There is room enough in our broad country for white men, and black men, and red men, if only they will recognize each other as God's children, and thus dwell together in mutual good-will. But if any one of these varieties of the human family revolts at this condition, that is the very one which should leave the country, and which is fit for no other country. He is a monster rather than a man, who denies that our black brethren have earned a home in this land which they have wet like the rain with their sweat, and tears, and blood. It is *pre-eminently* their land: they may leave it when they will. But the God of the oppressed will not suffer them to leave it till they will. He has already begun to punish American Oppression very horribly. And let American Oppression beware lest He make the punishment still more horrid. Quite enough blood will be shed without making it more by the policy of direct or

virtual expulsion. Under that policy, there will be blood—even unto the horse-bridles."

I spoke a moment since in favor of arming the blacks. I do not forget the often expressed opinion that, inasmuch as there are white enough to fight for us, we need not arm the blacks. But if we be other and than to advertise the blacks of the whole country that we are their friends, and that ours is the side for them to flock to, there should be black regiments. A few such waving from Bunker Hill and the Northern States, at the beginning of the war, would have had the effect to keep it by-gone and. But, instead of such a jubilous and speedy end, the Administration has given us an indispensable advertisement by the simple means we have, by allowing the Army in enabling back fugitive slaves, told the blacks of the whole country that we are their friends, and that we are on the side for them to flock to. Was there ever such illusions as that which has characterized the action of the Government respecting the blacks?

The President's call for the Army, and based on the best part of Secretary Cameron's Report, as he did was the Secretary's Order to Gen. Sherman, and on the best part of Gen. Fremont's Proclamation; and on my first and heavy reading of the recent Order of the Secretary of the Treasury, concerning the employment of negroes, I fancied that I saw the same detailed hand in all three. But for I could not believe that this accomplished Secretary, whose head is as clear as his heart is honest, would blunder in so favor of recognizing slaveholding rights in the Order, I should, in the Order, have thrown in the easy longer legalized by laws which this nation has been its recognized and enforced. Such laws are to be carefully as the nation could be held by them, were all abrogated, and nothing to take its place. And to be sure that the nation is held by laws enacted or revised by Confederate States would be as absurd as to say that it is held by the rules of the pirates of the seas. But, on a second and more careful reading of the Order, I find no liberty to think that the Secretary looks upon "persons held to service for life under the State laws" in the Slave States as still slaves, or to be recognized by the nation as such.

The President was chosen to save the nation. But it turns out that, with all his good will, he is not the man by any one to kill it. What is worse, the Union, by any one to kill it. What is worse, the people will probably let him kill it. But if it is not easy to unsettle deep-grounded as they reposed in the man of their choice; and it is not easy to face the idea of confessing that a choice so confident and enthusiastic was nevertheless unfortunate. I, for one, therefore, hope the President, I, for one, admit that he is more intellectual than nine-tenths of the politicians and more honest than nine-tenths of them. I admit, too, that he would have made a good President if he had been called to wedlock the Constitution. And I also admit that Constitution-worship is not peculiar to him. It has long been an established fidelity; and hence it is that it is now working out our national ruin.

Slavery-worship and hypocrisy are more of our evils. If it is not true that our Constitution worship originated with slavery, it is nevertheless true that this vice, like so many others, is "set on fire of that hell." We Abolitionists, being the possessors of knowledged protector of slavery, the great work for which we are in the Government is the defense of the Constitution. Perhaps no one mind has this had work harder and more successfully and longer than the ingenious and receptive mind of the President. So that now, when he is in a position to save the nation, and when, too, he has a heart to save it, his education, nevertheless, compels him to kill it. Thousands of Abolitionists have gone to the country, and to regard slavery as the presumed enemy of the Constitution, he necessarily assumes that, in saving slavery, he is saving the country. That slavery is the deadly enemy of our country can have no place in a mind educated to look upon slavery as the protector of the Union, and upon the Constitution to be all one with the country.

"What may be the result of such a mistake in the question—why he could have his Marshals pursue the poor innocents?—what has that the country gained by ruling in the Constitution, and the Constitution being one with the country) made it necessary? What, but the same answer to the question why he can similarly employ his Generals? And what also but the same answer to the question why he suffers (for without his influence it would not be) the Secretary of State to issue the Order of Sympathy against negroes? That accused person Ashmun's Resolution, the Resolution of my brief Congressional life was my success in getting it to say that each, South Carolina, Georgia, and Virginia, by Conference Aikin and Colonel Orr for the help they gave me!

I said that the Constitution-worship is not peculiar to the President. Read yesterday's speech of Senator Trumbull, of Illinois, for proof that he no has addicted to it, and for proof that the nation would have been a better off had he been less ideal. Fully do I agree with him that the provisions of the Constitution are sufficient for the war as in peace, and that its infraction is at no time necessary. I, too, am a man of the Constitution. I have probably made a dozen speeches for it where the Senator has made one, and would have made more, for a whole year's written one. But when he says, "While fighting this battle in behalf of Constitutional liberty, I shall not be deterred from the fear that the Constitution receives no detriment at our hands," I am sorry he says it. We will have gained but little in suppressing the insurrection, if it be at the expense of the Constitution—when he says that, he ascribes to the Constitution an importance which does no honor to it. I say that our object in this war is to save the Constitution from detriment, or even from destruction. I deny that our object in this war is to save, and little one of saving a Paper which not one American in one hundred has read from first of, and which has been perverted and turned against his mind and much his heart to—and a better one than one in one thousand have in the country capable of writing. On the contrary, we are in a struggle to save our country, and we are, too, at whatever hazards to the Constitution or to aught else, We are as we can conscient, and, in the most hateful threatened dissolution, that which interests the highest and the lowest, the rich and the humble, the water and mountains, the temples and schools, her loved homes of the living, and her sacred dust of the and even more sacred, dust of the dead. All these, we are to save from dishonorable transfer—and the immediate and great elements which go to make up a country—the people and the genius and principles of life (Constitutions are—and ought to be—hardsome and ruthless destruction. These are the things which we are fighting for and which we must do and unsigned crime. Those are the sources from which we for our inspiration and the Senator is poorly employed in attempting to turn us away from them to the by-paths of the Constitution. The Constitution has its value—its great value. In the present crisis, it is to be used as a means to save the country and the country must not be involved in even the slightest danger for the sake of saving the Constitution. The country is the property of Free Government will reproduce Constitutions as often as it may be necessary for their good objections. Yes, and if we are only true to these principles, every one Constitution will be an improvement upon the predecessor.

I would always counsel to fling away the whole Constitution rather than retain it, if it necessarily operates to the best and of the possessions, or the rights, or the liberties of the nation, or even the rights of others in the tribe definition of the word country. It had rather lose ten thousand Constitutions than let the Cataract of Cataracts pass from out our mighty land. Aye, I would rather lose them than lose little Minnehaha. None would consent to lose all the other "Rivers" at any price but I would not retain the Constitution in exchange for the Rivers that water present and future. Nor would I, Not only that highest peak of the Rocky Mountains where the Republic of Freedom planted our national standard, but even the humblest hill which meets the eye of the Republic, I, for desire to see it, and I, for one, I, for desire to see it, and I, for one, I, for desire to see it, and I, for one

If we show that in one single instance emancipated slaves have been able to take care of themselves and make progress, though there may be twenty instances of failure, still, the one instance of success demonstrates their capacity, and their failures are to be attributed to misfortune and the influence of circumstances.

In the next place, (although I do not intend to go into the financial aspect of the question,) I will read the results of the cultivation of sugar, which is the great article of export in those islands; and I know very well that the commercial community is interested in whatever relates to exports and imports. The dependencies of Guiana, Trinidad, Barbadoes and Antigua, previous to emancipation, produced 187,000,000 pounds of sugar, and in 1856–7, they produced, annually, 265,000,000—showing a gain of nearly 78,000,000 a year; and their imports went up from $8,840,000 to $14,600,000 a year. And the present Governor-General of Jamaica, Mr. Hincks, whom some of you may remember as the former Attorney-General of Canada, who was here in 1851 at the railway celebration, as it was called, states from his own knowledge and observation, that on an estate in Barbadoes, ninety blacks performed the work formerly done by two hundred and thirty slaves; and that the produce of each laborer during slavery was 1043 pounds of sugar, and the produce since emancipation of each laborer is 3660 annually. He also states that the cost per hogshead under slavery was £10 sterling, while in 1858, it was produced at a cost of £4 sterling. So we see, that whether we test the black population of the British West Indies, by the fact that they have established schools, by the fact that they have become landholders, or by the fact that they export of their main staple more than they did formally, they still have demonstrated their capacity to take care of themselves. (Applause.)

But I say further, my friends, that it is not a matter for argument, but within the range of the commonest observation, that the time is approaching when the emancipation of the slaves in this country must take place. It is inevitable; and we have now, I think, only a choice of ways. Emancipation may take place by the efforts of the slaves themselves; it may take place by the Government of the United States; it may take place by the action of the slaveholders themselves, who led in this rebellion. But for us, it is first a matter of justice. I said I would not omit that consideration, and I will not, as a matter of justice to the slaves themselves, who certainly have been subjected to a sufficient apprenticeship under slavery, through two centuries, to prepare them for freedom—which these gentlemen have told you is the legitimate and natural result of apprenticeship to slavery—if they are ever to be prepared. I say, then, justice to the slaves demands emancipation. I will not make for myself, though others may for themselves, the nice distinction which you remember Mr. Croswell made when he wrote a letter endorsing and explaining the speech of Col. Cochrane. He says, "The difference between the Abolition and the Union defenders is this—that the Abolitionists are in favor of emancipation because it would be a benefit to the slaves. We are in favor of emancipation because it would be an injury to, or diminish the power of the rebel masters." I do not care about that nice distinction. It reminds me of what Macaulay says of the Puritans—"That they were opposed to bear-baiting, not because they had any sympathy for the bear, but because they were religiously hostile to all kinds of amusements." (Laughter.) Whatever your opinion may be, if you are in favor of emancipation, I do not greatly care whether you favor it as a matter of justice to the slaves or to punish the masters. And we must agree, my friends, to the Declaration of Independence. The fundamental difference on which the North and South have divided for thirty years is on that part of the Declaration of Independence which says, "All men are created equal." They have denied it; we have undertaken to maintain it. We ought to consider (if you will allow me a moment by way of explanation) that the Declaration of Independence was prepared as a political document. It did not relate to those differences among men which we see, which we recognize, which are natural, which are divine, which are not to be complained of. But Jefferson meant, when he penned that provision, that no person was by birth under any political subserviency to any other person. (Cheers.) That is what he meant. Not that we are of equal hight or weight, equal moral influence or intellectual capabilities; but that we were equal in this—that no one is born under any subserviency, politically, to his fellow-man. Let us maintain the doctrine now. These slaves are men; Jefferson did not hesitate to call them "brethren." In a letter to M. de Munier, explaining the reason why neither Mr. Wythe nor himself had proposed to insert a clause for emancipation into the slave code of Virginia, he says:—

"There were not wanting in that assembly men of virtue enough to propose and talents to vindicate this clause. But they saw that the moment of doing it with success was not yet arrived, and that an unsuccessful effort, as too often happens, would only rivet still closer the chains of bondage, and retard the moment of delivery to this oppressed description of man. But we must await with patience the workings of an overruling Providence, and hope that that is preparing the deliverance of these, our suffering *brethren*. When the measure of their tears shall be full, when their groans shall have involved heaven itself in darkness, doubtless a God of justice will awaken to their distress, and by diffusing light and liberality among their oppressors, or, at length, by his exterminating thunder, manifest his attention to the things of this world, and that they are not left to the guidance of a blind fatality."

These slaves are men. The declaration concerning the equality of all men applies to them as to us; and now that, in the progress of events, the South have relieved us from responsibility in regard to eleven disloyal States, let us stand forth as a nation in our original strength and purity, maintaining the ideas to which our fathers gave utterance, but which, under the circumstances, they were not able always and everywhere to enforce. Let us declare, in the presence of these slaveholders and rebels, in the presence of Europe, that we may have ground on which to stand and defend ourselves in this contest, that we proclaim the equality of all men. (Loud applause.)

As to the expediency, still further: Have you ever considered—(I see one gentleman, Mr. Atkinson, upon the platform, who has considered the subject of the cotton culture of the South, and written a work upon it which is worthy of consideration by everybody)—but have you all considered that these men of the South have taken possession, by circumstances and by skill, of the best territory, in soil and climate, upon this continent? This territory has been given up to slavery, and the men of Massachusetts, of the North, have not the power to go there in the presence of slavery, and develop the natural resources of that extensive country. We have taken possession of the fertile lands this side the Rocky Mountains, and it is a necessity of our existence that freedom should go South. Therefore it is a necessity that slavery should disappear. Have you considered, merchants—have you considered, manufacturers, that the 700,000 negroes of the South, engaged in the cultivation of cotton, have a monopoly of the best cotton lands on the surface of the globe, and that their interest is to produce just as little as possible? What is your interest? Your interest is to have these lands developed so that they shall produce as much as possible. From 1845 to 1857, the supply of cotton in all the markets of the world diminished 000,000 bales, and the price went up from the producing price of five or six cents to ten, twelve, fourteen and sixteen cents a pound in the markets of the world—the manufacturers working all the time upon short products of the raw material, and paying famine prices. We are told by statisticians that the whole population of the globe is ten or eleven hundred millions. The whole product of manufactured cotton goods has never exceeded seventy cents for each inhabitant of the globe. Produce cotton by free labor upon the productive land of the South, develop it in Egypt, in India, in South America, wherever on the broad zone of seventy degrees cotton can be raised at five or six cents a pound, and pay the producer a good profit, and your manufactures in New England, in the free States, in England, in France, will double and treble the amount of goods now produced.

Is it not a matter of some consequence to manufacturers, to the people, to laborers everywhere, that we should take these fertile and productive cotton lands out of the control of these 700,000 slaves, make them free men, stimulate them by wages, invade those cotton lands, which can be worked by white labor, as one-eighth of the cotton lands of the country are now worked by white labor, and thus increase the product of cotton 25, 50, 75, and, in a few years, 100 per cent., and stimulate the industry and increase the comforts and conveniences of all mankind?

If you look at this matter merely in a commercial point of view, will you allow slavery to retain the best cotton lands, and remain in possession of these slaves?

I heard a suggestion just now, from the other part of the hall, to the effect—if I understand it correctly—that if we emancipated the slaves, a great many of them would come this way. Have you ever thought, my friend, that if you do not emancipate the negroes, they will, in consequence of the disturbed condition of affairs, escape and invade the free States, and that you will have them here whether you will or not? But if you emancipate the slaves in the South—if you believe what Mr. Yancey said in Faneuil Hall last year—the negroes of the North will go South, for he said they enjoyed nothing so much as basking in the sun, with the temperature at 110. If the slaves be emancipated, what with their own natural ability and such aids and appliances as the Government and twenty millions of people in the North can furnish, I do not believe but that they will get employment, get pay, get subsistence. (Applause.)

Another consideration that ought to be taken into account by the commercial men of the North is, that if we emancipate the slaves and dedicate this country to freedom, this process of bankruptcy and repudiation will come to an end, instead of your being called every year, in ordinary years, to contribute one, two, or three millions to the support of the South. The time has come, after sixty, seventy or eighty years of experience, when it is a right which we may demand, that the people who occupy the best portion of the North American continent shall earn their own living and pay their own debts. (Loud applause.)

The other consideration, as a matter of necessity, to which I invite your attention, is this: Having been involved as we are by slavery and a rebellion and conspiracy based on slavery, we have a right to take security for the future, that there shall be no other conspiracy, that there shall be no other rebellion, that there shall be no other war reserved for future generations, growing out of this institution. Slavery, in its essential characteristics, is a despotism, and you will search long and be disappointed often when you seek for a slaveholder who is in heart desirous to support free, democratic, republican institutions. (Loud applause.) If you would take security for the future peace of the country, it must be by dedicating this territory to freedom. Nothing else will give this country security for the future, or freedom to the States that are now engaged in the rebellion.

Emancipation is inevitable, first, possibly, by the act of the slaves themselves. I ask whether you—I do not ask whether the people of Charleston, S. C., with their city in flames, with the power of the slave population in some way or other felt, in this their great calamity, I do not ask whether they prefer the emancipation that took place in Jamaica, or that which took place in St. Domingo, but I ask you if now, after the sacrifices you have made in the service of slavery, the expenses in which you are involved, the just and righteous hatred you have for these leaders in the rebellion—I ask you if, after all this experience, you ought not to choose an emancipation such as took place in Jamaica, rather than reserve this question of slavery until emancipation takes place as it did in St. Domingo? You cannot hesitate, whether you look to your own interest, to your own comfort, or whether you regard the interest, the comfort, the welfare, and the safety of the slaveholders themselves. And bear one thing in mind—that in Jamaica, thirty insurrections occurred in the century preceding emancipation, the last of which involved the destruction of eight millions of property, and was only put down at an expense of $600,000. Since emancipation, there has not been an insurrection of the blacks in that island: and it is a contradiction of all human experience to assume that when these people are emancipated, they will turn round and cut the throats of their masters; and if the United States shall lead in the emancipation, even at the head of the army, they can so control the emancipated population, that they shall not commit those excesses which have characterized conflicts between the oppressor and the oppressed in other countries and other ages.

But I made a suggestion, which I propose to consider for a moment, and that is, if we do not emancipate the slaves, or if they do not speedily take the matter into their own hands, the probability is, that they are to be emancipated by the rebels themselves. You think, possibly, that it is absurd to suggest that when they have involved the country in war, when they have staked everything on the institution of slavery, they should, under any circumstances, destroy it themselves. But have you considered there are ten thousand men in the South, perhaps, in civil positions and in the army, who, if the rebellion be put down, and the government of the Union be re-established over the revolted States, have only the choice between hanging and exile? Do you believe, when you consider the sacrifices they have already made, when you consider that on the coast of Carolina they apply the torch to their own property, that in the extreme exigency to which they may be reduced, if we shall be successful in the prosecution of the war, they will not emancipate their slaves, and claim the recognition of France and England, and the alliance of foreign governments, which alliance we see will be but too readily accorded?

My friends, I have not been startled by the intelligence from England to-day, because I have seen for months that we were drifting steadily and certainly to a foreign war; and nothing, I believe, can avert that calamity within a few months, except emancipation of the negroes in the South, so that we can say to the people of England—to the people of France—If you make war against us, it is in the interest of slavery. (Loud cheers.) I do believe, although I was educated in that school which had but little faith in English politics, or in the political principles of Englishmen, that if we write emancipation on our banner, there is yet remaining in the heart of the English nation virtue enough to say to their ruling classes, whatever their desire may be, You shall not interfere to re-establish slavery where it has been struck down. (Applause.) I believe also that the French nation, which, in 1777 and '78, were in alliance with us, which regarded the extremity of Greece, which fought for an idea in Italy, and restored the unity of that ancient seat of power and of majesty in the affairs of the world,—I do believe that the millions of France would say to the Emperor, if he were otherwise disposed: This is a war in which we can take no part. By emancipation we shall be left to ourselves; but if we do not speedily strike a blow somewhere—in South Carolina, or Florida, or Texas—as indicative of our purpose, I see not any way to avert a foreign war, adding untold calamities to the difficulties and horrors in which we are at this moment involved.

Do you think that England is without inducements? History teaches something. She has her traditions of the Revolution and of the War of 1812; her governing classes are in sympathy with the governing classes of the South; her manufacturers desire the raw material; her merchants now urge the government on, and guide it too, in a policy which looks either to the restoration of the Union or to separation; and whatever may be the result, with equal sagacity. They see very plainly that here is a breach between the North and South that cannot be repaired in one generation; they know that when the war closes, they will have the sympathy of the South, if they show sympathy for her now. They expect a monopoly of the South, and if the slaveholders bear sway when peace comes, whether it comes by union or disunion, they will have a monopoly of the trade of the South. It is only by a reconstruction, to some extent, of Southern society, that the people of the North can participate fairly in the trade of the South.

Then there is a feeling, not only in England, but throughout Europe, that we are advancing too rapidly. Conscious as we have been, boasting as we have been, it is possible that, after all, we have not estimated the prosperity and greatness of the republic as it has been estimated abroad. Extending from the Great Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico and the Rio Grande—from the Atlantic to the Pacific—covering the continent, threatening Mexico and Central America with the process of annexation—they could not have looked otherwise than with anxiety and apprehension upon a nation of freemen which promised, in the course of the present century, to contain a population of 100,000,000.

Therefore, I say, that, in reference to the future, we are in the greatest peril, unless we place ourselves, and that speedily, in a position where we can defend ourselves as the supporters of freedom, and appeal to the yeomanry of England, to the peasantry of France, and ask them to keep the peace, while we restore to its fair proportions a government such as the world has never before seen, and start our country in a career of prosperity which shall know no limits in this generation, if we escape from the perils in which we are involved by slavery. (Loud applause.)

Our interest and our duty require us to avert the calamity of foreign war by any sacrifice save that of justice and honor.

One word my friends, and I leave this subject: In the exigency in which we are placed, we must support the Government itself. We may maintain our opinions, believing that in due time those opinions will possess influence; but the Government, that must—for it is the only means by which the rebellion is to be put down—from day to day, with the highest wisdom, and on principles of established justice, execute all the principles and provisions of the Constitution.

This contest is between slavery on the one side and the government on the other. Both cannot stand. Either slavery will go down and the government stand, or the government will be destroyed and slavery triumph over us all. For slavery it is that we have made our sacrifices; for slavery it is that we are involved in these troubles; for slavery it is that we incur these expenditures; for slavery it is that manufactures are paralyzed; for slavery it is that commerce is interrupted; for slavery it is that our foreign relations are disturbed; for slavery it is that foreign war threatens our borders. Are there still further sacrifices demanded for the institution of slavery? Remember the dead that have fallen in defence of the country; remember the living that are perilled on the battle-field and in the camp; remember your friends that have gone out to fight the battles of the Republic, and say whether you can lie down upon your pillows and feel that you have done your duty to them, to your country, and to your God, unless you exert such influences as you have to bring to a speedy termination the cause of all our trials. (Loud and prolonged applause.)

SERMON OF REV. GEORGE B. CHEEVER.

The announcement that the Rev. Geo. B. Cheever, of New York, was to preach in Tremont Temple, on Sunday evening last, drew an immense crowd to that place. Long before the commencement of the service, every seat in that vast hall was occupied; and while hundreds were compelled to stand all the evening, as many more went away because they could not even get that position. After the usual devotional exercises, and the singing of "America," in which the whole of the vast congregation joined, a sermon was preached by Rev. Dr. Cheever, from the text—"And Pharaoh's servants said unto him, 'How long shall this man be a snare to us? Let the men go that they may serve the Lord their God. Knowest thou not yet that Egypt is destroyed?'"

This, he said, was the remonstrance of the people of Egypt against an unrighteous government whose career had brought the country to the verge of destruction. If this chapter had been delivered especially for us, it could scarcely have been more appropriate. It was remarkable that the subjects of a monarchical government could thus speak to their rulers; and it does not appear that they were called traitors for so doing, or that they were in any fear of the Fort Lafayette of their time. They did not see any reason why Moses and Aaron should keep silence, and it is not right for our ministers of the Gospel to do so now; but they should demand immediate and entire emancipation. If the voice of justice and God is silenced in the world, then it should be spoken more loudly from the pulpit. We are told to stand still, and see the operation of God's will, and if it is His will that slavery should continue for a hundred years, we must submit. But this is not God's will. Silence against sin is always disobedience to Him. It was thus that the Egyptian magicians threw dust in the eyes of the people, and thus Pharaoh's obstinacy was supported by the co-operation of the clergy.

In Egypt there were two parties, as there are with us—the emancipationists and the anti-emancipationists—and the anti party prevailed, and the death of the first born ruined the country. Before this, there had been a kind of Harper's Ferry insurrection, and Moses would have been hanged, as John Brown was, if Pharaoh could have caught him. God will not be mocked by us any more than he was by Pharaoh. "Let my people go," was his command then, and he says the same now to us, and the same results will follow our disobedience to His mandate. God does not tell us, "Let the slaves of rebels go, while those that are loyal may keep their chattels." What right have loyal men to keep slaves more than rebels? Is the United States Government the great protector and upholder of slavery; and is the bribe for disobedience to be the privilege of buying and selling men? Shall we pay the price of patriotism with bodies and souls? (Applause.) The only true policy is to proclaim immediate emancipation in the rebel States, and the border States will voluntarily free themselves from slavery. (Applause.) Here are four millions of people lying directly before the track of our country's destiny. We cannot set the train in motion without deciding whether we will take them on board, or will attempt to ride over them—an attempt that will throw us from the track the moment we start. (Applause.)

He hoped that God would change the color of all who would now consent to maintain slavery on account of their prejudice against color, so that they might be negroes also. (Applause.) If we refuse to embrace the opportunity now presented, we commit a crime against God. We have fed the rebellion with our best blood for the sake of slavery. We have been more tender of the rebellion than of our own soldiers' lives. Why was not the victory at Hatteras followed up by the conquest of North Carolina, when the whole State was known to be ripe for the Union? If John Brown had commanded that expedition, he would not have come home to be serenaded by his friends as a hero. (Great applause.) Why are not Charleston and Savannah captured, and a proclamation issued commanding every rebel to lay down his arms, and confiscating all property according to the laws of war? It is because the government is resolved to maintain slavery; and because that would compel the government of South Carolina to free their slaves. Our army and navy are only an immense insurance company for the protection of slavery, and—magnificent employment!—our soldiers are set to pick cotton, and put it into ships. The only hope for us and for the South against a servile insurrection consists in emancipating the slaves, and bringing them under the safe discipline of the military power. He declared that our government is under the control of a few loyal slaveholders in Kentucky, who declare themselves "Union men" only that they may retain their slaves. He urged the necessity and duty of emancipation.

THE TWENTY EIGHTH

NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY SUBSCRIPTION ANNIVERSARY.

The time for the ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION ANNIVERSARY again draws nigh, and we look forward to it with pleasure, as the means of meeting familiar, friendly faces, and listening to earnest words of counsel and encouragement. Some say that other agencies are now in such active operation, that "the old Abolitionists," as they are called, can well afford to rest upon their oars, while others carry forward their work to its completion. We cannot view the subject in this light. Our mission is the same now that it was thirty years ago. Through many and strange changes, we have slowly but steadily advanced toward its fulfilment; but there are many indications that our work is not yet in a state to be safely left to other hands. We have been, and we must still be, a fire to warm the atmosphere of public opinion. More than a quarter of a century ago, the fire was kindled with generous zeal, and year after year it has been fed with untiring industry and patience. Not all the cold water that politicians, merchants, and ecclesiastical bodies could throw upon it has sufficed to extinguish the flame, or even to prevent it from spreading. The moral thermometer can never again fall to the old freezing point. In view of this, we thank God, and take courage. But who that observes passing events, and reflects upon their indications, can arrive at the conclusion that the fire is no longer needed?

It is true that blood and treasure are lavishly expended to put down a most wicked and sanguinary rebellion, the proclaimed purpose of which is to extend and perpetuate SLAVERY. But the government of the United States manifests, in every possible way, a vigilant carefulness to protect the claims of Slavery, and politicians are continually announcing that the war has nothing to do with the cause of the war. There are now very few slaveholders who condescend to profess allegiance to the government; yet, small as is the remnant of that powerful and unprincipled oligarchy, they still appear to govern the counsels of the nation. The honest expression of THE PEOPLE'S wishes is required to be suppressed, lest the utterance should prove offensive to this arrogant minority, so long accustomed to rule the majority. The people are full of generous enthusiasm for their country. If the polar star of a great idea were presented to them, they would follow it with eager courage through suffering and death. But it seems to be the aim of politicians to create a fog so dense that neither star nor sunlight shall glimmer through it to guide the millions, who are longing to be led in the right direction.

Is *this* a time to let the sacred fire smoulder on the altar of freedom? On the contrary, there has never been a time when it was more necessary to watch it with vigilance, and feed it with untiring activity.

We, Abolitionists, still have unwavering faith that "a straight line is always the shortest, in morals as well as in mathematics." Politicians are always in need of being convinced of this obvious truth; and they are peculiarly in need of it now. Let us, then, continue to work for the good old cause in every way that is consistent with our own conscientious convictions. Let us meet together, that our hearts may be cheered and our hands strengthened for whatsoever work the God of the oppressed may call upon us to do.

All those who have faith in the principles of freedom, all who believe that the effect of righteousness would be peace and security for our unhappy country, are cordially and earnestly invited to meet us at the usual time and place in Boston, in January next. [Particulars hereafter.]

Contributions, and expressions of sympathy, from friends at home or abroad, in person or by letter, will be most thankfully received; for we have great need of both at this most momentous and trying crisis.

L. Maria Child,	*Mary Willey,*
Mary May,	*Ann Rebecca Bramhall,*
Louisa Loring,	*Sarah P. Remond,*
Henrietta Sargent,	*Mary E. Stearns,*
Sarah Russell May,	*Sarah J. Nowell,*
Helen Eliza Garrison,	*Elizabeth Von Arnim,*
Anna Shaw Greene,	*Anne Langdon Alger,*
Sarah Blake Shaw,	*Eliza Apthorp,*
Caroline C. Thayer,	*Sarah Cowing,*
Abby Kelley Foster,	*Sarah H. Southwick,*
Lydia D. Parker,	*Mary Elizabeth Sargent,*
Augusta G. King,	*Sarah C. Atkinson,*
Mattie Griffith,	*Abby Francis,*
Mary Jackson,	*Mary Jane Parkman,*
Evelina A. Smith,	*Georgina Otis,*
Caroline M. Severance,	*Abby H. Stephenson,*
Elizabeth Gay,	*Abby F. Manley,*

Katherine Earle Farnum.

THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY. January, 1862. Boston: Ticknor & Fields.

This number (we quote from the Boston *Journal*) opens with the beginning of a series of articles on "Methods of Study in Natural History," by Professor Agassiz. It is an admirable introduction, and will allure many who have hitherto deemed the subject dry. "Jefferson and Slavery," by Prof. White, sufficiently indicates the subject of a very readable article. Mrs. Stowe's story and the "Story of To-Day" are continued. Mr. George S. Hillard contributes an article on "James Fennimore Cooper," which is decidedly the best portrait of the great novelist as a writer and a man that we have ever met with. "Love and Skates" is the first part of one of the dashing stories left by Major Winthrop. Mr. Hawthorne has a delightful "Pilgrimage to Old Boston," which every lover of *our* Boston will appreciate. Dr. Windship begins the "Autobiographical Sketches of a Strength-Seeker," full of interesting matter on this topic. His account of his "fainting fit" at his first attempt at lecturing is decidedly rich. Mr. Dorsheimer's "Fremont's Hundred Days in Missouri" will have a general interest at this time—the writer having been on Gen. Fremont's staff. "Birdofredum Sawin" has revived! This announcement, to all the lovers of the "Bigelow Papers"—and who are not the lovers?—is sufficient; unless we may add that this contribution shows the same old fire, shrewdness and fun. Mr. Emerson closes the body of the number with a wise and genial discourse on "Old Age." It will thus be seen that the *Atlantic* opens the new year in a style most auspicious to the great and increasing public of readers whom it has won and held.

RELIEF OF FUGITIVES IN CANADA. An Association has been formed in the town of St. Catherine's, Niagara District, Canada West, to relieve such fugitive slaves as may be suffering from sickness or destitution. It is called—"The Fugitive Aid Society of St. Catherine's." The officers are the following:—

Charles H. Hall, *President*; Benjamin Fletcher, *Vice President*; Christopher Anthony, *Secretary*; H. W. Wilkins, *Assistant Secretary*; William Hutchinson, *Treasurer*.

Committee: Harriet Tubman, Mary Hutchinson, John Jones, Wm. H. Stewart.

This Association may be relied on as worthy of confidence by those who wish to help the fugitives in Canada, many of whom are undoubtedly in need of such aid. Contributions, either in clothing or money, may be sent to ROBERT F. WALLCUT, Anti-Slavery Office, 221 Washington Street, Boston, or to Rev. WILLIAM BURNS, St. Catherine's, Canada West.

☞ The meetings already held in Essex County, in relation to the War and Slavery, by Mr. PILLSBURY and Mr. REMOND, have been very encouraging, we learn, in attendance and spirit; and those which yet remain to be held by them and others, should secure the presence of the lovers of impartial liberty and of their country, beyond ordinary times. [See notices in another column.]

☞ That department of pro-slavery blackguardism, malignity and ruffianism, the "Refuge of Oppression," is particularly note-worthy at the present time. For loathsome proof, see our first page.

WARLIKE INTELLIGENCE FROM ENGLAND.

ACTION OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT.

LONDON, Dec. 1. The *Observer*, the ministerial journal, insists upon a demand for an apology from the Federal Government, and also upon a restitution to the protection of the British flag of Mason and Slidell, who were violently and illegally torn from that sacred asylum.

The *Observer* adds that there is no reason why they should not be restored to the quarter-deck of a British Admiral at New York, or Washington itself, in the face of some ten or twelve British men-of-war, whose presence in the Potomac would render the blustering Cabinet at Washington as helpless as the Trent was before the guns and cutlasses of the San Jacinto. It is no fault of ours if it should come even to this.

Nearly all the London weekly papers treat the question of the San Jacinto in the same energetic spirit as the daily papers. The agitation increases.

At a privy council held at Windsor, on Saturday, the *Observer* states, a special messenger was appointed to leave by the Europa. He carries a demand from the British Government to Lord Lyons, insisting upon an apology and a restoration to the protection of the British flag of the Southern Commissioners.

Large reinforcements will be immediately sent to Canada. A ship is loaded with guns and ammunition of all kinds for the same destination.

The London *Post* adds: "It has been decided by the law officers of the Crown that the action of Captain Wilkes was unjustifiable; that he had no right to arrest peaceful passengers sailing under the British flag, and the deed he has committed amounts to a flagrant violation of the code of nations, and is a direct insult to this country. Under the circumstances we need hardly point out that the government will lose no time in seeking for prompt and complete reparation, which it is its duty to require in this case. It will assuredly receive the unanimous approbation of public opinion. We are unwilling to place the worst construction on the outrage committed by Captain Wilkes, or to look on it as an intentional affront on the part of the Government of the United States.

We hope the American Government will at once disavow the act of their officer, make suitable apologies, and restore the persons of the gentlemen arrested, and, in fact, make every compensation in their power. Wild as the words written and spoken by Seward, and reckless as American policy not unfrequently is, we can hardly suppose that the Northern States are seriously disposed to accept war with England. We have in the American waters, including the Mexican expedition and ships already there, a force amounting to not far short of 1000 guns, which we could largely increase with the greatest ease and rapidity. In one month we could sweep all the San Jacintoes from the seas, blockade the Northern ports, and turn to a speedy issue the tide of war now raging. This is so obvious, that we find it almost impossible to suppose that the Cabinet of Washington can commit an act so madly suicidal as to reject our earnest and positive demands."

The *Times* expresses the belief that the Cabinet has taken a view of the matter which will be satisfactory alike to the patriotism and reason of the country. It says that the principle on which the Government rests its demand is, that a British ship must, until her violation of neutral rights is fully proved, be held to be British ground, as much as if she were an actual piece of British soil, and the right of protection to all persons on board is as valid as on British territory. Now no such violation has been proved or sought to be proved against the Trent, consequently the seizure of the four persons dragged from her decks was entirely illegal.

The *Shipping Gazette* believes there is a possibility, but a remote one, that the Federal Government may disavow the acts of Captain Wilkes, and even go the length of releasing the Southern Commissioners; but if the demand is not complied with, a declaration of war on the part of England is inevitable. If the Federal Government is resolved, at all hazards, to force a quarrel upon England, they have certainly a good opportunity, but they must be actuated by something little short of madness to avail themselves of it.

The export of saltpetre and warlike stores is formally prohibited. It was stated that one ship with a large cargo of saltpetre for America had been stopped, and that the relanding of the warlike stores already shipped had been required.

The naval volunteers were offering to come forward to protect the honor of the British flag.

At a banquet at Rochdale, Mr. Bright made an elaborate speech on American affairs. He declined to give a decided opinion on the Trent affair, but believed, if illegal, America will make fitting reparation. He strongly condemned the warlike feeling exhibited, and scouted the idea that the American Cabinet was resolved to pick a quarrel with England. He made an eloquent peroration in favor of the North. A letter was read from Mr. Cobden, of a pacific tone, urging a suspension of judgment. A letter from Gen. Scott favored the maintenance of friendly relations with England.

American affairs attract much attention. The export of arms, ammunition and lead is prohibited.

The English journals generally were very hostile in their remarks, and continue to treat the matter as an insult which cannot be tolerated. Lord Lyons's instructions, on which the Cabinet were unanimous, are explicit and determined.

Letters from France state that the news of the American difficulty caused an immense sensation in Paris, and at first the general impression was that ample reparation must be made to prevent a collision. Communications have taken place between the English and French Governments, and a good understanding on the subject was believed to exist, as already it does on the question of the policy to be carried out with reference to the American question generally.

The Paris *Patrie* has an editorial foreshadowing the disposition of the French Government to recognize the Southern Confederacy, if England sets the example.

The French journals universally look at the Trent affair in the interest of England.

The Paris *Patrie* maintains that the American Government had no right to arrest the Southern Commissioners while on a British mail steamer, and asserts that the British Government immediately prepared to send reinforcements to Canada. The same journal also gives a report that Admiral Milne, commander of the British West India squadron, on hearing of the San Jacinto affair, forthwith detailed three war vessels to escort the steamers between Havana and St. Thomas, for the protection of Southerners travelling that route.

The Paris *Pays* and *Constitutionnel* censure the action of the commander of the San Jacinto.

BALTIMORE, Dec. 16.—The effect of the foreign news here has been to call forth warm Union sympathy, while the rebel sympathizers are rejoicing. Nearly all the Irish have been secessionists, but they are now strong Union men.

PHILADELPHIA, Dec. 16.—Stocks declined under the foreign news, especially the fancies.

DETROIT, Dec. 16.—The foreign news created a deep feeling. Our Government will be sustained by the people at every sacrifice.

CLEVELAND, Ohio, Dec. 16.—The sentiment here is that our Government must sustain its dignity and rights, regardless of British bluster.

CINCINNATI, Dec. 16.—A firm tone is taken by the people here in support of the Administration. If it is decided that Capt. Wilkes did right, concessions to England or any other power it is hoped will not be entertained for a moment.

PITTSBURG, Pa., Dec. 16.—The English news was received here with indignation. The protection of the honor of the country is the only sentiment here.

HARTFORD, Conn., Dec. 16.—The European news caused great excitement in this city for a time, but the unanimous feeling was that England's demand for Mason and Slidell could not be listened to for a moment. The sober second thought is that our Government should be firm but conciliatory, and if the alternative is to give up the commissioners or fight, then fight.

ST. LOUIS, Dec. 16.—The secessionists here openly avow their joy at the prospect of a war with England, while the Unionists seem generally to hope that the Administration will formally adhere to their already proclaimed position, and not deliver up the rebel Ambassadors.

NEW YORK, Dec. 17. The *Herald's* Washington despatch says the Cabinet has been in special session several hours to-day, during which our difficulty with England was discussed with great calmness. Whatever the demands from England may be, our government is resolved that Mason and Slidell shall never be given up.

GEN. CASS ON MASON AND SLIDELL. An article has just appeared in the Detroit *Free Press*, understood to have been written by Gen. Cass, which not only justifies the arrest of Mason and Slidell, but shows that it was in strict accordance with the position of the Government upon the right of search question, as maintained in the correspondence with the British Government in 1858.

GREAT FIRE IN CHARLESTON, S. C. A fire broke out in Charleston, S. C., on Wednesday evening of last week, which raged with intense fury for several hours, making a clean sweep through the city, and destroying from five to seven million dollars' worth of property. The number of buildings burnt is stated to have been 576, among which were five churches, three hotels, two newspaper offices, nine bank buildings, and over fifty mercantile houses. The fire originated at the factory of a Mr. Russell, who thinks it was caused by an incendiary, or by the negligence of negroes employed there.

CINCINNATI, Dec. 14.—A special despatch from Cheat Mountain to the *Commercial* says:

Yesterday, one of the hardest and best fought battles of the war was fought at Alleghany Camp, Pocahontas county, Va., between Gen. R. H. Mulroy, commanding the Union troops, and Gen. Johnson, of Georgia, commanding the rebels. The fight lasted from daylight until 3 o'clock, P. M.

The Union loss is about 30, and the rebel loss over 200, including a Major and many other officers, and 30 prisoners. Gen. Johnson was shot in the mouth, but not fatally. The 12th Georgia regiment suffered the most. Gen. Mulroy's force numbered 750 men from the 9th and 13th Indiana, and the 25th and 32d Virginia.

Gen. Johnson's force numbered over 2000 men. The 9th Indiana regiment fought bravely to the last. After driving the enemy into their barracks no less than five times, our forces retired in good order. The rebels set fire to their camp and retreated to Staunton. Gen. Mulroy has driven the last rebel army out of Western Virginia.

☞ The Wheeling (Va.) *Intelligencer* of the 6th inst., gives the following account of a desperate fight in Wirt county:—

"We learn by a letter received last evening from Parkersburg, that a desperate fight took place a day or two since in Wirt county, between Capt. Simpson's company, Eleventh Virginia Regiment, and a much larger number of Moccasin Rangers.

Capt. Simpson's men were in a house getting something to eat, and the house was surrounded by the Moccasins, who demanded a surrender. Capt. Simpson declined, and a fight ensued. Some eight or ten of the Moccasins were killed, and they were driven back into the woods. Among the number killed of the Moccasins is the notorious Pat Connolly, who has boasted of having in his possession thirty-one scalps of Union men. The fight lasted about one hour."

☞ The war in Missouri is becoming sanguinary. Information has been received that Col. Jennison's force, stationed near Fort Independence, within a few days have burned a hundred houses of secessionists, who had not come in according to his proclamation to take the oath of allegiance. One of the rebels, named Fitzpatrick, was captured and shot. He was accused of killing a Federal officer, and of shooting a Methodist minister who was standing guard over him. He died game, shouting for "Jeff. Davis and the South," as he fell pierced with the bullets of the soldiers.

☞ One of the rebel prisoners named Coleman died at Washington on Thursday. He was shot in the head, the ball entering his left eye. He was the ringleader in the acts of cold-blooded atrocities committed upon the scouts taken some six weeks ago, belonging to Banks's division. One of his feats was placing a head on a pole, and carrying it down to Drainesville.

☞ A Federal surgeon captured at Bull Run, who recently returned on parole, reports that the rebels who took him bound him to a tree, and then deliberately *shot him in the leg* to prevent his escape.

☞ The Louisville *Journal* says that Southwestern Kentucky is in danger, as the rebels are increasing in numbers in the vicinity of Camp Hoskins, at Somerset, near the Cumberland river. There are 6000 to 8000 rebels there, and it is not improbable that Col. Hoskins will have to retire before them. The rebels are committing all kinds of depredations in Wayne and Clinton counties, which they have in undisputed possession. They have wantonly butchered many sick Union men in their beds, and stolen and destroyed much property belonging to loyal citizens. Many of the Unionists in that region are deserting their homes and making their way to the Bluegrass region for safety.

☞ A despatch from Chattanooga, East Tennessee, to the Memphis *Appeal*, states that on the 26th ult. a scouting party of 500 rebels returned from an expedition in which they captured fourteen horses and took 100 Union men prisoners, some of whom were found concealed in the caves of the mountains.

☞ The number of lives lost on the ill-fated Keystone State, in the recent gale on Lake Huron, was thirty-three, all told.

NO TRADE WITH SOUTH CAROLINA. The government has decided that, for the present, there can be no trade with South Carolina through the port of Beaufort.

COL. BAKER'S SUCCESSOR. A letter from Salem, Oregon, Nov. 5, says that Benjamin Stark, who has been appointed to the vacancy in the United States Senate caused by the death of Col. Baker, has been an extreme secessionist!

NO SLAVE-CATCHING AT ANNAPOLIS. Col. Lee, of the 27th Massachusetts regiment, has taken the first opportunity offered to decline to go into the slave-catching business, by which some of the patient officers have dirtied their fingers to [illegible] entire [illegible] young negro, who had just suffered a [illegible] sought refuge in his camp at Annapolis the other day, and was received. His master afterwards came with several men, and demanded him. Col. Lee declined to assist in the recapture of the negro. The master then began to threaten and bluster in the plantation style, when Col. Lee coolly informed him that if he thought he could take the negro, he had better try; whereupon the master and his posse left the field, and the negro maintained his sovereignty. Good for the Colonel of the Twenty-seventh!—*Springfield Republican.*

☞ The classical Charles (Sumner) has surely gone nigger-mad. He can't even visit the grave of a friend without lugging a nigger along with him.—*Providence Post.*

The chaste and beautiful eulogy which Mr. Sumner pronounced over the grave of his friend, the late gallant soldier and Senator, Baker, is given on the first page of the *Spy* this morning. The readers of it will not be at a loss how to characterize the assaults which are made upon him, of which the above from the *Post* is an example.—*Worcester Spy, Dec. 16th.*

☞ AARON M. POWELL, an Agent of the American Anti-Slavery Society, will speak at

Milton,	N. Y.,	Friday,	Dec. 20.
Poughkeepsie,	"	Sunday,	" 22.

☞ G. B. STEBBINS, of Rochester, N. Y., will speak in East Princeton, Sunday, Dec. 22, on "The Church and Ministry of the Future," and "The Crisis—Its Cause and Cure."

ESSEX COUNTY NORTH.—There will be an Anti-Slavery meeting in Georgetown, on Sunday, 29th inst., to be continued through the day and evening, at the usual hours. In the present position of our national affairs, no argument can be required to induce a large attendance of the genuine lovers of liberty, not only of Georgetown, but all the contiguous towns. Some of the oldest and ablest advocates of the Anti-Slavery cause will be in attendance, whose names will be announced in next *Liberator.*

☞ STONEHAM.—CHARLES L. REMOND and PARKER PILLSBURY will address meetings in Stoneham, on Sunday afternoon and evening next, (22d inst.) at the usual hours.

Subject: The War—Its Mysteries and Meanings.

☞ MEETING IN HAVERHILL.—PARKER PILLSBURY will lecture in Music Hall, at Haverhill, on Wednesday evening, 25th inst., at 7 o'clock.

Subject: The War—Its Mysteries and their Meanings.

☞ WENDELL PHILLIPS, Esq., will address the citizens of MILFORD, (Mass.) in the Town Hall, on FRIDAY evening next, Dec. 27th, at half-past 7 o'clock, on Slavery and the War, in their relation to the success of the Government, and the triumph of the cause of freedom.

☞ MERCY B. JACKSON, M. D., has removed to 695 Washington street, 2d door North of Warren. Particular attention paid to Diseases of Women and Children.

References.—Luther Clark, M. D.; David Thayer, M. D.

Office hours from 2 to 4, P. M.

DIED—In Cambridgeport, Nov. 28, Mrs. MARY BUCK, aged 82.

PRIVATE TUITION.

IT having been deemed advisable to suspend, temporarily, the Hopedale Home School at the expiration of the present term, announcement is hereby made, that Mrs. A. B. HAYWOOD, one of the Principals, will be pleased to receive a few Young Ladies into her family for Instruction in the *English, Branches, French, Drawing and Painting*, and *Music*. The term will commence on WEDNESDAY, Jan. 1, 1862, and continue FIFTEEN WEEKS.

For particulars, please address

ABBIE B. HAYWOOD.

Hopedale, Milford, Mass., Dec. 10, 1861.

Diseases of Women and Children.

WM. SYMINGTON BROWN, M. D., and

MRS. MARGARET B. BROWN, *Accoucheuse*,

HAVE opened an office at 274 Washington Street, Boston, and will devote special attention to the treatment of the above diseases.

Office Hours, from 10, A. M., to 4, P. M.

Boston, Oct. 4, 1861. 3m